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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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IN the month of June, 1828, Mr. Edward Sterling, of the Bengal Civil Service, being then at Teheran, and about to return to India by Khorassan and Affghanistan, received a letter from Sir John McDonald, our Envoy at the Persian Court, suggesting to him, that he should lose no opportunity, in the course of his journey, of obtaining information concerning “ the condition, capabilities, and military features of those countries, by which an European army from the north or west could penetrate to India.” “ The only two routes,” continued the Envoy, “ by which a Russian army could attempt the invasion of India, are—1st, that which lies through the heart of Khorassan by Meshed, Túrbat-i-Hyderí, Herat, Candahar and Cabul to the Attock ; 2ndly, that which proceeds from Bokhara by Balkh and the Hindu-Kúsh to Cabul.” Mr. Sterling returned to India and collected on the journey what information he could : he saw much, and he heard more ; and, although in these days it appears to us scanty in the extreme, the sum total, twenty years ago, was by no means meagre or contemptible. Such as it was, on his return to Bengal, he offered it to Government ; but Government would have nothing to say either to Mr. Sterling or his information. Lord William Bentinck had no fear of a Russian invasion, and thought that, whilst there was work enough for him to do in Hindustan, he had no need to cut out for himself new troubles and anxieties, by exploring in imagination the snowy summits of the Hindu-Kúsh, or tracking the sandy deserts of Merv.

But “ the whirligig of time brings in its revenges.” Before

the expiration of ten years the retribution was complete. The frigid apathy of 1828 was amply revenged by the feverish excitement of 1838. The successor of Lord William Bentinck was troubled by something more than a dream of invasion by *both* the routes indicated by Sir John McDonald; and every scrap of information, relating to the countries of Central Asia, was received with gratitude, and hoarded with care. Conolly, Burnes, and others, had, by this time, penetrated into Afghanistan from the northern countries, and accumulated piles of information, beside which Mr. Sterling's labours were mere mole-hills; and the tables of the Governor-General and his Secretaries were loaded with printed books, manuscript reports, and elaborate maps of the territories lying between the Caspian and the Indus. During four or five unquiet restless years, but little was thought of in India beyond the great events which were passing in Central Asia; and now in 1850, if we have not relapsed into the old apathy of 1830, the interest, with which we at present contemplate these countries, is derived rather from the recollection of the past, than the thought of the present, or the prospect of the future.

Still we do not think it will be altogether unprofitable even at the present time to devote a few pages of this journal to some account of a portion of that tract of country, over which it was once thought a Russian army might advance, and by which at one time was contemplated the despatch of a British army. We are not about to write of the Herat route, but of the passage along the countries beyond the Hindu-Kúsh watered by the Múrháb and the Oxus. But we are entirely of opinion with Eldred Pottinger, and, indeed, with almost all competent authorities, that it is by the Herat route, and by that only, that the advance of a formidable European army is ever to be seriously apprehended. "Herat," said Pottinger, in a report drawn up by him for Government, when at Calcutta in the hot weather of 1840, "is situated at the extremity, or rather the passable point for heavy artillery, of the range of mountains, which bounds the whole of our northern frontier, as far as Assam; and at no other point could the *materiel* of an European army force its way across, in the presence of an active enemy. All the great roads leading on India converge in the Herat territory; and none of them could be used, unless Herat be previously reduced. From Cabul to Herat are many points where unencumbered troops may pass the range; but the artillery must be of the lightest description; all the provisions must be carried; and, if successful, they must draw their supplies from the northern side of the mountains. If Herat were in the

‘ hands of the opposers of this movement, it would be a most
‘ dangerous attempt ; as a force from thence could always act
‘ against the line of communication to the rear of the invading
‘ army ;—Balkh, which is the best point as a base, being only
‘ the same marching distance from Herat that it is from Cabul.”
From no part of this do we see any reason to dissent. Alexander climbed the Hindu-Kúsh from the northward, and descended into the plains of Affghanistan : but Alexander had no artillery. General Harlan, whom his American friends modestly compare with the “ Macedonian madman,” scaled the Paropamisian range from the southward, and carried artillery with him ; but of the number and weight of his guns we are not clearly informed. We confess that the scantiness of our information upon this head is greatly to be deplored. It matters little what Alexander did, in days when artillery was not. General Harlan, we are told, crossed from Cabul to Balkh in 1838-39, with a train of artillery, and demonstrated the facility of the route. “ By my late expedition into Tartary,” he says, “ from Cabul to Balkh, in 1838-39, an enterprise of great magnitude was accomplished. Commanding a division of the Cabul army, and accompanied by a train of artillery, that stupendous range of mountains, the Indian Caucasus, was crossed through the Paropamisus. The military topography and resources of the country were practically tested. Impediments, which were supposed to present insurmountable obstacles to the passage of an army, proved to be difficulties readily vanquished by labour and perseverance—and the practicability of invading India from the north no longer doubtful.”* In another place, the Doctor-General says—“ I escorted a caravan into Balkh, or rather a caravan was allowed to accompany my division, when proceeding in the campaign against Kúndúz in 1838-39. It was made up of 1,600 camels and 600 pack-horses. We crossed the Paropamisus, viâ Bamian, Ruí, and Durrah-i-Esuff, debouching upon Muzar.” His eulogist, in the *United States Gazette*, says for him—“ Among the most extraordinary events of General Harlan’s career was his passage of the Indian Caucasus in 1838-39, in command of a division of the Cabul army, and accompanied by a train of artillery. We view this expedition as an incident altogether unique since the period of Alexander’s conquests. With this prominent exception, no Christian Chief of European descent ever penetrated so far into the interior of Central Asia under

* What has become of General Harlan, and what has become of his promised “ Personal Narrative of eighteen years’ residence in Asia,” which was announced eighteen years ago as “ in preparation for the press?”

' circumstances so peculiar as characterize General Harlan's enterprise, and we relinquish the palm of antecedent honour to the Macedonian hero alone." A curious passage, to say the least of it! The writer would seem to be of opinion that Alexander crossed the Caucasus with a train of artillery, and that he was a Christian Chief: or, why are we told that Harlan's passage with a train of artillery was unique *since* Alexander's time, and that no *Christian* Chief, except Alexander, had ever penetrated so far into Central Asia?

That the Hindu-Kúsh is accessible to artillery, we know perfectly well. A troop of Bengal horse artillery (the 4th troop 3rd brigade) marched from Cabul to Bamian in the autumn of 1839, and remained at the latter place until the autumn of the following year. The road was pronounced by our engineer officers to be impracticable even for light field-pieces; but the troop officers determined to persevere, and their perseverance was crowned with success. They did not, however, accomplish the journey so easily as to encourage them in the belief, that, if their guns had been of larger calibre and heavier metal, they could have overcome the difficulties of the journey. Over some part of the road, the guns were moved onward by the manual labour of the artillery-men and their infantry comrades. It was believed that, being light pieces, they might have been carried on the backs of elephants; but even horses were at some points wholly un-serviceable, the ascent being occasionally at an elevation of 45°. It was with difficulty that the men working at the drag-ropes were enabled to keep their footing. An account of this march has been given in an extract from Captain Buckle's *Memoir of the Bengal Artillery*, quoted in the 24th Number of this journal: it is also referred to in Number 28. A more detailed account of all the operations of the Bamian force, and of the countries which it traversed, is to be found in an interesting and valuable series of papers, under the title of "The British on the Hindu-Kúsh," originally published in the *Bengal Hurkaru*, and re-printed in the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* for 1841, and in Stocqueler's *Memorials of Affghanistan*. Another series of papers, under the name of "A visit to the Hindu-Kúsh" was published in the *Asiatic Journal* of 1844.

The writer of these papers accompanied Lieutenant Sturt in 1840, when that gallant and intelligent young officer was employed on the survey of the passes of the Hindu-Kúsh. Being out on a pleasure excursion, absent on leave from his regiment, he seems to have thought more of the picturesque and romantic, than of the military, features of the country over which he travelled. The professional part of the work was left

to his companion, and we have no doubt that it was done effectually and well. An elaborate map of the country was prepared by Lieutenant Sturt. They went by Akrabad, Syghan, across the Dundan-i-Shikkun, to Badjgah, Ruí, Heibuk and Khúlúm. "The road to the latter place," says the writer of these papers, "bordered the river throughout the whole of the journey, around the bases of the hills, until we approached Khúlúm, when the stream rushed with impetuous violence, through a deep cleft of the last of this glorious range, forming a strong defile half a mile in length, and its greatest breadth not a hundred yards. One small bourj, or tower, is stationed midway, and slightly elevated from the road. In defending the pass, a mere handful of the troops on the crags above, by repeatedly hurling down masses of rocks, would, for a time, stop the progress of a hostile army from either direction." The Mir Wulli of Khúlúm asked Sturt how long it would take our troops to capture his fortress; and Sturt replied "*About a quarter of an hour!*" It is remarkable that neither from these travellers, nor from the officers of the detachment which spent a year on the Hindu-Kúsh, do we learn anything about General Harlan's expedition, though the General, according to his own account, only a year before, traversed nearly, if not quite, the same country, with a train of artillery.

It was on this road, by Khúlúm to Balkh, that our troops would have proceeded to the latter place, and perhaps to Bokhara, if the views of Sir William Macnaghten, openly expressed in the early part of 1840, had been carried out. Lord Auckland at first expressed his disapprobation of this movement, but subsequently withdrew his dissent. There were three different objects, we believe, contemplated by the Envoy. One was the re-establishment of the authority of Shah Sujah over the petty Usbeg States, between Cabul and Balkh. Another was the liberation of Colonel Stoddart and the chastisement of the Khan of Bokhara. But, over and above these more ostensible designs, it was thought expedient that the demonstration should be made, as a counter-movement to that of the Russians on Khiva. That Sir William Macnaghten thought an advance into Turkistan a less difficult and hazardous movement than the passage of the Khyber, we have shown in an early number of this journal. The design, however, was shortly abandoned, in all probability, owing to the receipt of intelligence of the break-down of the Russian expedition. Whilst Macnaghten and Burnes were labouring under the conviction that General Peroffski had reached Khiva, the Russian leader was retiring homewards with his shattered battalions. The expedition was abandoned at the end of January. On the

13th of March, intelligence of the disastrous position of Perofski's force was publicly announced in St. Petersburg, and communicated by Lord Clanricarde to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston. It does not appear that the tidings of this disaster created much dismay in the Russian Capital. Count Nesselrode said, that it was, doubtless, unfortunate; for that such a check at that time might have an injurious moral effect in Central Asia; but it was believed by our minister that the Russian nobles and officers of rank, in general, by no means regretted Perofski's failure, the expedition having been very unpopular among them. It is worth mentioning that Count Nesselrode told Lord Clanricarde, that the Russian Government wished to exert their influence at Bokhara,* to prevent any Turkoman Chiefs from joining Dost Mahomed, in the hope of obviating any occasion for the British troops to pass the Hindu-Kúsh. It was in the same spirit that Captains Abbott and Shakespear were despatched to Khiva, in order, by the liberation of the Russian slaves at that place, to "obviate any occasion" for the advance of a Russian army into the dominions of the Khan Huzrut.

It is by no means our intention, however, in this place, to enter upon the consideration of the political designs of the Russian Government. Our object in this article is mainly a geographical one; but we purpose, before we bring it to a conclusion, to give some incidental account of the relations existing, during our occupation of Cabul, between the different states of Central Asia, and of the manner in which they were affected by the movements of the English on the one side, and the Russians on the other. Great was the ignorance which long existed throughout all the civilized world, regarding the countries lying between the Hindu-Kúsh and the Caspian; and it is only since a few energetic officers of the East India Company have traversed those dreary countries, that geographers have been able to lay down the position of the different places between them with any thing like accuracy. Even now, indeed, there are considerable vagueness of delineation and uncertainty of nomenclature in the maps most recently published. It is no uncommon thing to see mountain ranges set down where no mountains are, and rivers flowing in unknown directions. It was, at one time, believed, that the Oxus emptied itself into the Caspian; and even recently, a belief has existed, that the

* But it was acknowledged that at this time Russia had no agent at or near Bokhara; that there were no means of communication with that place through Astrabad; and that the caravan route from Orenburg to Bokhara, which lies to the east of the Aral Lake, would be rendered dangerous for Russian travellers by the failure of Perofski's expedition.

Tartars changed the natural course of the river, and turned its direction from the Caspian to the Aral lake—the fact being, that the Aral lake was formerly conceived to be a part of the Caspian. Poor Captain Grover complained bitterly, that the Home authorities believed that Bokhara was in Persia; and he was so concerned at the mistake, that “determined,” as he says, “to support the national honour,” he took the trouble to address a letter on the subject to the Secretary-at-War, who was supposed to be responsible for the blunder in the Army List. We hope that the national honour does not depend upon the national knowledge of the geography of Central Asia. If it does, we are afraid that it is in a very bad way.

Had the Russian force, which baffled by cold and want stopped short at Ak-boulak, penetrated as far as Khiva, and, encouraged by success, determined to push on towards India, it is conceived that it would have taken the route by Bokhara and Balkh. We do not believe that one serious thought of any such advance ever entered the mind of the Czar, of Nesselrode, or of Peroffski. The movement was merely a demonstration called forth by our advance into Afghanistan. Still it elicited much speculation and conjecture regarding the possibility of the march from Khiva to Cabul, and the various routes accessible to an invading force. There were three routes into Afghanistan from the northward which Peroffski might have taken. He might, as we have said, have proceeded by Bokhara and Balkh, across the Hindu-Kúsh. He might have taken the western route across the desert of Merv (or Kharasm), and, thence crossing the Murgháb, have marched upon Herat: or he might have taken a middle course, crossing the Merv desert, and proceeding by Maimunah to the Hindu-Kúsh. The first of these is comparatively well known. The second is the route taken by Captain Abbott, and subsequently by Lieutenant Shakespear. The third was taken by Arthur Conolly, in the autumn of 1840, when he commenced that perilous journey to Khiva, Kokand and Bokhara, from which he was doomed never to return.

The records of this journey are of no common interest. Whether they exist any where in a perfect state—in an unbroken series—we do not pretend to know. We think it is extremely doubtful. Arthur Conolly was a profuse and rapid writer. When he was not in the saddle, the pen was almost always in his hand. He suffered nothing to escape him, and when on his travels, in new countries, kept an elaborate journal, in which he noted down everything he did and everything he said. Even in his dungeon at Bokhara, he noted down

everything that occurred to vary the monotonous wretchedness of his prison life. But the disastrous events, which, for a time, interrupted all communication, and caused the destruction of many interesting and important records, not improbably consigned to perdition some uncopied portions of Arthur Conolly's correspondence. It is enough, however, for our present purpose, that a narrative of his journey from Cabul to Khiva, by the Merv desert, is in existence. It is of this tract of country that we desire to furnish some illustrations from the manuscript materials in our possession. At Khiva our enquiries for the present must end.

It had been in contemplation to despatch Major Rawlinson and Captain Conolly to the Russian camp, when the approach of Peroffski's force was agitating the councils of our Affghan diplomatists. There was something in such a mission peculiarly grateful to the ardent romantic temperament of Arthur Conolly. Disappointed upon this occasion, he never ceased to long for another opportunity of penetrating into Central Asia, and facing the difficulties and dangers of a journey among a barbarous people and in an almost unexplored land. Nor was it the mere excitement of adventure that he coveted. He had great ideas in his mind about the consolidation of the Durani Empire; and he thought it not improbable that, if by any means we could reclaim those unsettled border-chiefs, who were eternally transferring their allegiance from one monarch to another (keeping themselves and their neighbours in a state of perpetual unrest), and so permanently fix the boundaries of the kingdom of Cabul, we might in time work out a great moral revolution, ending perhaps in the conversion of the Affghans to the pure faith of Jesus Christ. It is not improbable, that we may, on some future occasion, discourse more at length on the character and career of Arthur Conolly. At present, it is enough to say, that he obtained, in prosecution of his long-cherished schemes, permission from his friend and relative, Sir William Macnaghten, to proceed to Khiva and Kokand. When we say that he obtained permission to proceed to these places, we do not mean that he proceeded as an amateur; that he was merely—what Lord Ellenborough in a letter to the Khan of Bokhara described him as being—"an innocent traveller." He was delegated by the Envoy and Minister to carry out certain objects in Turkistan, involving a journey to Khiva and Kokand, and, conditionally, to Bokhara; but it is doubtful, whether either Sir William Macnaghten or Lord Auckland really approved of the mission. The former, in all probability, succumbed to the wishes of Arthur Conolly; and the latter, somewhat reluctantly, yielded

his assent, on the representation of the Envoy and Minister. The Governor-General disapproved of Abbott's mission to Khiva, and thought little better of Conolly's; but the latter was sanctioned in "a private letter from authority," and cannot justly be regarded as an amateur expedition. Lord Ellenborough, however, always insisted on regarding it in this light; and, when General Pollock made an application to Government on behalf of the servants attached to Conolly's mission, Lord Ellenborough replied, that he had no knowledge of that officer's mission to Kokand having been authorised; "on the contrary His Lordship was informed by the late President of the Board of Controul, that Lieut. A. Conolly was expressly instructed by him not to go to Kokand." Be this as it may, in September, 1840, Arthur Conolly started for Khiva and Kokand, carrying credentials to both places. The countries of the Hindu-Kúsh were then in so unsettled a state (for Dost Mahomed had escaped from Bokhara and was raising the Usbeks) that the Envoy believed that he would be obliged to proceed by the Herat route. However, he joined the 35th N. I., which was then proceeding to re-inforce the Bamian detachment; and was present at Brigadier Dennie's brilliant action with the Ex-Amir and the Wulli of Khúlúm on the 18th of September. He started, full of "heart and hope"—full, too, of the noblest and purest feelings of humanity, earnestly hoping that the British Government would be induced to play what he called the "grand game," and embrace in one great net-work of benevolent diplomacy all the countries of Central Asia, meting out the amplest justice to all, protecting the weak, coercing the tyrannous, and restoring peace and prosperity to countries long harassed and desolated by strife.

We purpose to follow the "innocent traveller" from Bamian to Khiva. It should be noted here, that he was accompanied by an Afghan Elchi, bearing letters from Shah Sujah to the different Chiefs upon the road. This man's name was Allah-dad Khan. He belonged to the Upulzye tribe, and was held in some repute at the Cabul court, especially as a skilful intriguer. It was long before the Shah could make up his mind whom to dispatch upon this mission; and the difficulty of selection delayed Conolly's departure longer than was pleasing to his enthusiastic temperament. The choice, that was at last made, seemed satisfactory to all parties; and the Mussulman and the Christian travellers set out on their journey. Allah-dad Khan was a little, scrubby-looking, sallow-faced man, with a busy look and a restless eye; but it was believed that he would be true to the interests of his master, especially (as the Shah himself suggested)

as he left behind him his family and much valuable property at Cabul, which would prove the best guarantees for his good conduct in Turkistan.

We shall now let Captain Conolly speak for himself. "The Hazareh and Eimák countries, which we traversed," he says,* "between Bamian and Maimuna, consist of high unwooded mountains, covered with grass and various shrubs and herbs, which serve for spring and summer pasture and winter fodder, and vallies at different elevations, in the highest of which is sown only the naked Thibetian barley, and in the lowest, barley, wheat and millet. The Hazareh portion is the coldest and the poorest; and the natives with difficulty eke out a living in small villages of low huts, where they herd during the long winter season under one roof with the cows and sheep, using as fuel small dry shrubs, and the dung of their cattle. An idea of their privations may be formed from the fact that the mass of the people do not use *salt*. There is none in their own country; and, as they cannot afford the price, which would remunerate importers of this heavy article from Tartary and Affghanistan, they have learned to do without it. Their best bread is consequently very tasteless to a stranger."

Captain Conolly's party found the Hazarehs "unblushing beggars and thieves," but mild in their manners and industrious in their habits. The Chiefs he felt inclined to describe, somewhat in the same terms which Elphinstone applied to the Amirs of Scinde—"Barbarians of the rudest stamp, without any of the barbarian's virtues." Of the military tribes he says:—

The soldiers of both tribes are cavalry, mounted chiefly on small active horses of native breed, though some ride horses imported from Turkistan. Their arms are swords and matchlocks—the last weapons furnished with a prong for a rest. There are clans of military repute among both people; but the best of them would not stand in open field against Affghans. Their strength lies in the poorness and natural difficulty of their country; but this last defence is, I imagine, greatly over-rated. Parts of the interior are described as much more steep than that which we traversed; but this portion, which is the most important, as being on the high road to Herat, is by no means so inaccessible as it has been reported; and, were the Governments of Herat and of Cabul settled and of one mind, this route might soon be safely re-opened.

Neither among the Hazarehs nor the Eimáks is money commonly in circulation. The ordinary currency is *sheep*; and business is conducted in a very primitive manner. Traders from Herat, Candahar, and Cabul repair to the residences of the

* In a letter (dated Merv, November 16, 1840) containing a running abstract of his private journal. The journal itself, full of geographical memoranda, was to have been fair-copied at Khiva, and sent to Lieut. Broadfoot of the Engineers, with a request that he would shape the rough surveys into a presentable map.

Chiefs, and barter their cotton cloths and chintzes for sheep. The Turkish merchants take, in exchange for their articles, *human* currency. "The articles," writes Captain Conolly, "which the Hazarehs and Eimiáks take to market are *men and women*, small black oxen, cows and sheep, clarified butter, some woven woollens for clothing, grain sacks and carpet bags, felts for horse clothing, and patterned carpets, all made from the produce of their flocks; for they export no raw wool." When further advanced on his journey, in the neighbourhood of Maimuna, Captain Conolly found that slaves were the representatives of value in those parts, a man having offered him a horse for a young male slave and a poney. When the English officer asked him, if he was not ashamed of dealing in God's creatures, he said that he could only do as others did, but that he did not mean in this case to imply that he required an actual slave, but the value of one—"showing," adds Captain Conolly, "that men are here a standard of barter, as sheep are among the Hazarehs."

Having contracted with a native of Herat, who had resided long among the Hazarch and Eimák tribes, for safe conduct from Bamian to Maimuna, Captain Conolly proceeded to Yaikobung, the valley of which is watered by a clear trout-stream running from the far-famed "Bendimir," of which the poet of *Lalla Rookh* has given us so romantic and refreshing an account. There was very little of romance, except of the brigand kind, in the character of the Chief of this place. "The present Chief of Yaikobung," writes Captain Conolly, "is Mir Mohib, a vulgarian of the coarsest order. He put Shah Sujah's letter to his head with a fair show of respect, and came to pay his respects to us as the bearers of it, when we gave him a suitable present. Having taken leave, he sent to beg for my furred cloak; and, on my giving his messenger a note, which would procure him one from Bamian, he sent to say that he must have my girdle, shawl, and a thousand rupees, and he would permit us to depart. We were too many to be thus bullied; therefore, replying that the Mir seemed to misunderstand our condition, we marched away at once, without his daring to interrupt us."—*MS. Records.*

Following "the course of the Herat river in its clear quick wanderings through different breaks of the limestone valley, which forms its bed," Captain Conolly's party made their way to Deh-Zungi, where they were hospitably received by Sadok Beg, with whom the English officer discoursed freely on the disadvantage resulting from the constant internal feuds which were distracting the country. The Chief said that he was

deeply impressed with a conviction of the truth of Captain Conolly's assertion; and that, if Shah Sujah would only send him a regiment and a couple of cannon, and make him chief Governor of the Hazarehs, he would undertake to keep the road between Herat and Cabul more open than it had been since the days of Mahmoud of Ghuzni.

There was a war then raging between certain Eimák and Hazareh tribes, and Captain Conolly's party were in considerable danger from the predatory bands, which were loose about the country. We have an account in the journal of the origin and progress of this little war; but we pass it over to give an extract relating to the personal adventures, which befell the travellers, on coming across the skirt of the storm:—

"When we had got two miles down the valley," writes Mr. Conolly, "we were met by sixty horsemen, who called out to us to stop and pay *zucat*. The Atalik's brother riding ahead, and explaining that we were Envoys on the King's affairs, and not traders, our way-layer replied, that we had paid our way to others, and why not to him. 'They are guests of the Atalik,' replied his brother; 'and by God and the Prophet, they shall not give a needle, or a chillum of tobacco.' 'Then, by God and the Prophet, we will take it!' rejoined the robber. Whereupon he ranged some of his men in line to face us, and caused others to dismount upon a rock behind, and to set their guns in rest. We lost no time in getting ready for defence; but the Atalik's brother, riding out between our fronts, called a parley, and drew a line, which neither party were to pass till a war had been decided on. Three quarters of an hour were consumed in debates, which were thrice broken by demonstrations of attack; and by the end of this time thirty or forty men of the same tribe had collected on foot from a near encampment with the evident intention of making a rush at our baggage in the event of our becoming engaged in front. We had dispatched several messengers to bring up our host; and, just as the affair had assumed its worst look, a cry was raised that he was coming. Looking back, we could see horsemen pouring out like bees from the tents surrounding Dowlutyar, and also hastening in our direction; but, whilst our Eimák escort exclaimed that the Atalik was coming in force to the rescue, our opponents cried out in scorn that Hussan Khan was coming to help them to plunder us; and each party raised a shout for the supposed reinforcements. After about ten minutes of the most intense anxiety, during which we and our opponents, as if by mutual agreement, waited to see whose conjecture was right, we were relieved by the arrival of the Atalik, who, galloping up ahead to us at the utmost speed, exclaimed, that he had brought Hussan Khan to our defence. The announced ally was not long in following with three hundred men, and our enemies were made to undersand that they must abandon all idea of attacking us—Hussan Khan declaring that we were Envoys recommended to him by the Shah, whose slave he was, and that he would allow no one to molest us."—*MS. Records.*

Such are the rude chivalry of the Hazareh and Eimák countries! Captain Conolly and his party were conducted safely along their road out of the reach of danger; but Hussan Khan had evidently some misgivings, as to the part he was acting, for when he took his leave, he limited his benedictions to those who were true followers of the Prophet, and afterwards expressed his belief, that the English designed to subvert all Muhammadan powers; "a notion," adds Captain Conolly, "which seems to

‘ have been industriously propagated among all the tribes, which dwell between the Indus and the Oxus.’

The party spent four days at Bajgah,* where they were hospitably entertained by the Atalik. Here our travellers were in some danger from the attacks of Kuvar Beg, a neighbouring Chief, who would have spoiled Conolly and his friends with little compunction, but for the good offices of their host, whose alliance this man found necessary to his existence. Kuvar Beg was at war with another and more powerful Chief, whose son he had murdered in his own house. The character of this man is well described in Conolly’s journal:—

Wednesday, October 7.—Kuvar Beg came to visit us in Allah-dad Khan’s tent, which we had pitched, as the largest, a little outside our camp, that our guests might not have opportunities of stealing, or of too closely observing our property. He was a worn, hard-looking, sarcastic old man; and his evident object throughout the interview was to bully us out of our confidence, and to lower us in the opinion of our host and his relatives, so as to lessen their scruples about treacherously spoiling us. He, first, after a few cold compliments, attacked the Urghenj wakil, by asking why he had not sent assistance to Herat, when it was besieged by the infidel Persians. Yakub Bhai promptly said that, but for the food supplied from Merv, Yar Mahomed Khan could not have held out. “A shop-keeper might call that aid,” was the rejoinder. “The aid I alluded to, was of men, swords, guns, &c.” “After all,” he continued, “though the people speak ill of the Wuzir, to my mind he is one of the few men, who remain in these countries. He holds his own, and turns his neighbours to account. They say, God knows with what truth, that he keeps a Feringhi at Herat, from where he draws a lakh of rupees every month.” I briefly explained why a British agent was resident at Herat; and that the money, from time to time disbursed through him, was given for the defence and restoration of a place, which we had encouraged him to hold out at every sacrifice, being interested in preserving it to the Affghans, with whom we had renewed the alliance made thirty years before, for the purpose of mutual defence against foreign encroachments. “Aye; the Affghans!” remarked our visitors, “they cannot do without help now; they have ceased to be soldiers.” Allah-dad Khan here replied, with gentleman-like firmness, that if, which God forbid, the Beg should ever find himself opposed to Affghans, he would see that they could still use their arms manfully; and, after a lame attempt to turn Dost Mahomed’s defeat into a victory, in order to make light of Shah Sujah’s power, Kuvar Beg retired, foiled in both his endeavours, exclaiming, in the hearing of some of our people, as he mounted to return home, “Alas! alas! I have no relations. It has been shown to me in a book that the plunder of such is lawful; and there is enough for all.” We thought it prudent, as well as politic towards the Atalik, to send this ruffian a present of moderate value, as he had made himself our guest—admitting our host’s apology for his insolence in the common excuse that he was half mad.—*MS. Records.*

Emerging from the Heirrud valley, the party now proceeded northward up the Hindu-Kush, and, passing over an undulating plain, crossed the summit of the main ridge of mountains. Descending, they came upon a deep and rapid brook, called the Tungun, which led them four miles down the cultivated valley

* This place must not be confounded with the fort of Bajgah, north of Bamian, where Captain Ilay’s detachment was stationed in 1840.—*Ed.*

of Ghilmí, to the mouth of a deep and close pass, called the *Deriah-i-Khurgosh*, or the "hare's defile," which proved to be at an elevation of 5,700 feet. Proceeding through this defile, on the following day, they journeyed some thirteen miles between "perpendicular mountains of limestone, the defile 'running in acute zig-zags, which, for the most part, were not 'more than fifty or sixty yards long," and having only breadth enough for a path and for the brook, which they were continually obliged to cross. "Burnes, I see," writes Arthur Conolly, "states that after crossing the Dundan-i-Shikkun, he travelled 'on the northward to Khúlúm, between frequently precipitous rocks, which rose on either side to the height of three 'hundred feet, and obscured all stars at night, except at the 'zenith. I am afraid of exaggerating the height of the cliffs, between which our road here lay, by guessing at their height in 'feet; so I will only say that their precipitous elevation made our 'horsemen look like pigmies, as they filed along their bases in the 'bed." After expanding to a width of about fifty yards, the defile again contracted to that of thirty; through which Conolly and his associates wound for about five miles, when the Tungun discharged itself into the River Murgháb, which came from the east, in a bed of good width through a similar deep pass. The passage through the defile is described as winding to such an extent, that it occupied the baggage ponies four hours to accomplish a distance, which, in a straight line, would have been little more than six miles; and that the portion of the road, which lay in the bed of the stream, crossed the water thirty-four times. The journal-writer thus describes the *Deriah-i-Khurgosh*:—

What is called the *Deriah-i-Khurgosh* ends at the junction of the Tungun with the Murgháb; but the narrowness and difficulty of the Pass continues for a mile further down the left bank of the latter stream, which we forded when the water was up to our ponies' shoulders, running at the rate of, I should imagine, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour. A steep road, which laden ponies take, ascends a little above the entrance of *Deriah-i-Khurgosh*, which runs down again just below the junction of the two streams; therefore it may be crowned without much labour thus far on the left side; but, take it all in all, it is, I suppose for its length, as difficult a Pass as exists. I have seen nothing like it except some upper portions of the valley of the Ganges in the Himalaya mountains, and its impregnability, according to Asiatic notions of warfare, fully warrants the saying with which Eimáks are said to have answered the threats of kings,—“Oppress us, and we'll flee to the Hare's defile.”—*MS. Records*.

Continuing northwards along country still precipitous, the party, on the 11th of October, was attacked by a band of horsemen:—

Our foremost riders had nearly reached this point, when a number of armed men, rising with shouts from their ambuscade above and on either side of us, began with one accord to pelt stones at us, and to fire their guns; those, who were on our flanks also loosening pieces of rock, which came bounding down

the shingle bank with force enough to bear away any thing occupying the path. Fortunately, the Kafila was far enough behind to avoid the first of the attack ; and we retreated to an open part of the Pass, when, making ourselves masters of the shelving flank on each side, we entered into negociation with our assailants ahead. After much time had been lost in parley, our aggressors agreed to take a few pieces of chintzes and forty Rupees (as we had no more goods), and invited us to advance : but we had scarcely reached the old points when our Envoy, sent with the cloths and cash agreed to, came running down to us, stripped and beaten, and the attack upon us was renewed. Our skirmishers having kept the shelving flanks, we had not to retreat far, and, having briefly consulted in turning again, we decided that there was nothing for it but to force our way. So, advancing with our best musket-men on foot, while those left with the Kafila followed in close order, firing over our heads at the cliffs above us, in less than ten minutes, we made ourselves masters of the narrow passage, from which our enemies retreated over the hills. Some of our men and horses were severely bruised by the stones, which were rained upon us during this push, but no bones were broken, and the only gun-shot wound, that could be found, was in the cloak of one of my Hindustani servants. I am happy to believe that none of our cowardly enemies were killed, or seriously wounded, for we found no dead men on the rocks taken, and they retreated too fast to carry off any, who were much disabled.—*MS. Records.*

After this adventure, the party proceeded on quietly to Maimuna. Mehrab Khan, a keen sportsman, was then out “on his annual batta ;” but his brother received and entertained Conolly with all possible hospitality. After a delay of four days, the Wulli returned, and next morning called upon the British officer, when, after presenting to him Shah Sujah’s letter and dress of honour, Conolly “quite won his heart,” by giving him, in the name of the Envoy and Minister at Cabul, a double-barrelled gun. Next day the Embassy went to return his visit :—

Mehrab Khan bade us frankly welcome, and ordered in breakfast of bread, fruit and cream tea, of which we partook together, our servants carrying off parcels of fine green tea, imported from Yarkhund, and large loaves of Russian refined sugar, which were set before us upon long platters of dried fruits, as the host’s offering. After breakfast, the Wulli, without thinking it necessary to dismiss any of the mixed servants who stood in the room, began to talk about his political situation, which he described with some humour, begging to know if we could give him hope of any arrangement that would enable him to rest under one master. “No doubt,” he observed, “you know the saying, that it is difficult for a man to sail with his legs in two boats ; but how can any man hope to escape drowning, who is obliged to shift them among five, according as the wind changes ? My ancestors were content to serve the king of Cabul ; and, when members of that house fell into misfortune, they found hospitality here. Shah Sujah is again upon his throne at Cabul ; but now another Suddozye king calls upon me to submit only to Herat, and your English Agent advises me to send my son there. On the other hand, the Commander of the Faithful claims allegiance for Bokhara : the Khan Huzrut desires me to put myself under him ; and you know how I was forced to act, when the Persian Asoph-ud-dowlah crossed the Murgháb.—*MS. Records.*

Upon this, Conolly, congratulating him on the skill which he had shown in keeping so well in his own boat, said that Shah Sujah by no means meant that he was to put himself in immediate subjection to the throne of Cabul, rather than to that of Herat ; but that he hoped he would give no support to Dost

Mahomed, or any of his Turkish allies. "I gave a plain answer," replied Mehrab Khan, "both to the Dost and his supporters; I told him I had seen enough of petty leagues against the armies of kings, and would not compromise myself for any one. I had nothing to say to Dost Mahomed Khan when he was in power. Why should I take up his cause against one, whom God has restored to his former throne?"

We must pass over the long and not uninteresting account of the history of Mehrab Khan and the internal state of his dominions given in Arthur Conolly's journal, and accompany the travellers on their journey to Merv:—

"We made five marches," writes Mr. Conolly, "to the southward of west, *viâ* Alma Kusu and Charshumbel, from Maimuna to the River Murgháb, encamping on its bank at the fort of Kaisul Khauck, a few miles below the fort of Bala Murgháb, which we did not see. In view, upon our left, during these five marches, was the south-west ridge of the Hindu-Kúsh mountains, from which we descended behind Maimuna. Our road lay upon easy rises and falls through hills of a light clayey soil, enclosing many well-watered valleys and glens, in which is cultivated wheat, barley, millet, sesame, flax and cotton; vineyards and gardens flourish about the villages, at the chief of which, brisk little fairs are held twice a week for the convenience of the country round. It is a fruitful country, which only requires more inhabitants to be very valuable: and I learn that the districts on towards Herat, as well as those under the mountains eastward of Maimuna, are of similar character."—*MS. Records*.

As they proceeded onwards, several Kafilas passed them on their way to Bokhara, or met them on their way to Maimuna for grain; and they encountered several single Turkomans on their way to the latter place, riding horses, which they were about to exchange for slaves. A melancholy account is given of the traffic in human flesh, which disgraces these parts of the country. "Every defenceless person," it is said, "who can be used for labour, is carried off to the insatiable markets of Tartary. We were followed by a small Kafila of slaves from Maimuna, consisting of Sheahs, Hazarehs and Suni Eimaks, of all ages, from five to thirty: and we actually discovered that four children of the lot had been purchased on a speculation by our colleague, the Khivan Envoy, whilst towards us he was reprobating the practice as irreligious and impolitic, and expressing hypocritical hopes that it would soon cease in all these countries."

Fording the Murgháb at Karnaoul Kazeh, their march then lay along its left bank, for eight marches to Merv. The waters of the Murgháb are described as muddy, flowing with frequent eddies, at a rate of about a mile and a quarter in an hour, and having many dangerous quicksands. The banks are thickly fringed with tamarisk bushes.

Captain Abbott, who crossed the Murgháb at another spot, and in a different season of the year, describes the river as "a deep stream of *very pure* water, about sixty feet in breadth

and flowing in a channel mined to the depth of thirty feet in the clay soil of the valley." "The banks," he adds, "are very precepitous and fringed with tamarisks and a few reeds. The valley itself is, at Punj-deh, about nine miles in breadth, but narrows as we advance. Here it is about three-fourths of a mile in breadth. On the east bank are sloping sandy hills, about 600 feet higher than the valley. On the west is the desert—a high sandy plain over-run with low bushes and camel-thorn, and extending to the mountain barrier of Persia. The valley of the Murgháb has once been well cultivated, but is now from Punj-deh to Yullatun utterly deserted, owing to the late distractions of the country." Sir Richmond Shakespear says—"This river, when I saw it (in March) was muddy, deep and rapid, and full of quicksands. The only boats on it, I believe, are the ferry-boats. I was told that, even near Punj-deh, the river is at times fordable. Much cultivation is irrigated from the Murgháb at Yullatun, and the greater portion of its water is wasted on the desert." The distance from Yullatun to Merv is 22 miles. Shakespear says it is an "excellent road over a hard, flat plain—water to be found occasionally—grass and wood both scarce."

Merv is the head-quarters of the slave-trade of Turkistan. Arthur Conolly sighed over it; but felt himself powerless:—

"I have found it necessary," he writes, "even to repress the expression of our sympathies for the strangers, who are so unhappily enslaved in this country; for the necessary interference of Abbott and Shakespear for the release of the Russian captives has given rise to an idea, which has spread like wild fire through Turkistan, that the English have come forward as deliverers of all who are in bondage there—a notion, which, grateful as it may be to our national reputation, requires to be corrected by all who come to Usbeg Tartary in any political character, lest it should excite the enmity of slave-owners against all our efforts for good among them, as well as increase the unhappiness of the enslaved. To you, however, I may mention that the state of affairs here is pitiable in the extreme, and such as to make every Englishman, who witnesses it, most earnestly reprobate the idea of our consenting to its continuance for the sake of any political contingency whatever. Judge only from the following note:—

As we came out from visiting the Bhai (Governor), a party of Zekkat Turkomans entered, bearing three blackened human skulls upon the point of lances, and thirty bound persons from Khelat-i-Kadur, who, with thirty-six horses, had been recently captured in a *chapao*. When they had reported the success of their expedition, these bandits gave the Governor two men and two horses for his share, excusing themselves from paying the full proportion of one in ten, on the plea that they had lost or injured some of their own horses. They then presented the heads of their victims, and, having received five tillahs for each, received orders to parade them through the bazar (it being market-day), where I, an hour afterwards, saw them again hung by the beard to a pole. Determined to examine into all the sins of this place, which had been reported by my servants, I ordered my horse, when the market was warm, and, riding through every corner of it, saw enough to sicken and shame the coarsest heart. The camel and horse fair was conducted on level spots outside the skirts of standing shops, in which the necessities of life were displayed among a few luxuries by the resident traders. At the doors of many of these shops, females of different ages, under that at which

they could no longer be recommended for their personal attractions, were placed for show, tucked in good clothes put on them for the occasion, and having their eyes streaked with antimony to set off their countenances. Others past their prime, with children of poor appearance, were grouped, males and females together, in the corners of the streets, and handled like cattle; and I was shown small mud pews, a little above the height of a man, enclosed on all sides, into which intending purchasers take either male or female captives that they fancy, for the purpose of stripping them naked to see that they have no bodily defects.”—*MS. Records.*

Merv* was once a place of considerable importance; “a second Palmyra,” says Mr. Sterling, “standing an oasis in the midst of the Turkoman desert, lying between the Oxus and the cultivated parts of Khorassan.” Abbott says of it, that it was one of the most ancient cities of Asia.

It was situated in the plain, about twelve miles east of the little bazar, which at present bears its name. It was founded by fire-worshippers, of whose fort, called Killah-Ghubbah, there are yet remains; and it long formed a portion of the Persian Empire, whose boundary on the east was the river Oxus. Its vicinity to this boundary, and its disjunction from the inhabited parts of Persia by wide deserts, must have early rendered it obnoxious to molestation from the Turkish and other tribes; and Merv has probably changed masters as often as any city in the world. Latterly, as the Persian dominions have shrunk upon their heart, Merv has always belonged either to the Turks, or to some of the petty principalities of the neighbouring mountains. It has, within a few years, been wrested from Bokhara by the Khan of Khiiva, and forms one of the most important districts of Khárism. During the misrule and anarchy of the last sixty years, the ancient dam of the Murgháb was neglected and carried away. The city in consequence became uninhabitable, and was utterly abandoned. The dam is again set up and the lands are brought under culture; but the ancient site continues a deserted ruin. The present Merv is an assemblage upon the Murgháb of about one hundred mud huts, where a considerable bazar is held. The entire waters of the Murgháb are dispersed over the sandy plain for the purpose of irrigation. This profusion of waters renders the soil productive; but it has not strength to bear any but the poor kinds of grain. The plain is perhaps an area of sixty miles by forty, or 2,400 square miles, running on every side into the desert. About 60,000 Turkomans are said to live upon this plain, chiefly as cultivators. The trade passing through Merv is very considerable—Merv connecting Bokhara and Persia, Khiiva and Affghanistan. Indeed, the position of Merv is so important that it will never be long abandoned, and might with judicious care rapidly rise from its dust into wealth and importance.—*MS. Records.*

So too thought Arthur Conolly. Looking out upon the traces of desolation which every where surrounded him, and mourning over the ruins of past prosperity and magnificence, his benevolent and earnest mind grasped the idea of the restoration, through British agency—himself perhaps the chief agent—of the pristine glories of this once celebrated place. Of all the benevolent single-minded men, who took an active part in the memorable events of the great Central-Asian drama (and whatever we may think of the policy out of which those events arose, there were many humane and honest men concerned in its

* It is supposed to occupy the site of Antiochia Margiana.

execution), there was not one more benevolent, or more single-minded, than Arthur Conolly. That he was very speculative, we know. Indeed, it is not to be denied that he was something of a visionary; but his visions were of the purest, the most benevolent kind, and we could better have spared a more practical man. What can be more characteristic than his speculations among the ruins of Merv? He had no misgivings about "our grand move across the Indus." He was always earnest, sanguine, speculative—always full of grand schemes for the regeneration of Central Asia; and now the sight of the departed glories of Merv stirs up all his benevolent desires. Leaving the modern city—if so it can be called—he visits the ruins of the ancient habitations, many of which he describes as still in a state of tolerable preservation.* This is a double city; and, at the distance of about a mile and a quarter, he alights upon a third. "There remained in this citadel," he says, 'the mounds of two immense sloping bastions. We were able to ride up to the top of the highest; and from it looked down upon the desolation of four fortified cities, standing in the midst of devastated fields, gardens, valleys and castles of various times, the ruins of which extended to the horizon discernible from this eminence. It was a melancholy view; but the regret, which it excited, was lightened by a gratifying conviction, that there existed no physical obstacle to the speedy restoration of every thing that had been destroyed within this wide extent of once flourishing country. *Notwithstanding the years that the plain of Merv has been deserted by the multitudes who used to till it, and the destruction of every tree that helped to give it shelter and moisture, the proverbially fertile soil has not been invaded by more drifts from the desert, than would disappear under two years' ploughing.*† And there are thousands, who would willingly make this land their settled home, if they could be protected upon it—to say nothing of a yet entire colony of industrious people, who sigh for it at Bokhara. Shall we not, some of these days, exert the influence, that our grand move across the Indus has gained for us, to make Merv once more 'a king of the Earth,' by fixing its borders in peace between the distinctively hostile parties, who now keep up useless

* "An arched gate of burnt brick," he writes, "placed in the western centre of a bastion wall, 700 yards wide, which was faced by a ditch, admitted us into a street of shops running through the middle of a deserted town; the red brick walls of which on either side, and of a dense mass of houses behind them to the foot of the ramparted wall, were still in a great measure standing. One fine double-domed public Bath was in such a good state of preservation, that very little repairing would have fitted it for use."—*MS. Journal*.

† The italics are the writer's.

‘ claims to it, and causing the desolate city to rise again, in the
‘ centre of its natural fruits, as an emporium for commerce,
‘ and a link in the chain of civilizing intercourse between Eu-
‘ rope and Central Asia?”

The route from Merv to Khiva followed by Arthur Conolly was the same as that taken by Sir Richmond Shakespear. It is known as the Rah-i-Tukht. Captain Abbott had taken another route to the westward of this, known as the Rah-i-Chusmah. For about twenty-eight miles, along the banks of the Murgháb, the country is cultivated and fertile. Wood, water and grass are abundant. But here the cultivation ceases, and for some fifteen miles the road lies over a hard level plain; “no water—little grass—wood scarce.” Wood and water then become again more plentiful, but grass continues very scarce, and (what little there is) of a very indifferent kind. The next fifteen miles of the road are along the river, over a sandy soil; wood abundant, grass scarce. Here the traveller, crossing the Murgháb, strikes into the desert, that lies between that river and the Oxus. As this is an important tract of country, in relation to the great question of the passage of an army from the Caspian to the Hindu-Kúsh, we shall do some service, perhaps, by recording the descriptions given of it by Shakespear and Conolly. The former writes—“Across the desert
‘ the soil is sandy and the surface very uneven, generally
‘ covered with stunted bushes of tamarisk; but occasionally
‘ large sand-hills are crossed, composed of the loosest sand.
‘ In the spring, the Turkomans feed large flocks of sheep on
‘ the grass of the desert. I was fortunate in having a guide,
‘ who brought me in a very surprising manner across the
‘ monotonous sand-hills to two pools of water, 20½ miles from
‘ the river; and on the borders of these pools a little coarse
‘ green grass was found for the cattle. From these two reser-
‘ voirs, we marched over the same uneven sandy ground, covered
‘ with the same ugly bushes, twenty-eight miles; when in the
‘ middle of the night and without a moon, the Turkomans of
‘ the party asserted that we were on the direct road from
‘ Meshed to Bokhara. I tried hard to discover some traces
‘ of the road but failed; and, even by daylight, it is hardly
‘ possible to discern the track. The bones of dead camels
‘ are the only sure marks. These are occasionally fixed in
‘ conspicuous places. One or two piles of wood are also
‘ placed as marks; but for these there is no definite road, as the
‘ loose sand drifts with every breeze, and obliterates the marks
‘ of the cattle in a short time. We moved twenty-seven miles
‘ along the road from Meshed, and then hit upon the Rah-i-

' Tukht, at a well of bad water. I am ashamed to say that
 ' I cannot decide whether this water was impregnated with
 ' soda or saltpetre; but it was of a most offensive smell and
 ' taste.* The Affghans drank it in large quantities, as did
 ' the Turkomans—the latter affirming that they preferred it
 ' to river water, and asserting that it quenched the thirst and
 ' cooled the blood. The horses and cattle drank of it very
 ' greedily, and neither man nor beast suffered from it. At
 ' thirty-six miles from this well, we came to another of excel-
 ' lent water. A large flock of sheep and a khail was found here.
 ' The place is called Bi-khuppa, and is off the direct road, which
 ' we left at twenty-one miles from the well of bad water, and
 ' joined again at twelve miles from Bi-khuppa. At the Tukht
 ' we found another flock of sheep. The servants said that
 ' there was but a very scanty supply of water here; but cir-
 ' cumstances prevented my visiting the spring. The sand is
 ' very loose and deep for many miles before and after reaching
 ' the Tukht. At $18\frac{3}{4}$ miles, the soil becomes harder, and the
 ' sandy hills take a more regular firm; and at twelve miles
 ' from the Oxus, there is an old well of great size built of
 ' *pucka* brick. This well is nearly filled by the drifting of
 ' the sand. Khuppa-killah must have been a fort of considera-
 ' ble size; but at present it is hardly possible to trace the plan
 ' of it. Some of the ruins of the bastions are still eighty or
 ' a hundred feet high."—*MS. Memorandum.*

We shall return presently to the general remarks of this able and enterprising officer, upon the practicability of the road—remarks which derive an additional value from the fact of their being written by an artillery officer—and in the meanwhile transcribe Arthur Conolly's account of this formidable desert. "Our route from Merv to Khiva," he writes, "struck into that taken before us by Shakespear. From the canal beyond the Murgháb, at which we halted to lay in water, we marched seventeen miles north to camp in the desert. In the first ten

* This is, in all probability, the same well as is thus described in Conolly's journal :—The well was but three feet in diameter, and seventy-seven feet deep : the water was blackish, bitter and stinking, and there was so little of it, that we were obliged to send a man down to the bottom to fill the small buckets that were lowered to him. It being evident that we formed too large a party to arrive together at any such watering place, Allah-dad Khan and the Khiva Envoy went a-head, while I halted a day, to put a march between our two divisions. We made our third march of twenty-one miles into the desert, with skins filled with this water. The first third of this stage was over finer soil, the next one over moderately deep loose sand, and the last through fatiguing sand-beds. The fourth march took us twenty-two miles over hills of heavy sand to the Well of Sirt Sali, which contained abundance of water at a depth of twenty-one feet. This water was brackish, but had no bad smell. It served us for the fifth march of twenty-one miles, which was all over undulations of sand that lay fetlock deep.

‘ miles were visible in all directions the ruins of former little
 ‘ castles, about which lay broken bricks and pottery. After
 ‘ the first two miles, we found thin drift-sand lying here and
 ‘ there upon the hard clay plain; but there was none to signify,
 ‘ even to the end of the stage; and it may be inferred that
 ‘ if, after so many years of abandonment, so little sand has been
 ‘ collected here, the annual drift in time of full habitation and
 ‘ tillage would not be felt. Next day we marched eighteen miles
 ‘ north to the single well of Tereh, the road generally over
 ‘ sand, which lay half hoof deep upon the hard plain, though
 ‘ occasionally we had to pass deeper beds, gathered loosely upon
 ‘ this foundation. Every now and then a patch of the hard
 ‘ soil appeared quite bare; and we could observe here and
 ‘ onwards to the Oxus, that in soil of this description are set
 ‘ the roots of nearly all the bushes and shrubs, which cover
 ‘ the surface of the wilderness. * * * * The sixth march of
 ‘ twenty miles over similar sandy and undulating plain took
 ‘ us to Tukht—a spot from which this road is named—marked
 ‘ by a broad belt of bare loose sand-hills, which rise over each
 ‘ other towards the centre, from the length of twenty to eighty
 ‘ feet, and serve as reservoirs for the snow and rain-water, that
 ‘ fall upon them. We found holes about three feet deep, dug
 ‘ at the bases of the most sheltered sand-hills, containing a foot
 ‘ or more of filtered and deliciously sweet water; and it was only
 ‘ necessary on draining a hole to scoop a little more sand from
 ‘ its bottom, and to wait a while for a fresh supply to rise into
 ‘ it.” The seventh march carried him on fifteen miles with the
 same excellent supply of water. The eighth took him the same
 distance to the “broad dry bed of the Oxus,” in which he
 encamped “amongst reeds and jungle-wood, near the left bank
 ‘ of the actual river, where the stream was 650 yards broad,
 ‘ flowing in eddies, with the dirty colour of the Ganges, at the rate
 ‘ of $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles an hour.” “Noble stream,” adds Captain Conolly;
 “but, alas! without anything in the shape of a boat upon it.”

The entire distance between the canal of the Murgháb and
 the river Oxus is, according to Conolly, 130 miles. “This
 is not,” he says, “the difficult journey, that the Turkomans love
 ‘ to represent it. Small parties of travellers, carrying their
 ‘ baggage on ponies, can easily accomplish it in *five* days—with
 ‘ exertion in *four*; and it might be made both easier and
 ‘ shorter for caravans, for it winds considerably. Small detach-
 ‘ ments of light troops, well supplied with camels, might, on
 ‘ emergency, be pushed across; and I conceive that 12-pounders
 ‘ might be drawn over the sand by camels on sledges, if not
 ‘ upon wheels; but it is not a road, which a regular force

‘ of any size or description would take in ordinary circumstances.’

Shakespear seems to have entertained a still stronger opinion of the difficulties of the passage. Looking at the Merv desert with a soldierly eye, he summed up his opinions, of the impracticability of the route for a large army with guns, in a few pregnant sentences, rather regarding, it would seem, the question of an advance from our side than towards it. “At Merv,” he says, “very large quantities of grain might be procured, and, as in the early spring, grass would be very abundant, it appears possible that cavalry could move across this desert without any very serious difficulty, if sent in small detachments. Infantry, in the same manner, might cross; but to bring artillery would be very difficult indeed. I do not like to say it would be impossible, as with a considerable outlay of money in purchasing animals to convey water, and with proper arrangements, this desert *might* be crossed by artillery: but the wells are generally thirty-six miles apart, and the sand is so heavy, that this distance could not be done in less than *four* days; and even then the cattle would suffer much, so that between the wells, water must be carried for men and cattle for two days. I would, in case of such a thing ever being necessary, propose that but a few rounds of ammunition be carried in the limbers, and none on the waggons; that both gun and waggon be lightened in every possible manner; and that the native mode of marching be adopted—*viz.*, if the distance to be crossed is twelve miles, that six miles should be marched in the early morning, and six in the evening. It is the last part of a march through sand, that kills the cattle. The difficulties may be said to be conquered when the Oxus is once reached; as from that time, wood, water and grass are all to be found, and there is a cart road the whole distance.”

Conolly was of this opinion too; and he points out, moreover, that along the line of the Oxus, there is a large available supply of rude native carriage, well suited to the country, which would be of immense service to an invading force. The passage is worth quoting:—

We made six easy camel marches down the left side of the Oxus. Our road sometimes lay in its bed, and sometimes on the bank above it, but we always halted, except on the last march but one, so as to get water from the river. I observed its breadth to vary from 650 to 300 yards,—the stream being frequently divided by sand-banks. Many portions of the bed retained traces of former river beds; and the banks were here and there dotted with the ruins of forts. On the fourth march, we found the remains of burnt brick caravanserais, indicating that these buildings were situated on a line of trade. All this road along the

Oxus can be travelled by the carts of the country, rude vehicles put together without iron nails, but which run smoothly on very high wheels, in which are set well greased axle-rings, the best of cast iron, imported from Russia. The body is of plank, generally about three feet square, set in the circumference of the wheels, and two feet more of length, by running out boards to notches on the shafts. The wheels have as much as $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet diameter, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches breadth of run, which is not tyred. There are eighteen, or nineteen spokes in each, set six inches a part and tapering from a breadth of three to two inches, from under the nine inches, deep run to the heavy nave, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in circumference, in which they are set. The axle bar itself is not shod, but turns without creaking in the well-greased iron ring mentioned. Add a chimney pair of shafts, $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and fourteen inches in circumference, of which half a foot sticks out behind—and you have the Khiva Araba, which, notwithstanding the smallness of its body, is made to convey two camel loads, or even more at a pinch. The height of the wheels makes it difficult to overturn this narrow vehicle, and a pony generally manages to pull it along at a good pace, harnessed by a collar and a small wooden saddle; if the load is unusually heavy, or the road bad, a second pony is put on Tandem fashion, and a man or boy rides the leader. When we had entered the Oxus, we passed endless files of these carts. There must be an immense number of them altogether in this country. Even in their present state, they would be of immense service to an invading force in want of transport, and their seasoned material would come into much use for carriages of other build.—*MS. Records.*

Shakespear describes these carts, as of very clumsy construction, drawn by a single yabu; but Conolly thought, that clumsy as they were, they would be a great improvement upon the common native hackery. "At least," he adds, "the iron axle-ring might be introduced." Both writers state that wood and grass are plentiful. "Shakespear," writes Arthur Conolly, "in one of his letters to Todd, remarked, that if the Russians came here to invade India, they would find plenty of timber, either for land or water-carriage." And then he characteristically adds—"I have only to confirm this statement; but I will add a hope that, ere many years, both we and the Russians shall see the resources of Khârisim called forth for a very different purpose." The road is for the most part good, but sandy. Two or three marches from Khiva the most luxurious vegetation commences, and "extends in one unbroken sheet to that city." "According to the best information," adds Shakespear, "this cultivation extends for three hundred miles with an average breadth of twenty-five. I have seldom passed a portion of ground more highly tilled or better wooded. The farm-houses are very numerous, the gardens are extensive and well kept, and the people are evidently wealthy. This ground is densely populated, and the carts of the country meet you at every turn. The climate is delightful."

Conolly gives a very similar account. "One easy stage," he says, "took us hence (from Phitunk) to Heizarash,* an open

* Khizarist, or Hazarasp?

1260/ dt. 25. 6.6

' town surrounded by very industriously cultivated fields, the proprietors of which scatter their houses among them like tents, rather than reside in close villages. Such is the nature of the country all the way on to Khiva, and beyond to the end of the oasis, north and west, chequered by occasionally tracts of marshy or sandy grounds.— Water, in all tracts of the oasis that we have seen up to Khiva, lies only 4 feet below the surface, and the wells are mostly completed by setting up hollow trunks of trees, a foot or two above the earth, through which water is drawn by the hands, by means of a small leather bucket attached to a straight pole."

Conolly found the petty Chiefs in the dominions of the Khan Huzrut of Khiva somewhat grudging of their courtesies and hospitalities. At Merv, the Governor excused himself for his misbehaviour, by alleging that it was not the custom of the country to behave better; and the English officer found, as he advanced, that the man had spoken the truth. As he approached Khiva, matters appeared somewhat to mend, as it became known that the Khan, who was then out on a hunting excursion, was disposed to receive him hospitably. Messengers had been sent forward from the royal camp to invite the ambassadors to the presence, and, under their guidance, Conolly advanced. As he neared the temporary residence of the Khan Huzrut, a new and unforeseen difficulty presented itself. He found that he had little reason to confide in the good faith of his colleagues:—

Our colleague Yakub Bhai turned out a mean creature, seeking to conceal the benefits which he had received from the British Government, and speaking slightly of our Afghan policy, after all his fine words at Cabul. We discovered him latterly, telling his acquaintances, that Shah Sujah's Government was all a farce, his country rebellious from one end to the other, and the English only just able to hold their ground against Dost Mahomed, who would infallibly have conquered us at Bamian, had he not committed the error of sending his son a-head. This, I presume, was to soften the defeat of so many Usbegs by a handful of disciplined troops, as the notion is not a pleasing one here just now. I lectured our friend, who protested that he had been misconstrued, and promised to be more careful, taking the opportunity to beg that I would reimburse him for a horse lost in the Furrah road, when he was travelling to pay his respects to you (Sir W. Macnaghten), and for sundry articles stolen from him one night on our march through the Maimunah district. I replied, that I must make a reference to Todd about the first item, and that, for the second, we would see about it on my return from Kokand. From the little attention paid to Allah-dad. Khan in the Royal Camp, I was more than once disposed to conclude that Yakub Bhai has repeated at court the exaggerations for which I took him to task upon the road. But I am on the whole now inclined to think, that the Khan Huzrut never had a clear idea of, or much respect for, the situation of Shah Sujah. Herat is in his eyes the most important Afghan sovereignty, and will remain so, unless the king of Cabul takes up such a position north of the Hindu-Kush, so as to make it easy for him to reach Khiva by the line of the

Oxus. *This is a desideratum for us and for our Chief Distant Ally, both on political and commercial grounds, which acquires greater claims on our attention, the more we look into the state of Turkistan at large.—M.S. Records.*

The embassy was graciously received in the king's "comfortable stick and felt tent." The Mehtar Agha was present; and a Mirza, who acted as Persian and Turkish interpreter, was in attendance. The Khan Huzrut is described as "a dignified and gentleman-like person, about fifty years old,"* of gentle manners and affable address. He conveyed his meaning to his interpreter in a soft low voice, and then looked up to the person addressed with a smile, which was said to be "habitual to his countenance." Sometimes he condescended to be jocose; and, in spite of the inquisitorial character of the Khan's language, the English officer soon felt himself at ease in his presence. The conversation, which took place on this and other occasions, is minutely recorded in the journals, from which we have largely quoted, and is, at the same time, to our thinking, so interesting and so important, as an exposition of our policy towards Khiva and the neighbouring states, of their relations towards each other, and their position in respect to the probabilities of a Russian invasion, that we need make no apology for indenting largely upon the manuscript before us. After the first courtesies had been interchanged, the Khan inquired, what were the latest accounts from Abbott and Shakespear; and then, somewhat abruptly, told the interpreter to ask which was the greater nation, the English or the Russian; and to explain that it was the intention of the Khan to compare his answer with those given by Abbott and Shakespear. Conolly answered that both nations were of the highest class: that the English was the older and the richer; but that Russia was very great, and every day becoming greater. The Khan Huzrut then asked, what was the nature of the relations existing between England and Russia: to which Conolly replied, that they were quite amicable, as they had long been—it being obviously the interest of both states, if only on commercial considerations, to live in friendship towards each other. The dialogue then continued:—

Khan.—What is your latest intelligence of the Russians, with respect to this quarter?

Conolly.—My last was, before they had heard of the restitution of the captives. They were not then minded to renew their attack this year; probably, because of the difficulty in procuring enough of camels: but it was understood, they had not abandoned their expedition, and that they were making every preparation to ensure success.

Khan.—What are the last accounts from Persia?

Conolly.—We have not now an ambassador at the Persian court. I only

* This was written just ten years ago.

know, that the Persians hold Ghorian, and that they have not yet satisfied my Government on the points at issue between the two states.

Khan.—Will your ambassador return to Teheran ?

Conolly.—We hope that matters will ere long be adjusted, so as to allow of his return; for we have no ill will against the Persians, and the present state of things is prejudicial to them, as well as to us.

Khan.—Shakespear engaged to be back from Petersburg in forty days, unless detained till spring—when do you think he will come ?

Conolly.—He will act as near to his word as possible; but perhaps he will not be able to return at all by that way. The Russian Emperor may decline to receive him as an ambassador from your Majesty: and it may be judged best for him to follow Mr. Abbot to London. I mention those, as *possible* events, that Mr. Shakespear may not, under any circumstances, seem to come short of his promise.

Khan.—The Russians received Shakespear at Dansh Kullah and Orenburgh, and gave back my merchants: why should they refuse to accept him at St. Petersburg ?

Conolly.—It is not certain that they recognized him in a political character at Orenburgh. Your Majesty's ambassador was present. His interference took them by surprise. They could not reject the captives that he brought them, and they felt bound in accepting the prisoners to restore your Majesty's detained subjects. But now they may stand upon their dignity; and although we may offer our mediation in a friendly way, for the sake of our own interests, which are involved in your quarrel, we cannot *force* it upon the Russians, if their cause is just: and now, especially, that they have failed in their attempt to reach Khiva, they may think that they owe it to themselves, to shew the world, that they are sufficient for the redress of their own wrongs. Our interference may thus be frustrated, or deferred, or thrown into another channel. However, now that the way of parley has been opened by the restitution of the captives, whom Mr. Shakespear conducted to Orenburgh, it will shortly be seen what tone the Russians will take.

Khan.—With what justice (attending to my expression) can the Russians pursue the quarrel, now that their people have been restored ?

Conolly.—The detention of those captives was only one of several charges made by the Russian Emperor against the state of Khiva, in the proclamation which he published in Europe. May I be permitted to ask what are the last distinct demands that have been made upon your Majesty by the Russians ?

Khan.—God knows what they want !

The Khan Huzrut said this rather pettishly, and the Mehtur Agha sneered obsequiously, while the interpreter was repeating it.

Conolly.—Mr. Shakespear forwarded a copy of the letter from General Peroffsky to Orenburgh, alluding both to the Russian captives in your Majesty's dominions, and to certain forts, which the Russian Government required your Majesty to destroy. Is that the last communication received ?

Khan.—The last.

Conolly.—I take the liberty of putting these questions, because the Governor-General of India wishes to know the exact particulars of the case between Kharasm and Russia, that he may be prepared to advise your Majesty in every contingency, and know what to say to the Russian Government concerning this matter, if opportunity should present itself for further English mediation. His Lordship was very glad to find by your Majesty's mission to Cabul, that the policy of the British Government was appreciated; and he hopes now, that the affairs of Afghanistan give promise of order, to establish a permanently friendly intercourse between the three countries. The letters, which I have the honour to bear, will completely explain the Governor-General's sentiments with regard to Kharasm: and my colleague, who brings a friendly epistle from his Majesty, Shah Sujah, will be able to satisfy your Majesty upon every point, which concerns the relations of England with his own country, as well as regarding those which the king of Cabul desires to maintain with the states of Turkistan.

Conolly then presented his despatches, and withdrew from the royal presence. In the evening, he forwarded his presents to the King. The next day was devoted to hunting and hawking; but, on the following, the British officer was summoned to a private interview with the Khan Huzrut. The Khan desired him to be seated; but Conolly excused himself, on the plea that he had stood before Shah Sujah; and the answer seemed rather to please the despotic Chief. The business of the interview then commenced. Conolly asked the Khan what he intended to do regarding the demands of the Russian Government upon him. The Khan asked what those demands were, and called for an intelligible explanation. Conolly met this question with another, asking the Khan what he expected would be the next demand of Russia, now that the prisoners had been released. "How can I tell," exclaimed the Khan, "what demand they will put forward? God knows! 'They may ask a hundred things; but they have no cause of complaint now, as I have told them.'" The dialogue then continued:—

Conolly.—Concerning the settlement of your frontiers, and security to Russia against future inroads.

Khan.—Shakespeare will see my border; and I told him to say that, if any of my tribes committed *chapaos*, they should be given up to the Russians, on condition that the Russians would agree to give up to me any of their tribes, who might foray mine.

Conolly.—General Perofskyin his last letter refuses your Majesty's demands, that he should destroy Dansh Kullah; but insists on the destruction of certain forts, maintained by your Majesty's subjects, which are the resorts of robbers. From Yakub Bhai I learnt that this probably refers to a place called Ak Machich.

Khan.—Ak Musjid (white mosque) is within the Kokand border. Our fort in that direction is Jynkund; but that is a place inhabited by peaceable peasants—not a robber-post, as represented.

Conolly.—The Russians, however—pardon the observation—supposing that to be the quarter referred to, are not likely to withdraw an assertion deliberately made to the world, because your Majesty's servants deny its correctness. This is a matter, in which you may need the testimony, perhaps, the guarantee of a third party. Could not the state of Kokand assist your Majesty here? It is equally with Khiva, interested in preserving the present Usbeg borders to the northward.

Khan.—We are not now on the good terms we used to be with Kokand. Only within the last year, they have themselves invaded my territory, built a fort in it, and aggressed my subjects; and I contemplate sending 15,000 or 20,000 Allamans to *chapao* their country, in return. What do you say to this?

Conolly.—Since your Majesty permits me to offer my opinion, I must say that such a course appears to me the very reverse of wise; and I regret exceedingly the information now given to me, as it throws back my hope of seeing the independence of Turkistan established by the concert of its different rulers. Syud Muhammad Zahid, the Kokand Envoy, whom I met at Constantinople, assured me, that Kokand and Kharasm were one, and that their united influence could oblige the Amir of Bokhara to come into any arrangement, that was essential to the safety of all. Therefore I considered my hope two-thirds accomplished. Now I find your Majesty on indifferent terms with Kokand, as well as Bokhara, and know not what end to expect—war within, and enemies without!

Khan.—But would you have me sit quiet under an injury of that sort? The Kokandis would suppose that I was afraid of them; and this is the time of year for an attack. Though I sent an Envoy to Kokand, in company with the Kuzzak Khanjeh, when he passed through this, to remonstrate, and see about an agreement—only within the last month they have made an incursion upon my grounds. How can I bear this? Have you not yourselves sent to *chapao* China, because that people injured some of yours. Shakespear mentioned this. Why should you advise me contrary to what you do yourselves?

Conolly.—I would have your Majesty compare the urgencies of the dangers which exist, and at any rate make provision against the greatest. The Russians, who declare that nothing but an extraordinarily cold winter prevented their taking Khiva last year, and who will certainly exert all their great strength to effect this object in a second attempt, unless you satisfy all the demands that they show to be warranted by the laws of nations, have given your Majesty a brief interval of leisure, in which to make complete agreements with them, for the conservation of your dignity; and you propose to consume this time in a border war with a state of your own race, which you ought to conciliate, as the one that can best help you out of your most pressing difficulties. Your Majesty thinks that your honour now calls upon you to attack the Kokandis. They will think their honour demands reprisals: and so you will go on, weakening each other and widening the breach, till, the time for accommodation having passed out of hand, your foreign enemy will find it easy to what will lastingly injure you both.

Khan.—Please God, if the enemy advances again, we will all unite to oppose him.

Conolly.—Permit me to represent that no one will then unite with your Majesty. The nearer the appearance of the danger, the more will each other state, seek to make its own escape from it. How many sent help to Herat, when the Persians invaded it, though their success there would have shackled all Turkistan? Bokhara gave you none, though entreated, when the Persians were at your doors; and Kokand chooses the very time of your distress to enlarge her border at your expense. There is only one other hope of the Usbeg states holding together and remaining free from foreign controul—which lies in their coming to a timely understanding about their individual rights and common interests, and making amicable and complete engagements with each other to secure them. Other parties may second such a measure: but the Usbegs themselves must originate it—and that soon.

The Mehtur here broke in, very sagely observing, that what God had decreed, would assuredly come to pass: and that if Kokand should assume a hostile attitude towards Khiva, the Khan Huzrut would put his trust in the Almighty, and make a stand for his own defence. To this Conolly replied, that faith in God was assuredly a great thing, nothing greater; but that human caution was something too in an emergency; else the Khan Huzrut would not have restored the Russian captives. The Khan, laughing at this retort, exclaimed, “We must have one good blow at the Kokandis, to shew that we are not afraid, and then we will make it up with them. I shall write to say that Mr. Conolly advises this, and send the ‘Allamans’ about the time that you proceed. What say you? Or shall I defer the expedition till you are across the border?”—After some further conversation, the Khan asked bluntly, what Conolly was going to Kokand for?—Probably many others, before and after, have asked themselves and others, a similar question—what was the

object of Conolly's journey to Kokand?—Conolly told the Khan Huzrut that his Mission to Kokand had several objects; firstly, to reply to a friendly overture, made a year and a half before, on the part of the Kokand state, to the Governor-General of India; and to establish by his own explanations, and those of his Affghan associates, as complete an understanding as possible regarding British proceedings and designs in Affghanistan, which had been much misrepresented, with reference both to that country and the countries beyond, so as to obtain for his own Government, and for that of Shah Sujah, the esteem and friendship which are their due; then to ascertain how the commerce of England and Hindustan, about which we were very solicitous, could best be extended, through the country of our Affghan allies, to the remotest parts of Turkistan;—further to gain a clearer insight into the political state and disposition of Kokand, as either was likely to affect British interests in the event of endeavours being made by foreign parties to subvert the independence of Turkistan, as was to be apprehended from more than one quarter; and to urge upon that court the expediency of its helping to prevent such an occurrence, by concurring with its neighbours in measures of general justice and peace. In conclusion, Conolly, whilst admitting, that the British Government had immense interests at stake, and that the disorder and weakness of the Usbeg states were prejudicial to our position in Central Asia, declared that all our objects were honest and friendly, and that it was his desire to counsel nothing that would not be advantageous to others, as well as to ourselves.

The Khan Huzrut listened attentively to these explanations, and then asked Conolly, when he intended to proceed to Kokand. The British officer replied, that, perhaps, the sooner he went the better, as he was anxious to avoid the extreme severity of the weather, and was moreover desirous of a speedy return, as he might be able to advance the interests of His Majesty in another direction. "In what direction?" asked the Khan. "In that of Persia," was the answer. "Persia," exclaimed the Khan Huzrut with much energy, "please God, we are ready for them—ready at all times." Upon this Conolly urged that Persia was no such contemptible enemy; that European skill had organised her armies; and that in all probability her movements would not be in her own name. It was only the other day, he said, that Muhammad Shah received a very large supply of arms and a body of European officers to re-organize his troops, from the French Government, which desired to re-establish its influence with the Shah's court by doing him service. "If the Russians," he added, "remain at

‘ war with your Majesty, they will probably endeavour also to set the Persians upon you. It would be politic in them to do so, because the Persians, now, must be more or less subservient to them; and if the Persians are, by any European assistance of money or military means, enabled to make a good entry into Kharasm, it will be very difficult to get them out again.” The dialogue then continued:—

Khan.—If the Persians obtain European aid to invade me, I will employ your aid to repel them.

Conolly.—The British Government will, doubtless, do its utmost in every case to prevent the borders of Kharasm from being broken up; but it cannot take part against any of your Majesty’s enemies, who may come with a just ground for invasion.

Khan.—What just ground can the Persians assert? •

Conolly.—One, which no third nation can disallow;—that your Majesty’s subjects carry off their men, women, and children, and sell them, like four-footed beasts.

Khan.—These *chapaos* are carried on by themselves; and probably, for one Persian that we take, they capture and sell five Sunnis. ●

Conolly.—I, till now, understood that the captures were almost entirely on the side of your Majesty’s subjects. One thing is certain; that there are countless numbers of Persian slaves in Kharasm; and if their countrymen come as invaders, they, and probably every other slave in your Majesty’s dominions, would rise and form a second army against you—a force acquainted with every resource and weakness of the country, who would help invaders to keep whatever they might conquer. But this not being the most immediate danger, the discussion may lie over awhile; though your Majesty’s servants will do well to consider it attentively.

Khan.—(After a pause)—Had you not better defer your journey to Kokand, till matters are more settled between me and that State?

Conolly.—Time is now of great value.

He then went on to say, that he apprehended no danger in any part of Kharasm; and that, as according to the Khan Huzrut, Kokand was bent on disturbing the peace of the Khivan territory, it would be well to proceed to the former place without delay, to ascertain the cause of this hostility. “It is not impossible,” he suggested, “that Russia, on going to war with your Majesty, may have incited the Chief of Kokand to take advantage of your situation, just as I supposed it possible that she might set Persia upon you. This is the way of all nations when they go to war, and therefore not to be wondered at.” “But it would be miserable policy,” he urged, “either on the part of Kokand, or the part of Khiva, to pave the way, by their misunderstandings, for the advance of a foreign power.” Illustrating his arguments, by pointing out on a map, the position of England, Russia and Hindustan, and the Central Asian countries intermediately situated, he insisted upon the expediency of preserving general peace in Turkistan, and explained, at the same time, how important it was for Great Britain to keep down the ascendancy of Russia in Central Asia. The Khan

Huzrut examined the map, and, putting it aside, turned to the Mehtur to consult with him about the selection of a proper person to accompany Conolly to Kokand; and soon afterwards the meeting terminated. The Khan spent the day in hunting, and Conolly in meditation.

Thinking over what had passed, at the morning's interview, it occurred to the latter, that he might not have been sufficiently explicit, and that there were other points on which he might have touched with advantage; and he, therefore, requested another interview. It was promptly accorded to him. When the Khan Huzrut had despatched his dinner, the British officer was again summoned to the royal presence.

After some conversation relative to the arrangements for Conolly's journey to Kokand, they reverted to what had passed at the morning's conference. Conolly then said, that he had been re-perusing the written instructions he had received from his Government; and that there were some points regarding which he was directed to obtain explicit information. In the first place, he would ask, whether all the Russian captives had been restored. The Russian proclamation, he said, mentioned several thousands of prisoners, especially instancing a party of two hundred, who had been carried off from the banks of the Caspian in the course of the preceding spring, whereas Shakespear had not collected more than 316.* Upon this, the Khan Huzrut blurted out, that the proclamation lied; and the Mehtur added, that at Dansh Kulla, the Russian officers had examined the captives brought thither by Shakespear, and had ascertained, to their entire satisfaction, that only four persons were overlooked; and these were despatched afterwards—a statement which the Khan Huzrut confirmed, declaring, that every Russian, who *chose* to go, had been sent back to his own country.†

Conolly next asked the Khan Huzrut whether, in the event of a demand being made by Russia for compensation for the expenses of the late expedition to Khiva, His Majesty was prepared to meet it. The Khan replied, with uncommon emphasis,

* The number is here under-estimated. We believe it was 420.

† And there was, probably, little untruth in this. Captain Conolly says:—"I find this to be the general impression here; as, also, that the settled Russians, who preferred to remain in the country, were very few. The panic was great, and the Khan has long been despotic. [Shakespear, seeing his opportunity, was so uncompromising, that he insisted on having a Russian man and woman out of the Khan Huzrut's own household. From every slave he obtained, he made diligent enquiries about the residence of those, who were kept back, and indefatigably exerted himself, till he got possession of every individual who could be pointed out. There may be some Russians remaining against their will in the distant parts of the country, which Shakespear could not beat up; but the Khan Huzrut would seem to have sincerely done his best in the matter, and, therefore, to deserve all forbearance at His Imperial Majesty's hands."—*MS. Journal*.

that nothing would induce him to pay a farthing. "Did I desire them," he naively asked, "to go to the expense of invading me, that they should call upon me to pay it?" The simple logic of this would seem to be irresistible; but in practice it goes for nought. We are afraid that there have been cases, in which such a question might have been put to us.

It was urged, however, by Conolly, that the Russians would find a pretext for the demand in the acts of violence alleged to have been committed by Khiva on Russian subjects, in spite of repeated remonstrances,—acts, which had compelled the Russians to take up arms in self-defence. "But what makes you put the question?" asked the Khan Huzrut; "have the Russians said anything to your Government on this point?" "Nothing that I am aware of," replied Conolly; "but, knowing that they made both Persia and Turkey pay on this score, I deem it not impossible that they may make the demand on Kharasm also; and I would have your Majesty anticipate every contingency." But the Khan Huzrut was firm upon this point. "I will not pay one black coin," he said, "but rather call Allah to my defence, and resist them to the utmost." In vain Conolly went over the old ground, repeating what he had before said about the expediency of fortifying himself against distant enemies by cementing an alliance with his near neighbours, and the necessity of making ample compensation for injuries inflicted upon the people of other States. In vain he read aloud the Russian proclamation, translating it into Persian, as he proceeded—the interpreter turning it, sentence by sentence, into the Turkish, for the edification of the Khan Huzrut, who sometimes interrupted the translator, by declaring, that the proclamation contained a parcel of lies. The Khan either would not, or could not, understand the real dangers which beset him, or the advantages to be derived from the course which Conolly recommended him to pursue. It appeared to the British officer, that he was only sensible to danger immediately at his doors; and that, the crisis passed, he always relapsed again into his old state of careless confidence and apathy, pursuing any petty object of the moment, and closing his eyes against important political contingencies, that loomed large before him in the distance.

Failing to arouse the Khan to a true sense of his position, Conolly took his leave of the Khan Huzrut, and shortly after, leaving his camp, repaired to Khiva. Before leaving that place, he recorded his opinions of the probable effects of the Khan's obduracy upon the character of Russian policy.

"Whichever way," he said, "the Russians treat a disposition of this sort, they are likely to obtain their ends. If they judge it expedient to retrieve the

military reputation, which they lost last year, by insisting again upon the rest of their legitimate demands at the cannon's mouth, the Khan Huzrut will fall at their feet ; and they may make all the conditions, to which we do not object. If, on the contrary, the Russians, through our remonstrances, or their own weakness, refrain from open attack upon the northern borders of this country for a few years, and use the interval in marking their game among those intermediate tribes, whose political superiority they have been gradually assuming, the Khivans, returning to their robberies and commercial vexations, will be sure to give the Emperor ample excuse for depriving them of the ability to continue their outrages—which, I presume, will be done by pushing on the Russian "lines" among the tribes as yet in advance of the same, but which have admitted the sovereignty of the Czar, so as to assume a military front, which will establish his Imperial Majesty's control over the best part of Turkistan." This was Russia's proper direct game, from which she was hurried by our unexpected move across the Indus, thinking it necessary to keep pace with us by striking a blow of corresponding moral influence upon the mind of Central Asia. But she did not lose sight of the tribes, which she had been quietly driving. She mentioned them in her proclamation, that we might not dispute her right to build upon them, when her opportunity should arrive : and, methinks, that her Britannic Majesty's ministers, taking a hint from the Khan Huzrut, should plainly ask Count Nesselrode, what we are to understand by the "Frontiers of the Empire," to which it is promised that the invading forces shall return, after establishing an order of things, conformable to the interests of Russia and the neighbouring Asiatic states ?

We have every reason to expect, that Russia will push Persia into Kharasm, as soon as possible ; and Muhammad Shah has all the disposition to come, with an undoubted right. Persians here, who have been for some time in the country, assert most confidently, that if their king were to advance to Merv, with anything like the military means he brought against Herat, he might dictate his own terms to Turkistan. They mention Turkoman clans that would join him, including 2,000 Gokluir families, who were forcibly brought away from their favourite pastures near Astrabad, five years ago ; and twice as many Zimut families, who, though taken from the Persian frontier, twenty years ago, remain discontented. * * * * * The many slaves, possessed by these (Tikhat) tribes, would be ready to show him all the supplies of their part of the country, as well as the way on ; and, by taking Merv, he would break up the nest and refuge of the "Allamans," who now are best able to harass them.

This view is, doubtless, coloured by the inclinations of those who give it ; but it contains much truth. I would say, from what I have seen, that if Muhammad Shah could be furnished with *money* enough to support a small, well-disciplined army, having a select equipment of light artillery (I write from recollection of what I saw in Abbas Mirza's time), he might calculate upon great military success in Turkistan. As an enemy for a pitched battle, the Usbegs are quite despicable. A proportion of them are well mounted ; but they are all wretchedly armed ; and not even their Ghazis would stand for a second round of grape. Every step that Muhammad Shah could make in Turkistan, beyond Merv, would raise him hundreds of slaves, longing for deliverance from very harsh bondage (it is really severe) : and their services would, probably, bear out my suggestion to the Khan Huzrut on this subject. Finally, let me observe, that the Persians would have a right to push any successes that they might obtain up to the Jaxartes, in order to exact redress for the most cruel injuries that one people can inflict upon another.

We need, then, to make Kokand, and, if possible, Bokhara, alive to the danger, which Khiva is likely to bring upon all Usbeg Tartary, and to urge them, not only to use their combined influence against the Khan Huzrut, so as to make him enter into just engagements with his neighbours, but to cleanse themselves also from their participation in the wrongs, which are committed, in the first instance, by the marauding subjects of Kharasm. Our language, throughout these Usbeg states, must, I am only the more convinced, be as high

and unchanging as our conduct. If by our straightforward representations, we can bring about the independent peace of Turkistan—best of all ; and, if not, we must just draw off—and watch the Russians and Persians redressing themselves. We shall, at least, have gained more accurate knowledge of the Usbeg states, and have put before their Governments the plain way of justice, by which they may save themselves, even after the gauntlet has been thrown down against them. Having seen such a good instance of our mediation, they will cry lustily enough for it, when they feel themselves getting worsted ; and, in anticipation of this early day, we should come to the most friendly and complete understanding possible, both with Russia and Persia ; if practicable, by any fair means, make Afghanistan one kingdom, and establish its northern border to the front of the military and commercial road running through the fertile hill country, which lies beyond the Hindu-Kûsh mountains, from Herat to some point which will give the Durani monarch easy access to the river Oxus.

Such were the views—as he often said jestingly himself the “enlarged views”—of Arthur Conolly. Men of a colder and more sober temperament called them visionary ; and perhaps they were. We believe that the proceedings in the Khan Huzrut’s camp, which we have described above, did not meet with full approbation at Calcutta. It was alleged against them, that Conolly was too eager to take the initiative. He complained, as we have seen, that the Khan Huzrut closed his eyes against the dangers and difficulties before him—dangers and difficulties, which Conolly took great pains to map out before him. It was urged that this was a mistake ; and that it would have been better policy for the representative of the British Government to appear at the Khan Huzrut’s court, rather as the disentangler of old, than the suggester of new, difficulties. And, inasmuch as much of our influence at the Khivan court was derived from the Khan Huzrut’s confidence in our ability to extricate him from the difficulties that surrounded him, the objection appears to be sound. But it would be difficult to think otherwise, than that the objects and general conduct of the Mission were highly creditable to the British character ; and that, if there were any want of diplomatic craft to be alleged against it, there was assuredly nothing to be objected on the score of benevolence of design, or honesty of execution. The Missions to Khiva of Abbott, Shakespear, and Conolly, are episodes in the great epic of our Central Asian policy, which, if it were not for the sad sequel of the adventures of the last, we should contemplate with unmixed satisfaction. Our readers, we are confident, will agree with us in opinion, that while the publication of the extracts from Arthur Conolly’s journals, which form the bulk of this article, has interested and informed them, it reflects nothing but honour upon the name of the writer, and the country to which he belonged.

ART. II.—1. *The Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad, with the commentary of Sankara Acharya, and the gloss of Anand Giri.*—*Bibliotheca Indica.* Nos. 5—13, 16 and 18. Calcutta.

2. *The Institutes of Menu.* Serampore.

CASTE, as upheld at present by the followers of Brahminism, bears but little resemblance to the classification which prevailed in the days of Menu; still less to that which is sanctioned in the Vedas. The subjective theology of the early Rishis, (if we may so designate the hymnology, or, as it is technically called, the *Sanhitas* of the Rich, Yajush, Saman, and Atharvan,) which appears to have been the first efforts of Brahminical genius, and which, without a formal and dogmatic declaration of faith, exhibited the devotional sentiments of the writers, and, in most instances, the manners and customs of the age, contains scarcely any distinct intimation even of the four original races supposed to have sprung from Brahma,*—whilst it decidedly ignores the *mixed* classes, which now form the great bulk of Hindu society. The *Bráhmanas*, or the objective theosophy of the Vedas, speak positively of the four primitive orders, but are equally silent on the others.† As to the countless divisions of caste, which prevail in the present day, many of them have no countenance either in the *Sruti* or the *Smriti*.

The mean offices, which are assigned to the last order, and the wide gap, which is interposed between it and the first three orders, impart great probability to the supposition that the Sudras are the aboriginal natives of the soil, and that the *twice-born* are the three-fold ramifications of a conquering race. The Brahmins, on settling on the fruitful plains of Hindustan, showed no greater generosity to the earth-born Sudras, than the Normans did to their Saxon serfs in England, or than the Americans still do to the Indians.

It is singular that the most stringent rules against the Sudras are those contained in the Puránas and the Institutes of Menu. The Vedas are not so severe. The Vedas speak of the Sudras as the lowest class, but do not assign to them such servile duties as were afterwards imposed. Perhaps the Rishis had not fully organized their aristocracy, or fenced it with severe enactments

* Professor Wilson doubts whether even the Brahmins were recognized as a caste, when the first Astaka of the Sanhita of the Rig-veda was composed. That they were so recognized in the age of the Sanhita of the Sama Veda will appear presently in this very article.

† Chandálas and Paulkasas are mentioned as specimens of the lowest and basest of mankind.

against the aborigines, when they began to chant the Sanhitas, or speculate in the Bráhmaṇas. Time enabled them afterwards to consolidate their power, and to define the position they desired to allot to Sudras.

The Sudras had, however, occasionally risen to power and eminence, even during the political ascendancy of the Brahmins. The honour conferred upon the shepherds of Brindaban by Krishna's acknowledgment of them as relatives and playmates, must have been appreciated by his followers. Sudra dynasties are sometimes mentioned as dominant in certain parts of Hindustan. The Brahma Vaibarta makes mention of Drumila, king of Kānyakubja, who was a cowherd and a serf. The Rāmāyana speaks of Guha, king of Srīngabera, a Chandála by caste, but honored with the friendship of the heroic son of Dasaratha. Some of the Purāṇas also speak prophetically of certain *Abhiras*, or peasant-kings, whose caste of course is low.

The Sudra, or the fourth order, is, perhaps, no longer in existence. That appellation, with the disgrace attached to it in the Shastras, is now shared by multitudes of classes, which are all equally excluded from the privileges of the *twice-born*. These classes, though all ranking as Sudras, keep themselves aloof from one another, and live entirely isolated as distinct orders. The four-fold division of the Vedas has accordingly spun out to several scores of castes, of many of which no traces are found in the Shastras.

That the countless ramifications of the servile classes are monstrous corruptions of the original division, can admit of no doubt. But there was something in the Hindu institution of caste, which was naturally liable to corruption. It was fit for no other than *monstrous* growth. Extravagant as the present ramifications may appear, in comparison with the fundamental classification, they are the genuine developments of the original principle. The caste of the Sruti is to that of the Smriti, and both are to that in actual existence in the nineteenth century, as the acorn is to the oak.

The Hindu institution of caste was, in this respect, different¹ from that of any other country. The Egyptians had castes not wholly unlike those of this country, but they do not seem to have established them on so grossly invidious a principle as the Brahmins. The wise men of Egypt were no doubt equally jealous with those of India of the least departures from the laws they had laid down, but the authors of the hieroglyphics seem to have enforced them more as civil and political, and less as religious and moral, institutions, than the authors of the Vedas. Both had probably the same ends in view; both aimed at the per-

petual maintenance of the same professions in the same families; both were probably equally desirous of placing their own dignities and privileges above the competition of the lower classes; both had perhaps reasoned that those, who were rude and vulgar in their manners, should not be confounded with the learned and the polished; both had probably been guided by the mistaken idea, that the arts and sciences would thrive best by being confided to particular families, responsible for, and interested in, their cultivation and development; both perhaps thought, that, in the rude and infantine state of society in which they lived, the people would not make a judicious division of labour without the intervention of the legislature; but the Egyptian, in carrying out his principles, was satisfied with making a positive classification, and pronouncing it unalterable. The Brahmin went a step further, and based his division on an invidious representation of the creation itself. The Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaishya, and the Sudra were of different orders, not because they were so classed politically by the civil power, which was theocratic, but because they were of *different races* from the beginning. The Brahminical division was therefore a *moral and religious*, no less than a *political*, institution.

This was a baneful principle in the Hindu institutes. It denied in effect the common origin of our species. It was calculated to extinguish all fellow feeling in human beings of different classes, who were brethren in no other sense than that in which men and quadrupeds might be called brethren—owing to their creation by the same Almighty Power.

The Brahmins fortified their system of caste by discouraging intermarriages between the several orders. Intermarriages were not so rigorously forbidden in the beginning as they are now; but they were considered, if not absolutely disreputable, at least improper and unworthy matches. The marriage of a female of a superior order with a male of an inferior class was especially discouraged.

But human passions are not easily restrained. The heart stops not to inquire whether the object of its affections sprang from the mouth or the arm of Brahma. Since intermarriages were not absolutely prohibited, men were not wanting to avail themselves of the liberty reluctantly given. Mixed marriages were contracted in the course of time; and that even in cases where the husband was of an inferior class to the wife. The *Gandharva* rule, which allowed the union of male and female from mere animal impulse, without waiting for form or ceremony, and the *Rakshasa* ordinance, which gave liberty to a soldier to capture the females of vanquished foes, contributed,

perhaps more than any other circumstance, to multiply the number of mixed marriages.

These marriages necessarily caused minuter sub-divisions of the four primitive orders. If the Brahmin and Kshetriya were of different races, their union must produce an intermediate race*—a half-caste, which was neither Brahmin nor Kshetriya. Similar consequences would follow from the union of the other orders. The four orders might thus soon give rise to twelve mixed classes, or *Sankara Varnas*, which, with the original pure castes, would extend to *sixteen* races. This may be illustrated by the following tabular formula:—

1.	Brahmin male,	with Brahmin female,	producing pure Brahmin.	
2.	—	with Kshetriya	—	an impure race.
3.	—	with Vaishya	—	an impure race... { The Vaidya or medical tribe.
4.	—	with Sudra	—	an impure race... { The Nishada.
5.	Kshetriya male	with Brahmin	—	an impure race... { The Suta.
6.	—	with Kshetriya	—	pure Kshetriya.
7.	—	with Vaishya	—	an impure race... { The Kaibartha and Bagatita.
8.	—	with Sudra	—	an impure race... { The Ugra.
9.	Vaishya male	with Brahmin	—	an impure race.
10.	—	with Kshetriya	—	an impure race.
11.	—	with Vaishya	—	pure Vaishya.
12.	—	with Sudra	—	an impure race... The Kayastha.
13.	Sudra male	with Brahmin	—	an impure race... The Chandala.
14.	—	with Kshetriya	—	an impure race... The Paulkasa.
15.	—	with Vaishya	—	an impure race... Ayagava.
16.	—	with Sudra	—	pure Sudra.

The twelve half-castes in the foregoing table might, in process of time, be esteemed as established races of respectability; but the irregular passions of men would not be satisfied even with these. The Sankaras might go on multiplying until the number equalled the square of sixteen, or until mixed marriages might be absolutely forbidden. Such, in our opinion, has actually been the case in India; irregular marriages have occasioned the development of caste, and exposed, at a great cost, the unsound principle inherent in it.

THE HINDU IDEAS OF CASTE.—The Hindu religion has mixed up the idea of caste with the cosmogony itself. Four orders of human beings are said to have been created at

* "In all classes they, and they only, who are born, in a direct order of wives, equal in class, and virgins at the time of marriage, are to be considered as the same in class with their fathers; sons begotten by twice-born men or women of the class next immediately below them, wise legislators call *similar*, not the *same*, in class with their parents, because they are degraded to a middle rank between both, by the lowness of their mothers. They are named in order Murdhabhishuta, Mahishya, and Karana or Kayastha, and their several employments are teaching, military exercises, music, astronomy, keeping herds, and attendance on princes."—*Menu* x. 5, 6.

the same time with the gods, demi-gods, and demons, who inhabit the fourteen lokas of the Shastras, the upper and the lower worlds. Except their common humanity, those four orders might be considered creatures, as distinct in their origin and race, as they were in their social position in the republic of Hinduism. The Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaishya, and the Sudra might be classified under categories, no less diversified than those of the Gandharvas, Kinnaras, and Siddhas. The Brahma Vaibartha Purána, in describing the creation, actually distinguishes the creatures that were produced, as "the Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaishya, the Sudra, 'the Yaksha, the Gandharva, the Kinnara, &c."

But notwithstanding the eagerness, with which the authors of the Shastras have sought to represent the institution of caste as coeval with the creation, it is not difficult to detect passages, incautiously inserted, which prove that the formation even of the four first orders was gradual, and that there was a time when all mankind acknowledged themselves as one race. Thus does the truth ooze out of the Vedas and Puránas themselves. It was not Brahma at the creation, but the Brahmins long after the creation, that created the different orders, and fathered them upon their four-headed progenitor.

The Hindu theory of caste may be viewed in three different aspects. The first is that which the Sruti or the Vedas present; the second is exhibited in the Smriti, the Puránas, and other Shastras; the third is observed in the practice of the day. In other words the three primary rules of the Hindu faith are equally decisive in their doctrine of caste; though they exhibit it under different phases. The Vedas give the simplest outlines; the Smriti and the Puránas fill up the rude touches, and present a body to the system; the practice of the age has improved on the Shastras with a vengeance, and presents a monstrous picture, at which Menu himself might stare with amazement.

The reasons, for which we have placed the Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad and the Institutes of Menu at the head of an article on Hindu Caste, are, that they severally represent the two great epochs, that have already passed in the history of that institution. We shall have to quote the Brihad Aranyaka largely in exhibiting the Vedic theory of caste; and Menu is the leader of the secondary Shastras, the Smriti, the Puránas, and the Tantras. Our object in this article being to trace the origin and develop-

* The Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad says, as will be presently seen, that Brahmins alone were created at first. Does not this countenance the idea that, when the Brahmins settled in India, they had no caste, and that this classification was an after-thought?

ment of caste, we shall necessarily have to devote a large portion of our space to extracts from the Shástras.

ON THE THEORY OF CASTE, AS CONTAINED IN THE VEDAS. —The most learned pandit in Bengal has need to talk with diffidence of what he may consider to be the teaching of the Vedas on any point, especially when negative propositions are concerned. It may be doubted whether a copy of the entire Vedas is procurable in any part of Hindustan; it is more than probable that such a copy does not exist in Bengal. It would scarcely be modest or safe, under such circumstances, to say that such and such doctrines are *not* contained in the Vedas. We wish it therefore to be understood, once for all, that when we speak of the Vedas, we mean such portions of them as have issued in portable shapes from the European, or the Indian, press. We do not pretend to have seen, much less read, all the Vedas, nor are we acquainted with occult passages lurking in their inaccessible parts.

The Vedas are divided into *Sanhitas* and *Bráhmanas*; the former being devotional, the latter didactic. The *Sanhitas* appear to pre-suppose a state of society in which an order of priests was held in the highest reverence. They were considered as the repositories of learning and favourites of the superior powers. Their enemies were denounced as spiritual outlaws, whose destruction might be piously prayed for.*

The *Bráhmanas*, or didactic parts, inculcate expressly the idea of a four-fold division of caste, of which the first three are separated by a broad line from the fourth. The Brahmin, the Kshetriya, and the Vaisya are considered races of peculiar excellency. Birth, in any of these races, is held as a reward of virtue and piety.† The *Súdra* on the contrary is a low and ignoble race, destitute of the privilege of studying the Vedas.

* त्वां प्रिवासः समिधान दीदिव आबिवासन्ति वेधसः ॥ "The

learned Brahmins take up their abode close by thee."—*Sam. Ved. Sah. 1 Prap. 4 Dasat. 8th verse.*

माकीं ब्रह्म विधं वनः ॥ "Do not respect those, who hate the Brahmins."—

Sam. Ved. Uttara. San. 1 Prap.

अव ब्रह्मविधो जहि ॥ "Kill those who hate Brahmins."—*Sam. Ved. San. 1 Adh.*

3 *Prap.* The same passage occurs also in the *Uttara San. 6 Prap. 3rd verse.*

† तद्य ईह रमणीयचरणा अभाशो ह्यस्ते रमणीयां योनि मापद्येरन ब्राह्मण्योनिं वा क्षत्रिययोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वाच ॥ "Those who

behave excellently in this world attain to excellent races hereafter, agreeably to their works, whether it be the race of Brahmins, or Kshetriyas, or Vaisyas."—*Chandogya Upanishad 5. Prap. 6.*

Of the three exalted races, the Vedas of course look upon the Brahmins as the most dignified and honourable. A few passages there are, which show that the Kshetriyas sometimes contested the palm of superiority with the Brahmins; but the Brahmin is nevertheless the hero of the Vedas. Thus :—

एके चासन्नेयांसो ब्राह्मणाः ॥

“The Brahmins are our superiors.”—*Taittiriya Upanishad* xi. 3.

The commentator expands the text by observing that the Brahmins are superior, because of their sacerdotal character.

The institution of caste is a prominent feature of the Vedic cosmogony; but the creation itself was a gradual succession of acts. Brahma, the first cause, though naturally intelligent and joyful, was for an indefinite period in a state of torpor and inaction. His ‘vis inertiae’ was however overcome by the conception of the prolific and mysterious idea—*ahamasmī*, “I am.” A celebrated European philosopher* deduced his existence from the fact of his *thinking*. We are not told how Brahma came to the same conclusion; but we are informed that his conception of the idea—*ahamasmī*—produced the principle of *ahankāra*, or individual consciousness. This led to a desire of creation, or rather of generation; and the desire was followed by the act. He gradually created the elements, gods, demi-gods, and men.

It is said that of men he first created only Brahmins, or rather that, although he had made males and females, he did not for a while create the distinctions of castes and orders.

ब्रह्म वा ईदं मय आसीदेकमेव ॥

“The Brahmins alone existed in the beginning.”—*Brihad. Upan. 4 Br. 11 Kandika*.

Or, as Sankarāchārjya expounds the passage :—

वै ईदं क्षत्रादिजातं ब्रह्मैवाभिन्नमासीदेकमेव ॥

“The Kshetriyas and the other castes were at that time one and the same with the Brahmins. There was no distinction of orders. Brahminism alone existed.”

But this state of things did not gratify Brahma, or, as we may fairly conclude, it would not have been quite gratifying to his favourite sons, the Brahmins. A world of theological doctors was not what *he* wanted, or what *they* would relish. Where every one was a spiritual guide, there could be neither dignity nor importance in the office. Accordingly—

तदेकं सन्न बभूवत् ॥

“All being one, he did not enjoy it.”—*Brihad. Upan. iv. 10*.

* Des Cartes; *Cogito, ergo sum*.

Sankarāchārjya expounds it thus:—

क्षत्रादि परिपालयिष्यादिसूत्रं सन्न अभवत् न विभुतवत् कर्मण्य
नास मासीदित्यर्थः ॥

“He did not enjoy a state of things, in which there were no
Kshetriyas and others for the protection of the world.”

He therefore:—

तच्छ्रेयो रूप मत्यसृजत क्षत्रं ॥

“Largely created the Kshetriyas of excellent natures.”—
Brihad. Upan. iv. 11.

He not only replenished the earth with these guardian heroes,
but filled heaven itself with sons of Mars.

यान्येतानि देवता क्षत्राणीन्द्रो वरुणः सोमो रुद्रः पर्जन्यो यमो
मृत्यु रीशान इति ॥

“Indra, Varuna, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mrityu,
Ishāna, were Kshetriyas among the gods.”*

The commentator describes in detail the sovereignty of these
warlike and royal gods:—

इन्द्रो देवानां राजा ॥ वरुणो यादसां ॥ सोमो ब्राह्मणानां रुद्रः
यक्षूनां ॥ पर्जन्यो विद्युदादीनां ॥ यमः पितॄणां ॥ मृत्यु रोगादीनां
ईशानो भासां ॥

“Indra was the lord of the gods, Varuna of aquatic animals,
Soma of the Brahmins, Rudra of the animals, Parjanya of
lightning and meteors, Mrityu of diseases, Ishāna of light.”

The courtly author of the Upanishad then interrupts the
thread of his narration for a while in order to sing an eulogy on
this newly created martial race, forgetting for a moment the
over-weening arrogance with which his fraternity have, in all
ages, harped on the dignity of their priesthood. He compli-
ments the holders of temporal sceptres with a degree of Eras-
tianism, which would shock the sacerdotal sensibilities of a Vyas
or Menu; he admits that on certain occasions the Kshetriya is
supreme, higher even than the Brahmins, who, from an inferior
position, are to do obeisance to him:†—

तस्मात् क्षत्रात् परं नास्ति तस्माद्ब्राह्मणा क्षत्रिय मधस्तादुपास्ते ॥

But not even did the formation of the Kshetriyas give rest

to the active energy of which Brahma was now possessed. The commentator says, that it was the want of a community to develop the resources of the earth, and to create the treasures, of which (by anticipation) the Kshetriyas were constituted the guardians, that continued to disturb the creator's mind. Accordingly he made a third order—the Vaisyas.

स नैव व्यभवत् स विश्वमसृजत ॥ *Brihad. Upan. iv. 12.*

“He created the Vaisyas for the purpose of acquiring wealth,” says Sankarāchārjya.

स विश्व मसृजत धन वित्तोपाज्जं नाथ ॥

This earthly order too had its prototype in heaven. The celestial Vaisyas were however *companies*, not *individuals*; for, adds the commentator, “Companies, not individuals, are able to acquire wealth.”*

“Still,” says the Veda, “he was not satisfied,” because, according to the commentator, “there was a want of servants, or ‘slaves.’” “He therefore made the order of the Sūdras.”

सनैव व्यभवत् स शौद्रं वर्णं मसृजत ॥ *Brihad. Upan. iv. 13.*

Such is the Vedic account of the creation and the institution of caste. The Vedas do not speak much of the mixed classes, which afterwards became so numerous, and are now the great strength of the system. The Chandālas and Paulkasas alone are mentioned as most despicable races produced by the union of different castes.

चण्डाला ऽ चण्डालः पौल्लसो ऽ पौल्लसः ॥ *Brihad. Upan. iii. 22.*

The commentator says :—

चण्डालोनाम शूद्रेण ब्राह्मण्यामुत्पन्नः पौल्लसः शूद्रेणैव क्षत्रियायामुत्पन्नः ॥

“Chandāla is the offspring of a Sūdra by a Brahmin female, and a Paulkasa of the same by a Kshetriya female.”—*Sankarāchārjya on the above text.*

* यान्यतानि देवजातानि गणश्च आख्यायन्ते वासवो रुद्रा आदित्या विश्वदेवा मरुत इति ॥—*Brihad. Upan. iv. 2.*

यान्येतानि देवजातानि स्वार्थे निष्ठा ॥ ययते देवजातिभेदा इत्यर्थः गणशो गणं गण माख्यायन्ते कथ्यन्ते गणप्राया हि विश्वः प्रायेण संहता हि वित्तापार्ज्जनं समर्था नैकैकशः ॥—*Sankarāchārjya on the above passage.*

From the preceding account we may draw the following inferences:—

1. The Vedas uphold the doctrine of caste no less tenaciously than the other Shástras. We have just seen that the most philosophical parts of them—those which the followers of the Vedant consider as the cream of the Shástras to the disregard of the rest—the most solemn Upanishads themselves, inculcate the idea of a four-fold caste.

2. Agreeably to the doctrine of the Veda, caste is a religious, not a civil, institution. It was Brahma, the creator of the universe, that was the founder of caste.

3. Notwithstanding the inference just made, it plainly appears from the Upanishad itself that the institution of caste was gradual. Instead of Brahma being dissatisfied, as we are told, with a state of society in which distinctions did not exist, the truth seems to be that aspiring Brahmins gradually established the supremacy of their own order, and passed it as an ordinance of Brahma, as old as the creation.

4. The mixed races, produced by the irregular union of different castes, had already attracted notice in the age of the Vedas ; but they were as yet not numerous.

ON THE THEORY OF CASTE, CONTAINED IN THE SMRITI AND OTHER SHASTRAS.—The theory of caste contained in the Smriti, and other Shástras, inferior to the Vedas, is distinguished principally by its greater development. The caste of the Smriti is to the caste of the Vedas as the full-grown tree is to the tender plant. But the full-grown tree often presents an appearance very different from its first germ. Without noticing the gradual development of the stems, it would be difficult to identify the stately Banian with the diminutive plant. Some general features are however unmistakeable. The system of caste upheld by the Smriti appears gigantic in comparison with that of the Vedas, but contains nothing which may not be traced to the original institution. The Smriti speaks more dogmatically and boldly of sacerdotal dignity, and looks down with greater haughtiness on the degradation of the Súdra. When the Vedas were composed, Brahminical ascendancy had not reached its climax. The priests were indeed honored as the guardians of literature and religion ; the respect due to intellectual eminence was cheerfully tendered ; they were venerated as men whose occupations were peaceful, who toiled in solitude for the improvement of literature, who chanted the Vedas, and offered sacrifices for the well-being of the State. The indignation of the whole community would

be excited against the sacrilegious individual who would dare to injure or insult such a fraternity. All this was natural, and in some respects reasonable; but there was something in the principle of caste, which was pregnant with corruption—something so invidious in the exaltation of race above race—that it must sooner or later have broken through the restraints of reason and moderation. The Brahmins did not rest contented with the dignity due to priests. They began to arrogate to themselves divine honours. Nothing less than the title of *earthly gods*, or equal honours with Vishnu and other celestials, would satisfy their ambition.

The pretensions of Hildebrand were trifling in comparison with those of the Brahmins. He laboured to magnify the dignity of a pontiff already invested with sovereign power, and to exalt the honour of a throne already revered as the holy see. He personated a royal priest, who held the keys of heaven, but whose pretensions were owing to promotion or election, not *race*. The Brahminical theory invests every offspring of Brahma's mouth with the powers and privileges of a Pope by virtue of his birth. His person and property are declared sacred, his word immutable, his wisdom unrivalled, his powers unlimited.

The monopoly of learning by the Brahmins was the cause of such lofty pretensions. There were few readers or writers beyond the sacerdotal college. There was no public opinion to control the Brahmins; no fear of criticism to restrain their vagrancies; no community of independent readers to keep their imaginations at bay. They fancied what they pleased; and they wrote what they fancied.

The word *Smriti* is a comprehensive term, and admits great latitude of interpretation. It comprehends the didactic writings, or *recollections* of every sage reputed as inspired. The Purānas are heroic poems, recounting the exploits of kings and giving the traditions of the country. The Tantras are miscellaneous compositions, addressed by Mahādeva to Parvati.

Menu stands at the head of the *Smriti* and other Shāstras inferior to the Vedas, and is of the highest authority in practical religion, morals, and politics. In representing the theory of caste, contained in these secondary Shāstras, our references will principally be to Menu. We may here explain, that, in quoting this ancient legislator, we have given the passages as translated by Sir William Jones. The reputation of Sir William Jones will be a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of his version. We have not therefore cited the original. We have observed the same rule in our quotations from the Vishnu Purāna, where

we have made use of Wilson's translation. In all other cases we have given the original passages, whether they be from the Vedas, or Purānas, with literal translations of our own.

The primitive institution of caste is thus expressed by Menu :—“ That the human race might be multiplied, he caused the Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaisya and the Súdra (so named from the scripture, protection, wealth, and labour) to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot.”—i. 31. “ To Brahmins he assigned the duties of reading the Veda, of teaching it, of sacrificing, of alluring others to sacrifice, of giving alms (if they be rich), and, if indigent, of receiving gifts. To defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read the Veda, to shun the allurements of sensual gratification, are in few words the duties of a Kshetriya. To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the scripture, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, and to cultivate land, are prescribed, or permitted, to a Vaisya. One principal duty the supreme ruler assigned to a Súdra; namely, to serve the before-mentioned classes, without depreciating their worth.”—i. 88—91.

This proves sufficiently that caste is a *religious* institution, the duties of the different orders being defined by the creator himself.

The Bhagavat Gita says:—

चातूर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः ॥ ४ ॥ १३ ॥

“ I have created the four castes according to their various qualifications and acts.”—iv. 13.

The Vishnu Purāna says:—“ There sprang from his (Brahma's) mouth, beings especially endowed with the quality of goodness; others from his breast, pervaded by the quality of foulness; others from his thighs, in whom foulness and darkness prevailed; and others from his feet, in whom the quality of darkness predominated. These were, in succession, beings of the several castes, Brahmins, Kshetriyas, Vaisyas, and Súdras.”—Chap. vi. *Wilson*, p. 44.

The Bráhmaṇa Purāna, in a hymn addressed to Vishnu, has these words:

मूलं त ब्राह्मणा स्तब्धः क्षत्रिया भवतः प्रभो ॥ वेश्याः शाखास्तवः
शूद्रा वनस्पति नमस्तु ते ॥ ब्राह्मणाः सामयो वक्त्राद्दोर्दृष्टात् सायधा
नृपाः ॥ पश्चाद्विश्वोददेशाज्जाताः शूद्राश्च पादतः ॥ इति पाप
प्रश्नमनस्तवे ॥

“ Reverence to thee, O thou (sacred) tree; the Brahmins are thy root, the Kshetriyas thy trunk, the Vaisyas thy

‘ branches, and the Súdras thy bark. The Brahmins with their characteristic fire issued from thy mouth, the kings with their weapons from thy arm, the Vaisyas from thy thigh, the Súdras from thy feet.”—*Papaprashamanastava*.

The Mahábhárata puts the following words into the mouth of the creator:—

ब्रह्म वक्त्रं भुजौ क्षत्रं मूढ मे संस्थिता विशः ॥

पादौ शूद्रा भवन्तीमे विक्रमेण क्रमेण च ॥

वनपर्व १८७ अध्याय ॥

“ The Brahmins are my mouth, the Kshetriyas my arms, the Vaisyas my thighs, and the Súdras my feet. Their powers decrease in gradation.”—*Vanaparva*, 187 chap.

ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणाञ्च परन्तप ॥ कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि
स्वभावप्रभवैर्गुणैः ॥ श्रमेदमस्तपः शौचं क्षान्तिराज्यं च मेव च ॥
ज्ञानं विज्ञानं मास्तिक्त्वं ब्रह्म कर्म स्वभावजं ॥ शौचं वैजोधृतिर्दाह्य-
युद्धे चाप्यपलायनं ॥ दानमीश्वरभावश्च क्षत्रकर्म स्वभावजं ॥ क्षत्रि-
योरक्षयवाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्म स्वभावजं ॥ परिचर्यात्मकं कर्म शूद्रस्यापि
स्वभावजं ॥ स्त्री स्त्री कर्मस्थभिरतः संसिद्धं लभते नरः १८।४१।५४ ॥

The Bhagavat Gita thus describes the several castes and their duties:

“ O thou afflicter of thy foes ! the duties of Brahmins, Kshetriyas, Vaisyas, and Súdras, are distributed agreeably to their natural characteristic qualities. The natural duties of the Brahmins are subjugation of the mind and body, austerity, sanctity, forbearance, rectitude, divine and human knowledge, and faith. Those of the Kshetriyas are heroism, energy, patience, policy, not fleeing in battle, generosity, aptitude in governing. Those of the Vaisyas are commerce, agriculture, and tending cattle. The duty of the Súdra is to serve the other orders. By devotion to his particular duty a man attains perfection.”—xviii. 41—43.

The prominent features of the system of caste taught in the Smṛiti are: (I.) the exalted dignity of the Brahmins, approaching, if not actually amounting, to their deification; (II.) the complete depression of the Súdras; and (III.) the multiplication of the mixed races.

I. The exalted dignity of the Brahmins appears—(1) from the sanctity ascribed to their persons; (2) the veneration due to their order; (3) the privileges and powers peculiar to them; (4) the high duties expected from them, and (5) the aggravated nature of offences committed against their persons or properties.

1. The sanctity ascribed to the Brahmins.

Menu says:—

“ Since the Brahmin sprang from the most excellent parts, since he was the first born, and since he possesses the Veda, he is by right the chief of this whole creation.” “ The very birth of a Brahmin is a constant incarnation of Dharma, god of justice; for the Brahmin is born to promote justice and to procure ultimate happiness.”—i. 93—98.

“ When a Brahmin springs to light, he is born above the world, the chief of all creatures, assigned to guard the treasury of duties, religious and civil.”—i. 99.

“ What man, desirous of life, would injure those (*i. e.*, the Brahmins) by the aid of whom, that is by whose oblations, worlds and gods perpetually subsist. A Brahmin, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity; even as fire is a powerful divinity, whether consecrated or popular.”—ix. 316, 317.

“ Thus, although Brahmins employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupation, they must invariably be honored, for they are something transcendently divine.”—ix. 319.

“ From priority of birth, from superiority of origin, from a more exact knowledge of scriptures, and from a distinction in the sacrificial thread, the Brahmin is the lord of all classes.”—x. 3.

Thus far Menu. Other worthies speak in the same tone. We shall quote a few:—

ब्राह्मणो जन्मना श्रेयान् सव्वेषां प्राणिनामिह ॥

तपसा विद्यया तुष्ट्या किम् मत्कनया युतः ॥

श्री भागवत १०/८६/३ ॥

“ The Brahmin is the most excellent of all creatures by reason of his austerity, his learning, and his placidness; how much more so, if joined with my parts.”—*Sri Bhāgavat*, x. 86, 40.

भूदेवा ब्राह्मणा राजन् यूज्या वन्द्याः सदुक्तिभिः ॥

चतुराश्रम्या कुशला मम धर्मप्रवर्तकाः ॥

कल्कि पुराणे ४ अथाय ॥

“ O king, the Brahmins are earthly gods, to be adored and honored with commendations. They pass through four states in life, and are propagators of my religion.”—*Kalki Purána*, chap. 4.

सर्वेषां मेव वर्णानां ब्राह्मणः परमांगुरः ॥ तस्मै दानानि देयानि
भक्तिश्च दासमन्वितैः ॥ सर्वदेवाश्रयो विप्रः प्रत्यक्षं त्रिदशोभुवि ॥
यस्तारयति दातारं दुस्तरे विश्वसागरे ॥

“ The Brahmin is the exalted lord of all the castes. To him should gifts be made with faith and reverence. The Brahmin represents all divinities in himself, a visible god on the earth, who saves the giver in the impassable ocean of the world.”—*Padma Purána*, *Kriyá Yoga Sára*, xx.

Again :—

सर्वेऽपि ब्राह्मणाः श्रेष्ठाः पूजनीयाः सदैव हि ॥
अविद्या वा सन्नियो वा नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥
क्षयादि दोषलिप्ता ये ब्राह्मणा ब्राह्मणोत्तमाः ॥
आत्मभ्यो देविण स्तेषु न परेभ्यः कदाचन ॥
क्षत्रियाणाञ्च वैश्यानां शूद्राणां गुरवो द्विजाः ॥
अन्योन्यगुरवो विप्राः पूजनीयाश्च भूसुराः ॥

“ All the Brahmins are excellent and always to be honored without discrimination, whether they are learned or unlearned. Those excellent Brahmins, who are guilty of such crimes as theft, are offenders against themselves, not others. Brahmins are masters of the Kshetriyas, Vaishyas and Súdras, they are masters of one another, and to be worshipped, being earthly gods.”—*Ibid*, chap. 20.

2. The veneration in which the Brahmins are held, appears from the reverence due to themselves, and from the disgrace to which their contemners were exposed. Thus :—

“ The student must consider a Brahmin, though but ten years old, and a Kshetriya though aged a hundred years, as father and son ;—as between those two, the young Brahmin is to be respected as the father.”

“ Among all those, if they be met at one time, the priest just returned home, and the prince are most honored ; and of those two, the priest just returned should be treated with more respect than the prince.”—*Menu*, ii. 135—139.

“ Constantly must he (the king) show respect to Brahmins,

who have grown old, both in years and in piety, who know the scriptures, who in body and mind are pure; for he, who honors the aged, will perpetually be honored even by cruel demons."—*Ibid*, vii. 38.

The Mahábhárata says:—

ब्रह्मणा एवं सम्भूज्याः पुण्यं स्वर्गमभोक्षता ॥

वनपर्व १६६ अध्याय ॥

"The Brahmins are thus to be worshipped by those who desire heaven."—*Vana Parva*, chap. 199.

The *Brahma Vaibarta* says:

गुरुत्वा ब्राह्मणत्वापि देवताप्रतिमामपि ॥

दृष्ट्वा श भो योन नमेत् स भवेत् शूकरो भूवि ॥

प्रकृति खण्ड ५० अध्याय ॥

"He, who does not immediately bow down, when he sees his tutor, or a Brahmin, or the image of a god, becomes a hog on the earth."—*Brahma Vaibarta*, *Prakriti*, chap. 50.

ब्राह्मणो नावमन्तव्यः सदसदा समाचरन् ॥

"Brahmins are not to be despised, whether they behave well or ill."—*Mahábhárat Adi*, 189.

Again:—

दुर्वेदा वा सुवेदा वा प्राकृताः संस्कृतास्तथा ॥

ब्राह्मणा नावमन्तव्या भस्मच्छन्ना इवाग्नयः ॥

यथा श्मशाने दीप्तौजाः पावको नैव दुष्यति ॥

एवं विद्वानविद्वान् वा ब्राह्मणो दैवतं महत् ॥

"Whether learned or unlearned, civilized or barbarous, Brahmins are not to be despised: they are like fire smouldering in ashes. As the flaming fire, though it be in a cemetery, is free from fault, so is the Brahmin a great god, whether learned or unlearned."—*Ibid*, *Vana Parva*, chap. 199.

"Of that king, in whose dominion a learned Brahmin is afflicted with hunger, the kingdom will in a short time be afflicted with famine."—*Menu*, vii. 134.

ब्राह्मणं प्रणमेशक्तुं विष्णुभक्त्या नरोत्तमः ॥

आयुः पुत्राश्च कीर्तिश्च संपन्नं तत्र वर्द्धते ॥

न नमद् ब्राह्मणं यस्तु मूढधीर्मानवी भूवि ।
 तन्मस्तकान्तु चक्राय हन्तुमिच्छति केशवः ॥
 विप्रं पादोदकं यस्तु कणमा वहेन्नरः ॥
 देहस्य पातकं तस्य सर्वमेवाशु नश्यति ॥
 विप्राणां पादनिर्माळ्यं यो मर्त्यः शिरसा वहेत् ॥
 सत्यं सत्यमहं वच्मि स मुक्तः सर्वपातकैः ॥
 विप्रं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य वन्दते यो नरोत्तमः ॥
 प्रदक्षिणीकृता तेन सप्तदीपा वसुन्धरा ॥

“Whatever good man bows to a Brahmin, reverencing him as Vishnu, is blessed with long life, with sons, with renown, and with prosperity. But whatever foolish man does not bow to a Brahmin on the earth, Kesava desires to strike off his head with his *chakra*. Whosoever bears but a drop of water, which has been in contact with a Brahmin's foot, all the sins in his body are immediately destroyed. Whosoever carries on his head the holy things touched by a Brahmin's foot, verily, verily I say, he is freed from all sins. Whatever good man worships a Brahmin, going round him, obtains the merit of going round the world with its seven continents.”—*Padma Purāṇa Kriyā Yaga-sāra*, xx.

अनाचारा द्विजाः पूज्या नच शूद्रा जितेन्द्रियाः ॥

अभक्ष्य भक्षका गावः कोक्षाः सुमतयो नचः ॥

“Even wicked Brahmins are to be venerated; but not Śúdras, though of subdued passions. The cow that eats foul things is better than the pig with good dispositions.”—*Ibid.*

3. Peculiar powers and privileges are given to the Brahminical order. Menu says:—

“Whatever exists in the Universe, is all in effect, though not in form, the wealth of the Brahmin; since the Brahmin is entitled to it all by his primogeniture and eminence of birth.

“The Brahmin eats but his own food; wears but his own apparel, and bestows but his own in alms. Through the benevolence of the Brahmins, indeed, other mortals enjoy life.

“He (the Brahmin) alone deserves to possess this whole earth.”—i. 100, 101, 105.

“From a Brahmin, who was born in that country, let all men on earth learn their several usages.”—ii. 20.

“A king, even though dying from want, must not receive any tax from a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, nor suffer such a Brahmin, residing in his territories, to be afflicted with hunger.”—vii. 133.

“Never shall the king slay a Brahmin, though convicted of all possible crimes. Let him banish the offender from his realm, but with all his property secure and his body unhurt.

“No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahmin, and the king, therefore, must not even form in his mind an idea of killing a priest.”—viii. 380, 381.

“The property of a Brahmin shall never be taken as an escheat by the king.”—ix. 189.

4. Correspondingly high duties were expected from Brahmins. Those, who arrogate to themselves great honors, must at least profess to be guided by a more elevated standard of duty than their neighbours. A man, who prides himself on the greatness of his origin, must admit, that it behoveth him to observe higher principles of morality, than those over whom he affects superiority. The Brahmins have accordingly laid down severe rules for the government of their order. Whether the authors of the Shâstras intended, that their austere rules should be followed out in practice, or whether they merely proposed to exhibit their idea of priestly dignity without intending to realize it, it is not easy to determine. One thing, however, is certain, that as the Brahmin acknowledged no earthly superior, he had little apprehension of his delinquencies being severely visited. He could not be called to account for departing from his maxims, because no one was at liberty to judge him. An austere rule of life could therefore prove no greater restraint on his inclinations, than he himself chose to allow.

The Brahmin is required to pass through four stages in life, the first is, that of a *student*, and is called *Brahmacharya*. In this state, his principal duty is to prosecute his studies under his principal's roof, and to render implicit obedience to his order. This is the period of his education. He is subject to rules as stringent, as those by which the inmates of a Popish monastery are bound.

The second stage of a Brahmin's life is that of a householder. He is then properly a member of society, or, what Roman Catholics call, a *secular* priest. But he must not perform any mean offices for his livelihood. He must not accept gifts from a Sudra. He must not even perform sacrifices for the benefit of the servile order, nor must he even, for pleasure or gain, assist in such low and frivolous occupations, as those of music, singing, dancing. Neither must he live by his pen. He is above all such profane employments, and is bound to a life of devotion and self-denial.

श्वदाही च शूद्राणां यो विप्रो ब्रह्मणीयति ॥
 शूद्राणां सूपकारी च शूद्रयाजी च या द्विजः ॥
 असिजीवी मसिजीवी विषहीनो यथोरगः ॥
 ब्रह्मवैवर्ते प्रकृतिखण्डे २१ अध्याय ॥

“The Brahmin, who marries a Súdra, or performs funeral rites, dresses food, or sacrifices for Súdras, or who lives by his arms or his ink, is like the serpent deprived of his venom.”—*Brahma Vaibatta Prakriti, chap. 21.*

“Let him neither dance nor sing, nor play on musical instruments, except in religious rites; nor let him strike his arm, or gnash his teeth, or make a braying noise, though agitated by passion.

“Never let him play with dice: let him not put off his sandals with his hand: let him not eat, while he reclines on a bed, nor what is placed in his hand, or on a bench.”—*Menu, iv. 64, 74.*

आनृशंस्यं क्षमा सत्यं मर्हिंसा दम माईवं ॥
 ध्यानं प्रसादो माधुर्यं मार्जवं शैच मेव च ॥
 इज्या दानं तपः सत्यं स्वाध्यायो ह्यात्मनिग्रहः ॥
 ब्रतोपवासौ मौनश्च ज्ञानं पैशुन्यवर्जनं ॥
 एभिर्युक्तो मुनिश्चेष्ट यः सदा वत्तते द्विजः ॥
 ऊत्वा तु पावकं सर्वं परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥

पाद्मे उत्तर खण्ड १०६ अध्याय ॥

“O excellent Munis, the Brahmin, who is always distinguished by benevolence, forbearance, veracity, innocence, meekness, contemplation, grace, suavity, rectitude, sanctity, sacrifices, liberality, devotion, study, mortification of the body, subjugation of the mind, vows, fastings, quietness, washings, and by want of espionage, will attain to Brahma by his burnt offerings.”—*Padma Uttara, chap. 109.*

The next two stages of a Brahmin, are those of *anchorets* and *hermits*, which are not very dissimilar from one another. In these states, he must be entirely separated from the world, and pass his days in religious contemplations.

The Shástras teem with passages, recommending the severest morals for the observance of the Brahmin. The injunctions generally prove abortive, because of their own severity, and because of the want of internal discipline. The Brahmins, though

bound to such high duties, are accountable to none. They are left to their own good senses and their consciences. The moral precepts stand merely as samples of the fine theories of which the imaginations of the writers were capable.

5. Crimes committed against their persons and properties were held to be of an aggravated nature.

“A once-born man, who insults the twice-born with gross invectives, ought to have his tongue slit. If he mention their names with contumely, an iron style, ten fingers long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth. Should he spit on him through pride, the king shall order both his lips to be gashed. If he seize the Brahmin by the locks, or any other part of the body, let the king without hesitation, cause incisions to be made in his hands.” *Menu*, viii. 270, 271, 282, 283.

Offences, venial in themselves, become mortal, if committed against Brahmins. The most fearful anathemas are pronounced against those, who knowingly or unknowingly make free with property belonging to Brahmins. The following tremendous expressions are put in the *Sri Bhágavat*, in the mouth of Krishna himself.

दुर्जरं वत ब्रह्मखं भुक्तं ममेर्मेनागपि ॥
 तेजीयसोपि किमुत राज्ञा मीश्वरमानिनां ॥
 नाहं हृषाहृषं मन्ये विषं यस्य प्रतिक्रिया ॥
 ब्रह्मखं हि विषं प्रोक्तं नास्य प्रतिविधिर्भुवि ॥
 हिनस्ति विष मत्तारं वक्रिरद्भिः प्रशाम्यति ॥
 कुलं समूलं दहति ब्रह्मखारण्यपावकः ॥
 ब्रह्मखं दुरनुज्ञातं भुक्तं हन्ति त्रिपूरुषं ॥
 प्रसह्य तु वषाद्भुक्तं दश पूर्वान् दशापरान् ॥
 गृह्णन्ति यावतः पांशून् रुदतामश्रुविन्दवः ॥
 विप्राणां हृतहृत्तीनं वदान्यानां कटुम्बिनां ॥
 राजानो राजकुल्याश्च तावदब्दान्निरङ्गुशः ॥
 कुम्भीपाकेषु पच्यन्ते ब्रह्मदायापहारिणः ॥
 खदत्तां परदत्तां वा ब्रह्महृत्तिं हरेत्तु यः ॥
 वष्टिं वष सहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्षमिः ॥

न मे ब्रह्मधनं भूयात् यद् गृह्णात्यायुषोऽनृपाः ॥

पराजिताश्चुता राज्याद्भवन्त्युदोजिन्यो ह्ययः ॥

विप्रं कृतागसमपि नैव ब्रुह्यत मामकाः ॥

घ्नन्तं वज्रं शपन्तं वा नमस्कृत्य नित्यशः ॥

यथाहं प्रथमे विप्राननुकालं समाहितः ॥

तथा नमतयूयश्च योन्यथा मे स दण्डभाक् ॥

ब्राह्मणार्थोऽप्यपहृतो हर्त्ता इदं पातयत्यधः ॥

अजानन्तमपि ह्येनं नृगं ब्राह्मणगौरिव ॥

“The property of Brahmins is difficult of digestion, even by livid flames, taking little by little; much more by kings pretending to power and greatness. I do not consider that venom to be poison, of which there may be an antidote; the property of Brahmins is real poison, having no antidote on the earth. Poison hurts the eater; fire may be quenched by water; but the fire, proceeding from the flint of Brahminism, burns a whole race up to the source. The property of Brahmins, taken with permission reluctantly given, destroys three generations; if taken by force, it destroys ten preceding and ten succeeding generations. As many grains of sand as are wet with tears, dropping from weeping Brahmins, being liberal and with families, but deprived of their properties, so many years do the kings and their relations, who have robbed the Brahmins, rot in hell without remedy. Whosoever taketh property belonging to Brahmins, whether it was given to them by himself or by others, is born as a worm on a dunghill for sixty thousand years. May I never take possession of Brahmins' property, by coveting which many kings have become short-lived and been defeated and deposed, and eventually born in another world as fearful serpents. Oh my people, do not hurt a Brahmin, even if he be a delinquent. Bow to him constantly, even if he commit homicide, or curse much. As I bow devotedly to Brahmins at all times, do you also the same; whosoever does otherwise shall be punished. If Brahminical property is taken unwittingly, it throws the possessor down to hell, like as the Brahminical cow did to Nriga.”—*Sri Bhāgavat*, x. 68, 20, 27.

II.—The complete degradation of the Sūdras, is evident from various passages in Menu and the Purānas. Their position is defined to be no better than that of the Helots in ancient Sparta, or of the Negroes in modern America. Neither their persons

nor their properties are safe. They are liable to be compelled to do servile duty for the Brahmins. Their substance may be plundered with impunity. They may be insulted and oppressed, almost without any restraint. They are subject to the severest punishments and the heaviest penalties, for offences committed against the other castes. They are incapable of *regeneration*, which the first three castes receive at the time of their investment with the sacred thread.

The degradation of the Súdras is attested by—(1) the impurity attributed to their persons; (2) the ignoble tasks allotted to their community; (3) the unjust laws enacted against them; and (4) the little protection given to their persons or properties.

1.—The impurity, attributed to the persons of Súdras, is evident from the strictness with which the Brahmins were forbidden to form alliances, or cultivate familiarity with them.

“Men of the twice-born class, who, through weakness of intellect, irregularly marry women of the lowest class, very soon degrade their families and progeny to the state of Súdras.

“According to Atri and Gotama, the son of Utathya, he, who thus marries a woman of the servile class, if he be a priest, is degraded instantly; according to Saunaca, on the birth of a son, if he be warrior; and, if he be a merchant, on the birth of a son’s son, according to (me) Bhrigu.

“A Brahmin, if he take a Súdra to his bed as his first wife, sinks to the regions of torment; if he beget a child by her, he loses even his priestly rank.

“His sacrifices to the gods; his oblations to the manes; and his hospitable attentions to the strangers, must be supplied principally by her:—but the gods and the manes will not eat such offering, nor can heaven be attained by such hospitality.”

“For the crime of him, who thus illegally drinks the moisture of a Súdra’s lips, who is tainted by her breath, and who even begets a child on her body, the law declares no expiation.”—*Menu*, iii. 15—19.

“The whole territory which is inhabited by a number of Súdras, overwhelmed with atheists, and deprived of Brahmins, must speedily perish, afflicted with dearth and disease.”—viii. 22.

“Let no kinsmen, whilst any of his own class are at hand, cause a deceased Brahmin to be carried out by a Súdra; since the funeral rite, polluted by the touch of a servile man, obstructs his passage to heaven.”—v. 104.

2.—Of the ignoble tasks allotted to the Súdras, the following passages will give a general idea:—

“Servile attendance on Brahmins learned in the Vedas, chiefly

‘ on such as keep house and are famed for virtue, is of itself the highest duty of a Súdra, and leads him to future beatitude.”—*Menu*, ix. 334.

“If a Súdra want a subsistence, and cannot attend a priest, he may serve a Kshetriya; or, if he cannot wait on a soldier by birth, he may gain his livelihood by serving an opulent Vaishya.

“To him, who serves Brahmins with a view to a heavenly reward, or even with a view to both this life and the next, the union of the word Brahmin with his name of servant will assuredly bring success.

“Attendance on Brahmins is pronounced the best work of a Súdra; whatever else he may perform, will comparatively avail him nothing.”—x. 121, 123.

3.—The unjust laws enacted against the Súdras will appear from the following:—

“A man of the lowest class, who through covetousness lives by the acts of the highest, let the king strip of all his wealth, and instantly banish.”—x. 96.

“No superfluous collection of wealth must be made by a Súdra, even though he has power to make it; since a servile man, who has amassed riches, becomes proud, and, by his insolence or neglect, gives pain even to Brahmins.”—x. 129.

4.—The protection given to the Súdras was no better than that which slaves enjoy in America. They were almost out-laws.

“But a man of the servile class, whether bought or unbought, he (the Brahmin) may compel to perform servile duty; because such a man was created by the Self-existent for the purpose of serving Brahmins. A Súdra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude; for of a state, which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested? A Brahmin may seize without hesitation, if he be distressed for a subsistence, the goods of his Súdra slave; for, as that slave can have no property, his master may take his goods.”—*Menu*, viii. 413, 414, 417.

III.—Mixed classes. The Hindu Shastras maintain that the offspring of two persons of different orders is not attached to that of either of his parents, but occupies an intermediate rank under the title of *Varna Sankara*. This title was originally applied as a term of reproach. When the community, to which it was applied, far exceeded the pure orders, the term lost its offensive signification. The mixed races were then gradually tolerated in society. They were treated as independent classes, inferior indeed to the Brahmins, but free from the stigma attached to them as impure races.

Of the mixed races, as they existed in the period of the Smriti and the Purānas, the two following Synopses, the first from *Menu*, the second from the *Brahma Vaibarta*, will be a sufficiently clear index. It will thence be evident how fast they had multiplied:—

Synopsis of the mixed races according to Menú.

Mixed Castes.	Father.	Mother.	Occupation.
Vaidya, produced by	{ Brahmin as father.	{ Vaishya as mother.....	{ Medical.
Nishada	Ditto	Sudra	Catches fish.
Ugra	Kshetriya	Ditto	{ Killing or confining animals that live in holes.
Suta.....	Ditto	Brahmin	Horseman and driver.
Magadha.....	Vaishya	Kshetriya	{ Travelling with merchandize.
Vaideha	Ditto	Brahmin	Waiting on women.
Ayagava	Sudra	Vaishya	Carpenter's work.
Kshatta	Ditto	Kshetriya	{ Killing or confining animals that live in holes.
Chandala.....	Ditto	Brahmin	Very low.
Avrita	Brahmin.....	Ugra	
Abhira	Ditto	Vaidya.....	Cow-herd.
Dhigvara.....	Ditto	Ayagava	Selling leather.
Puccasa	Nishada	Sudra	{ Killing or confining animals that live in holes.
Cuccataca	Sudra	Nishada	
Swapaca	Cshatta	Ugra	
Vena	Vaideha	Vaidya.....	{ Striking musical instruments.
Bhurjacantaca	{ Vratya, or out-cast Brahmin.		
Aavantya			
Vatdhana			
Puspadha			
Saicha			
Jhalla	{ Out-cast Kshetriyas.		
Malla			
Nich'hivi.....			
Nata			
Carana			
Chasa	{ Out-cast Vaishyas.		
Dravira			
Sudhanwan.....			
Charya.....			
Carusha			
Vijanman			
Maitra.....			
Satwata			

Mixed Castes.	Father.	Mother.	Occupation.
Sairindhra	{ Daryee (which is an out-cast of a pure class)	{ Ayagava	{ Servile work and catching wild beasts in toils.
Maitreyaea	Vaideha	Ditto	{ Ringing a bell at day-break.
Margava, or Dasa or Kaivarta	Nishada	Ditto	Boatmen.
Karavara.....	Ditto	Vaideha	Cuts leather.
Andhra	Vaideha	Caravara.....	{ Slaying beasts of the forest.
Meda	Ditto	Nishada	Ditto.
Pāndusopāca ...	Chandāla	Vaideha	{ Works with cane and reeds.
Ahindila	Nishada	Ditto	Jailor.
Sopaca.....	Chandāla	Puccasa	{ Punishing criminals condemned by the king—i.e. executioner.
Antyavasayini ...	Ditto	Nishada	{ Employed in places for burning the dead—i.e., undertaker's men.
Chuncha	Brahmin	Vaideha	{ Slaying beasts of the forest.
Magda	Ditto	Ugra	Ditto.

Synopsis of the mixed races according to the Brahma Vaibarta Purāna.

Kayastha.....	Vaishya	Sudra.....	Writer.
Vaidya.....	Brahmin	Vaishya	Physician.
Malakar	{ Vishwakarma.	Sudra	Gardener.
Karmokar			Blacksmith.
Sankhakar			Shell-maker.
Kubindakar.....			Ditto.
Kumbhakar ...			Potter.
Kansakar.....			Brazier.
Sutradhara	Ditto	Ditto	{ Carpenter, degraded by the curse of the Brahmins, whom he did not readily supply with wood, necessary for a burnt-offering.
Chitrakar	Ditto	Ditto	{ Painter, degraded by the curse of the Brahmins for his faults in painting.
Swarnakar .....	.....	.....	{ Goldsmith, degraded by the curse of the Brahmin for stealing gold belonging to Brahmins.
Attalickakar ...	Chitrakar	Sudra harlot ...	{ Civil architect, degraded because baseborn

Mixed Castes.	Father.	Mother.	Occupation.
Kotika	Attalickakur ...	Kumbhokur ...	House-builder.
Tailakur	Potter	Katika	Oilman, degraded.
Tibara	Kshetriya	{ Rajput not } { in wedlock }	Fisher.
Lela	Tibara	Tailakur	
Malla	} Leta		
Kola			
Matara		Tibara	
Bhad			
Kalandara			
Chandāla	Sudra	{ Brahmin, not } { in wedlock .. }	{ Very low, and degrad- } { ed. }
Charmokar	Tibara	Chandāla	Tanner.
Mansachedi ..	Chandāla	Charmokar	Butcher.
Koneh	Tibara	Mansachedi	Ditto.
Kandara ..	Kaibartha	Koneh	Ditto.
Haddika			Sweeper caste.
Soundika or Donre	{ Leta	Chandāla	Vintner.
Gungaputra ..	Leta	Tibra	{ Born on the banks of } { the Ganges. }
Juagi	Besh Dhari	Gungaputra ..	Ditto.
Sundr	Vaishya	Tibara	Ditto.
Poundraka	Ditto	Sundi	Ditto.
Rajput	Kshetriya	Kayastha	Ditto.
Agabi	Kayastha	Rajput	Ditto.
Kaibartha ..	Kshetriya	Vaishya	{ Called also Dhibar or } { Fisherman. }
Rajaka	Dhibara	Tibara	Washerman.
Kodali	Tibara	Rajaka	Ditto.
Sarvashi	Napita	Gopa	Ditto.
Byadha	Kshetriya	Sarvashi	Hunter.
Kudara	Rishi	Brahmin	{ Begotten on a forbid- } { den day and there- } { fore degraded. }
Bagatita	Kshetriya	Vaishya	{ Ditto, and that not- } { withstanding the un- } { willingness of the } { mother, and there- } { fore degraded. }
Mlecha*	Ditto	Sudra	{ Begotten on a forbid- } { den day. }
Jola	Mlecha	Kubinda	
Saraka	Jola	Ditto	

* *Mlecha*, or barbarian, is a term also applied to foreigners, or people born without the precincts of the 'excellent land' of India. *Mlechas* are described as

कर्णाः क्रूराश्च निर्भय अविद रणदुर्जयाः शोषाचारविहीनाश्च
दुर्द्धवा धर्मवर्जिताः ॥—"People, whose ears are not bored, who are cruel,
daring, invincible in battle, impure in practice, violent, and without religion."

Before we quit this part of our essay on the Theory of Caste contained in the Smṛiti, we shall notice one or two curious passages, from which it appears, that some people, born without the boundaries of Hindustan, were once reckoned as men of good caste among the Hindus. Menu says:—"The following races 'of Kshetriyas, by their omission of holy rites and by seeing 'no Brahmins, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of 'the four classes: Paundracas, Odras and Draviras; CAMBOJAS, 'YAVANAS, and SACAS; Paradas, Pahlavas, CHINAS, Kiratas, 'Deradas, and Chasas."—x. 43, 44.

In the legend of Sagara, which is contained in the Hari-Vansa, Vishnu, Brahma and other Purānas, it is said, that King Sagara had discomfited several fierce nations, which had invaded his kingdom; and that, by depriving them of the rites of religion, and forbidding Brahmins to officiate for them, he degraded them to the humble position of Mlechas and out-casts. Among the nations thus degraded, the names *Yavanas*, *Sacas*, *Cambojas*, and *Chinas* are found. Now *Yavanas* in Sanscrit meant the Greeks; *Sacas** was the name which the Persians had given to the Scythians; *Cambojas* and *Chinas* were evidently inhabitants of Cambodia and China. Are we to conclude hence that all these nations were at one time acknowledged as brethren by the Hindus?

ON CASTE AS IT NOW PREVAILS.—The system of caste, as it is upheld in the present day, is very different. The Vaishyas and Sūdras, as pure orders, are extinct at least in Bengal. The Kshetriyas are scarce. The dignity of the twice-born is almost monopolized by Brahmins. The degradation of the Sūdras is shared by the Varna Sankaras, or mixed classes, whose name is legion. The Vaidyas stand at the top of the mixed classes, and lay claim to the privileges of the twice-born. The Kayasthas rank next to them, and are the leaders of the classes accounted Sūdras. They are otherwise called the *writer* caste, and are, both in profession and practice, *pen-men*.

The political ascendancy of the Muhammadan and other foreign powers in India, has, in some measure, led to the diminution of Brahminical influence. The "earthly gods" do not now meet with the unqualified reverence, which they once claimed and received, except when they have succeeded in enforcing their divine pretensions by means of worldly possessions. The fire, which they are said to have emitted from their mouths at one time for the

* Οἱ γὰρ Περσῶν πάντας τῶς Σχυθας καλεοῦσι Σακάς.—Herod. vii. 64.

destruction of their enemies, as plentifully as a volcano, has long since been extinguished. The Kayasthas and some other servile castes have acquired great influence over them. In many cases they are masters and leaders, instead of being (agreeably to Menu's ordinances) obedient slaves of the Brahmins. They still assume the title of *Dasses*, or *slaves* of the twice-born. But their yoke must be particularly easy, since their servility does not incapacitate them for presiding over religious corporations, whereof Brahmins are mere members. The President of the Dharma Sobha of Calcutta is a Kayastha and Súdra, while the Secretary is a Brahmin.

There are some Brahmins still, who exhibit the pride and affect the purity of their ancestors, and refuse to look upon Súdras, as others than slaves, or to perform spiritual offices for them. The number of such proud purists is very small. The majority are glad to recognize the *slaves* as their patrons and supporters.

The Brahmins no longer pass through the four stages prescribed by Menu, nor do they abstain from those employments, which, however inconsistent with their vows, are sufficiently lucrative. They accept service under any one; *sell their learning*, though that is reckoned a heinous crime in the Shástras; live by their pens, and condescend to the most unpriestly avocations for the sake of gain. But, however humbled and shorn of their powers, they are still very highly respected.

The prominent features of caste, as it exists at present, are:—(1) the spiritual supremacy of the Brahmins; (2) the improved positions of some of the mixed races; (3) the total prohibition of intermarriage and interchange of hospitality; and (4) the numerous ramifications of the same castes introduced by the creation of Kulins.

1. The spiritual supremacy of the Brahmins remains unaltered, at least in theory. They are still venerated by the other castes. The Kshetriyas have long lost their importance; the Vaishyas are perhaps extinct; but the Brahmin continues the same in matters spiritual, as he was in the age of the Vedas. Buddhist, Muhammadan and British ascendancy have contributed successively to diminish his influence: but, wherever there is faith in Hinduism, respect is paid to Brahmins. The fact is another instance of the superiority of the mind over the body. The Brahmins, who represented the intellect of the country, have preserved their credit long after the diminution of Kshetriya influence, which symbolized physical power.

2. The improved position of some of the mixed races appears from the importance, which is attached to the Kayasthas and the Vaidyas. The former as writers, and the latter as phy-

sicians, are undoubtedly reckoned as *gentlemen*. They occupy in Bengal a rank second only to Brahmins. The priests look up to them, as the Rishis of yore looked up to the Kshetriyas. The other mixed classes are less respected. Nine of them, usually called the *Nobosakh*, are treated with greater regard than the rest. The Brahmin will condescend to drink water from their hands, *i. e.*, he will have no objection to employ them as water-bearers, an honour which he will not confer on others! The remaining castes are held in utter contempt as mechanics and artificers. The Brahmin will consider himself defiled by their very touch. They actually represent the humble Súdras of Menu's age.

3. The total prohibition of intermarriage and of the interchange of hospitalities is another characteristic of caste as it now prevails. Intermarriages between the several castes were always discouraged, but never so strictly prohibited as in the present age. In fact there is now no degradation in caste, other than that which is caused by forming a matrimonial connection, or joining in a convivial party with a person of a different caste. In former times, no Brahmin* was excommunicated for marrying a Sudra; the offspring of such a union would indeed be lowered in rank, but the parents would not suffer. In the present age no Brahmin dares contract such a marriage on pain of excommunication.

4. The numerous ramifications of the same castes, introduced by the creation of Kulins, though never intended by the original law-givers, have nevertheless served to extend the distinction of caste to a fearful length. Not only are Brahmins, Kayasthas, &c. prohibited to intermarry or interchange hospitalities with other castes, but they are also forbidden to do so with many families of *their own orders*. In marriage the question of Kulinism requires to be considered before the contract can be formed.

We shall illustrate this sub-division of caste by a simple example. The Brahmins in Bengal are divided into several Srenies, such as Rauries, Barenders, Vaidiks, and Saptasatis. The Srenies again are sub-divided into Kulins, Srotriyas, and Vangsajas. Kulins, Srotriyas and Vangsajas will interchange hospitalities, but not freely intermarry. The different Srenies will neither intermarry nor interchange hospitalities.

Such is the gigantic system of Hindu caste in its several stages of development. We have hitherto represented it historically, without note or comment. Indeed we have allowed the

* There are some passages in Menu and the Puránas (as the reader may have gathered from the preceding quotations), which denounce, as strongly as possible, the marriage of a Brahmin with a Sudra. But it appears they were mere dead letters.

authors of the Hindu Shástras to speak for themselves almost without interruption. It is time that we put the reader in possession of our own sentiments on the subject. We shall do so with all possible brevity.

The deteriorating effects of the institution of caste have not, in any country, been so glaring as in India. There is something in the idea of arrangement, which indicates thought, and which has therefore sometimes deceived historians into the belief, that the classification of a people is a token of civilization. The legislators of Egypt have been praised, rather than censured, for the division of labour they enforced by the institution of caste. Man, in a state of utter barbarism, does not think of such division. He must appreciate the desiderata, which the priest, the warrior, and the merchant are intended to supply, before he can feel the need of classification. As long as he lives in a savage wild state, ignorant of the luxuries and comforts of civilization, he may at times feel the need of a priest to offer sacrifices and prayers for him; but he has little occasion for the services of the warrior or the merchant. Destitute of property, he can apprehend no danger from "malice domestic" or "foreign levy," and therefore requires not the soldier's protection. Ignorant of the comforts of life, he cares neither for the merchant nor the mechanic, and is equally indifferent to imports and manufactures.

But if the institution of caste prove that human society has advanced a few steps from a state of absolute rudeness and barbarity, its perpetuation is at the same time both a cause and an index of a stagnant state of half-civilization. The march of intellect is then the fastest, when it is the least restrained by arbitrary ordinances. A child may require to be kept in order by the school-master's rod, and to have his whole conduct regulated by a prescribed routine of duties. Incapable of thought, of discretion, and of moral agency, he may require to be treated like an irresponsible being, whose proceedings should be regulated by the judgment of others. Human society, in its infancy, might require the same treatment. Legislators might be called upon to regulate the public and private proceedings of every member of the State, leaving little or no room for the exercise of individual discretion. Such interference would however degenerate into intolerance and despotism, when society advanced from infancy to manhood. The legislator could be no more justified in coercing the private acts of men in an advanced state of society, than the school-master

in imposing his own whims on full-grown pupils by means of the rod.

The institution of caste exercises a baneful influence on the development of the human mind. The little advantage derived from its tendency to inspire the son with the desire of emulating the father, and of preserving unsullied the reputation of the family, is more than counter-balanced by its hurtful consequences in other respects. Whether the original constitution of the human mind is the same in every person, is a question much debated by metaphysical casuists, and but little likely to receive a satisfactory determination. Certain it is, however, that many men show, as they grow up, various turns of mind qualifying them for varying professions in life. It is often difficult to predict, before a boy's mind is actually formed, the profession, for which his genius and inclination will make him most fit. That the father may often create circumstances tending to produce a certain intended state of mind in his son, is not denied; but it must be acknowledged, that men are also creatures of circumstances, over which neither they, nor their guardians, have any controul. A boy may acquire tastes and imbibe sentiments, which neither his father nor his tutor expected or wished. It would be preposterous to prescribe his studies, or his profession, before, considering the turn which his own ideas and inclinations may take.

The systems, by which a person's studies and profession are made dependent on his birth, can never be sufficiently execrated. The human mind is free; it will not submit to restraints; it will not succumb to the regulations of freakish legislators. The Brahmin or the Kshetriya may have a son, whose mind is ill adapted to his hereditary profession. The Vaishya may have a son with a natural dislike for a counting-house, and the Súdra may have talents superior to his birth. If they be forced to adhere to their hereditary professions, their minds must deteriorate. To call upon a man to adopt a profession, for which he is not intellectually fitted, and to pursue such studies as are not suitable to his genius and taste, is to obstruct his education and prevent his mental growth. If the mind is not allowed to develop itself in its own congenial way, and if it is strained by a rude hand into a strange way, whatever progress it may make will be tainted by the unholy marks of the violence done to it. The consequence will ultimately be the intellectual prostration of the people. Scholars, that are compelled to adopt a learned profession—soldiers, that are impressed to bear arms—merchants, that are forced to import and export, are not likely to reflect

lustre on their several professions. They are more likely to throw them into discredit by their own lukewarmness and indifference.

We do not deny that hereditary professions have some virtues peculiar to themselves. The son may often take pride in maintaining the credit of his father in a certain profession. Such pride pre-supposes, however, that the son has inherited the taste, sentiments and genius, along with the *profession*, of his father. In all other cases the institution must produce the evils we have described without a single redeeming excellence.

Nor are the *moral* evils, produced by the institution of caste, less conspicuous. Where dignities are forced upon men by their birth, for which they are little fitted by other qualifications, the deterioration of the moral faculties is the inevitable consequence. The mind is inflated by the enjoyment of undeserved honours, which vanity and self-love attribute to real merit. The Brahmin, that has no intrinsic worth, but is respected for his birth, is soon deluded into the notion, that it is his own accomplishments, natural or acquired, that entitle him to the obeisance of his contemporaries. He learns to construe, as a tribute to his personal acquirements, what is a mark of respect for his family. He thinks he is not only a descendant of a great family, but a great man himself—revered by virtue of his race, but still more by virtue of his own excellencies.

The Súdra, on the other hand, from being despised by his contemporaries, learns to despise himself. Deprived by law of all access to the Shástras—denied the privilege of even enjoying the ministerial offices of Brahmins—stigmatized as a *once-born* serf, whose duty is only to serve the three superior orders, and made a proverb and a bye-word—he considers himself relieved from all moral responsibility, because he is considered by others as incapable of any excellency.

Among the moral evils produced by the institution of caste, the extinction of sympathy and fellow-feeling is not the least pernicious. There can be little room for sympathy, where some persons arrogate superior birth, and others submit to brook their humiliation in sullen silence. The Brahmin considers himself the lord of the creation; he eats but his own food; he esteems himself above the sympathy and fellow-feeling of his serfs. The Súdra, on the other hand, sullenly submits to a disgrace he cannot avert. He endures what he cannot cure. He may be reconciled to his fate; it may be a willing bondage with him, but still it is a bondage. He can neither presume nor desire to

keep up familiar terms with those whom he can never rival, however industrious and ingenious he may be. Sympathy and fellow-feeling can only exist between equals. They can have no room between unequals. Those, who are naturally and necessarily superior, cannot help looking down upon their inferiors, who are incapable of rising to their level. The inferiors again cannot help a secret feeling of discontent against those whom they can never hope to meet on equal ground. Thus the division into classes proves a sore evil. By fostering the pride of some, and producing sullenness in others, it serves to alienate race from race and man from man. It obstructs that kindly intercourse and mutual regard, which should knit together all the sons of Adam. Some are puffed up; others are depressed; ALL ARE MORALLY DETERIORATED.

The social evils of caste are also of a grave character. It is a great advantage to society, where persons of various professions and talents are allowed free intercourse with one another; where the scholar, the soldier, the merchant, and the manufacturer can meet on an equal footing, apart from their desks, their parade ground, or their factories. The austere morals of the priest, the brave gallantry of the soldier, the calculating accuracy of the merchant, have each its influence on the tone of society. Sometimes different members of the same family may be pursuing different occupations in life. Their free intercourse as relations may correct the evils, which exclusive devotion to a particular profession has a tendency to produce. The priest, from the authority with which he inculcates doctrine, prescribes practice, rebukes, exhorts, is in danger of imbibing spiritual pride, and of affecting a false appearance of sanctity. The soldier, from the frequency with which he wields weapons of destruction, is likely to become insensible to the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, and to look with utter indifference on their pains and sorrows. The merchant, from his habitual study of self-interest in his speculations and enterprizes, is apt to lose sight of more generous and disinterested considerations. These are evils, which the isolation of the professions has a tendency to produce. Familiarity and mutual intercourse are likely to correct them. The austerity and spiritual pride of the priest may be rectified by the soldier's gallantry and the merchant's worldliness. The ferocity of the soldier may be softened by the self-denying devotion of the priest. The merchant's avarice may be corrected by the severe austerity and the generous gallantry of the two other classes. But the institution of caste deprives the state of these advantages by isolating the several

professions from one another. The Brahmin, the Kshetriya, and the Vaishya cannot meet on equal ground, cannot cultivate unrestricted familiarity.

The depression of the arts has been another of the baneful consequences of caste. The painter, the carpenter, the civil architect, the goldsmith, are pronounced to be *degraded*. In civilized countries, every encouragement is held out to the cultivators of the arts, especially the fine arts. Their professions are esteemed honourable—their labours are amply rewarded by men of taste and refinement. Those especially, who can transfer the images of their contemporaries to canvas, or render them imperishable in marble or bronze—who can supply to husbands and parents, separated from wives and children, to afflicted widows and bereaved mothers, personal memorials, on which the eye may feast without satiety—are deservedly respected for their rare accomplishments. The pernicious system of caste taught a different lesson to the Hindus. The man, whose brush turns the surface of mute canvas into the majestic and lively image of a being made a little lower than the angels, is held to be degraded. The civil architect is branded as a bastard. The carpenter and the goldsmith are accursed, because the Brahmins chose to take umbrage at them. How could the arts flourish in such a society? How could a person of sensibility aspire to distinction in the cultivation of arts which are considered so low?

To the temporary humiliation of Brahminism, during the rise and progress of the Buddhists, we are perhaps indebted for the scattered remains of sculpture and architecture in India. Even where the chisel or the trowel was consecrated to gods opposed to Buddha, the blow inflicted or aimed by the adherents of Sakya Sing against the supremacy of the Brahmins may be included among the happy causes of the improvement of Indian art.

The national character of the people cannot but suffer under such circumstances. The institution of caste, by forcing professions on men without regard to their qualifications and tastes, has a tendency to fill the country with bad priests, bad warriors, bad merchants, bad mechanics, &c. People cannot be expected to improve a science or an art in which they feel no interest; nor are they likely to take an interest in those things, to which they are wedded by birth, not inclination. The Brahmin will chant the Vedas, because he cannot avoid it; the Kshetriya will wield the sword because he is compelled to do so; the Vaishya will turn merchant, because no

other source of livelihood is open to him. What improvement can be expected under such circumstances in their professions?

Human society cannot fail to deteriorate under such a system. Nothing stands still on the earth. All is in motion. That which does not advance must retrograde. The nation, that does not move forward, will soon begin to move backward. If the institution of caste is a bar to improvement, it must prove a cause of deterioration. Such has been the actual fact in Hindustan. The Hindus improved their arts, sciences, and social institutions up to a certain point; they left some of their neighbours behind them in the scale of civilization;—and there they stopped. Their caste prevented the full development of their faculties. A reaction was the consequence. That, which was prevented from rising, began to fall. The national character soon degenerated. The sun of India's prosperity began to decline; and it soon set.

The principal cause of India's humiliation is CASTE. It is this unnatural institution, which, by detaching man from man, trade from trade, mechanic from mechanic, tribe from tribe, put an end to unity and strength in the nation. A people, divided and sub-divided like the Hindus, can never make head against any power that deserves the name. The Muhammadan conquest was the natural result of such national weakness.

If India be destined in the counsels of Providence to look up once more among the nations of the earth, it will only be by unlearning the institution of caste, and by adopting the religion of her present rulers with all its temporal and spiritual blessings.

After the observations already made, the reader will expect to hear an unqualified verdict against caste, as a system opposed to reason, experience and revelation. That it is opposed to reason and experience, will appear from the preceding remarks. We have already shown that he is but a sorry legislator who endeavours to restrict the energies of his species for ages immemorial to certain professions of his own selection. Specious as the arguments may be for a compulsory division of labour, the restraints thereby put on individual taste and discretion counter-balance the advantages which may be expected from such division. The evils of monopoly are too flagrant to require an elaborate refutation in the nineteenth century. Monopoly generally confers undue benefits on a particular party, and becomes invidious because of the injury it thereby inflicts on others. But the monopoly of

caste scarcely confers a benefit on a single individual or community. Its fetters are galling to all. It really injures the Brahmin no less than the Súdra, by compelling both to adopt professions, which may be opposed to their tastes; and it prevents the improvement of the arts and sciences in the bargain. Compulsory agriculture and compulsory manufacture can never rise to any high standard. All are accordingly injured. The people are injured. The arts are injured. The nation is injured. The country is injured.

Experience has proved the fatal consequences of such fallacious legislation. Why have the Hindus been so divided? Because of their caste. Why is there so much misery among the Brahmins? Because most of them adhere to their vain notions of caste, and, though deprived of support from the State, will not work for their livelihood. Why is there so much pauperism among persons of good families? Because they disdain to take up professions below their birth, and cannot get employments suited to their castes. Why are articles of native manufacture generally so inferior? Because the manufacturers are accustomed to consider themselves degraded, and are incapable of high aspirations and honourable ambition.

But it is not our own fallible reason and limited experience to which the system of caste is opposed. The infallible voice of divine revelation is equally conclusive against it. We cannot stop here to consider the evidences, which attest the Divine original of the Bible. We shall only remark that the main arguments, deduced from the fulfilment of undisputed prophecies and from the performance of genuine miracles, have never been successfully refuted by the opponents of Christianity. We have therefore as much right to cite the authority of the Bible in moral and religious questions, as the man of science has to quote Newton or Bacon. Assuming then the truth as it is in Jesus, we may safely assert that the system of caste is diametrically opposed to the will of God. "God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he, that feareth Him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him." The Almighty pays no regard to pedigree. Righteousness and faith are the qualities which constitute greatness in His sight. "He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell in all the face of the earth." Brahmin, and Súdra, baron and villain, noble and serf, bond and free, are distinctions of human invention, and are to be renounced, wherever they militate against the will of the Almighty.

That the Almighty had for a time allowed the service of the

sanctuary to be performed by a single tribe consecrated to it, is no sanction to the general principle of caste. The Levites had their peculiar privileges under a dispensation, which was intended to be the prelude of a higher covenant. The types and shadows of the Mosaic institution have been satisfied in Him, to whom Moses and the prophets bore witness. Under the dispensation of the Gospel the middle wall of partition has been broken. All are now one in Christ.

Besides, the privileges of the Levites were owing to a positive injunction. It was never given out that they were *created* superior to their brethren. It was not declared that they were naturally fitted for no other work than that of the sanctuary. It only pleased the Almighty to set apart one tribe for His own service, until, in the fulness of time, the Saviour was manifested.

If the Hindu disputant have failed to follow us in our condemnation of caste on the grounds of reason, experience and revelation, we shall, for his conviction, add that the contradictory statements in the Shástras regarding it are plain proofs of its futility. When Shástra is opposed to Shástra, who can resist the evidence thereby offered of their want of authority? No writings can be infallible, which involve self-contradictions. The Shástras, which contain conflicting sentiments on caste, can never pretend to a divine original: nor can the system of caste be palmed upon the nation as a divine institution.

In exposing the inconsistencies of the Shástras on the subject of caste, we shall not follow the example of the *Vajra Suchi*. We concede that, if a few extraordinary cases of admission to the privileges of Brahminhood had been all that could be urged against the system, we should not have undertaken to assail the time-honoured institution. A few individual exceptions may be easily tolerated. But we shall proceed to show that contradictory statutes may be found in the Shástras respecting vital parts of the system, involving the privileges and responsibilities of the Brahminical order. The following table will justify our charge:—

Passages maintaining the infallibility of Brahmins.

"A Brahmin, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity; even as fire is a powerful divinity, whether consecrated or popular."—*Menu*, ix. 317.

"Even in places for burning the dead, the bright fire is undefiled;

Passages inculcating the contrary doctrine.

"That Brahmin, who knows not the form of returning a salutation, must not be saluted by a man of learning: as a Súdra, even so is he."—*Menu*, ii. 126.

"A twice-born man, who, not having studied the Veda, applies dili-

and when presented with clarified butter at subsequent sacrifices, blazes again with extreme splendour."—*Ibid*, ix. 318.

"All the Brahmins are excellent, and always to be honoured without discriminating whether they are learned or unlearned. Even wicked Brahmins are to be venerated, but not Súdras, though of subdued passions. The cow that eats foul things, is better than the pig with good dispositions."—*Padma Purāna, Kriya Yoga Sara, chap. 20.*

"Brahmins are not to be despised whether they behave well or ill."—*Mahabharat, Adi Parva, chap. 20.*

"Whether learned or unlearned, civilized or barbarous, Brahmins are not to be despised; they are like fire smouldering in ashes. As the flaming fire, though it be in a cemetery, is free from fault, so is the Brahmin a great god, whether learned or unlearned."—*Ibid, Vana Parva, chap. 199.*

The foregoing are but some of the self-contradictory statements in the Shāstras respecting the dignity of Brahmins—some maintaining that they are proof against apostacy, and are infallible—others, that marriage with Súdra women, neglect of the *Sandhya*, and similar delinquencies, immediately disqualify them as priests, and cause their excommunication *ipso facto*!

Again, as to the marriage of a Brahmin with a Súdra's wife, the self-contradictions are equally remarkable. Thus:

Passages acknowledging the legality of a Brahmin's marriage with a Súdra.

"Should the tribe sprung from a Brahmin, by a Súdra woman, produce a succession of children by the marriages of its women with other Brahmins, the low tribe shall be raised to the highest in the seventh generation."—*Menu, x. 64.*

"By a Súdra bride, marrying a priest, a soldier, or a merchant, must be held the skirt of a mantle.—*Ibid*, iii. 44.

gent attention to a different and worldly study, soon falls, even when living, to the condition of a Súdra; and his descendents after him."—*Ibid*, ii. 168.

"A Brahmin unlearned in holy writ, is extinguished in an instant, like a fire of dry grass. To him the oblation must not be given; for the clarified butter must not be poured on ashes."—*Ibid*, iii. 168.

"The Brahmin, who does not perform the morning and evening *Sandhyas*, is to be incapacitated like the Súdra for holy duties."—*Brahma Vaibarthā Prakriti, chap. 21.*

"If a Brahmin take a Súdra to wife, he is excommunicated from the dignity of the priesthood, and becomes worse than a Chandāla."—*Ibid*, chap. 27.

Passages denouncing a Brahmin's marriage with a Súdra.

"If a Brahmin take a Súdra to wife," &c. [Cited above from the *Brahma Vaibarthā*.]

"For the crime of him, who thus illegally drinks the moisture of a Súdra's lips, who is tainted by her breath, and who even begets a child on her body, the law declares no expiation."—*Menu, iii. 19.*

The passage, quoted last but one from Menu, x. 64, suggests another reflection. The Shástras declare that a Brahmin is *born*, not *made* or *promoted*. The idea of Hindu caste excludes the promotion of a lower to a higher order; and yet the passage referred to allows the promotion of a base-born tribe to the highest class in the seventh generation! The 65th verse expressly says: "As the son of a Súdra may thus attain the rank of a Brahmin, and as the son of a Brahmin may sink to a level with Súdras, &c.," thus acknowledging *promotion*, as well as *degradation*, in caste. We have said elsewhere, we do not wish to adopt the severe criticism of the *Vajra Suchi*, the author of which has based his reflections against caste by citing the cases of a few individual Rishis, who were promoted to the dignity of Brahmins in consequence of their extraordinary devotion, notwithstanding the lowness of their birth. Exceptions may be allowed, where the rule is right in its integrity. But the opposition of rule to rule and of law to law, regarding the dignity, responsibility, and privileges of the several classes, must present insuperable difficulties in the way of those, who may be desirous of maintaining Hindu caste in its integrity. The self-contradictions likewise prove that the Hindu Shástras could not have proceeded from Him "with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."

Into whose hands these our lucubrations may fall, we cannot divine. If they ever attract the notice of any of our native fellow-subjects, we beseech them to consider the duty of alleviating the evils produced by the system of caste. Those especially, whose minds have been enlightened by education, should reckon the awful responsibility they incur, in the sight both of God and man, by conforming to an institution in which they have no faith, and which is fraught with so many evils. The rational Hindus, as a certain section delight to call themselves, ought not to be so *irrational* in practice. We cannot conceive how a person, who professes to regard the Hindu Shástras with perfect contempt, can enjoy any feeling of self-esteem, while, in matters of caste, his professions are at such variance with his conduct. Inconsistency is indeed an evil, to which all mankind are more or less subject. But habitual deviation from principle constitutes a degree of turpitude, which society cannot tolerate without sinking into the depths of moral debasement. History has branded with the title of unprincipled hypocrites those, who habitually falsified in practice what they maintained in theory. Such of our contemporaries, as do not scruple to follow the example, must make up their minds to share the fate, of those marked men.

We do not wish to anticipate the judgment of posterity: but we cannot think that those persons are entitling themselves to the gratitude of the nation, who keep up in practice what they detest in theory, and perpetuate the monstrous institution of caste, notwithstanding their conviction of its evil consequences.

Such of our readers, as have not absolutely surrendered their mental freedom to the pretended authority of the Vedas and Puráṇas, should consider the guilt of conforming to a system, which is falsely attributed to a divine original. Of all forgeries the most flagitious and profane is that, which connects the name of the Almighty with an untruth. If the Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaishya, and the Súdra did not really proceed from different parts of the Creator's person, the story is nothing short of blasphemy. He who professes assent to such a story by his conformity to the institution of caste is *particeps criminis*. Even if it were abstractedly right to classify a people, it would still be a participation in the spiritual forgeries of the Shástras to support the specific institution which they have originated.

To us, whom the grace of an All-merciful God has brought to the knowledge of a Saviour mighty to save, it is a most interesting reflection, that while Vedantism and Deism and other theories have been propounded for the regeneration of the native mind—while nostrums after nostrums are prescribed for the restoration of India's moral health—no remedy has hitherto succeeded in alleviating the miseries of the country, but that which has every where proved a panacea for all evils. Vedantism and Deism have both been found to repose spell-bound and dumb beside Durga's shrine and the Brahmin's fire. Christianity alone has resisted the bewitching charms of the goddess, and thrown down her altars. Christianity alone has quenched the Brahmin's fire and the ignited darts of Shiva. Christianity alone has destroyed caste, educated females, stopped the marriage, or rather the prostitution, of infants, relieved widows, and proclaimed due liberty to the captives of the Zenana. Christianity, wherever it has got a footing, has transformed the Hindu's house from a scene of idolatry, female debasement, ignorance, and idleness, into one of rational worship, of moral energy, intellectual advancement, and female aggrandizement.

ART. III.—*The Procedure of the Civil Courts of the East India Company in the Presidency of Fort William, in regular suits. By William Macpherson, of the Inner Temple, Esq., Barrister at Law. Calcutta. 1850.*

A CERTAIN ill-used damsel, as we read in our younger days, was confined in a solitary chamber by a hard-hearted relative, until she should have completed a series of almost impossible tasks, the first of which was to sort a tangled mass of threads of different colours. In the midst of her tears, a benevolent fairy made her appearance, and, with a touch of her wand, executed the task, and relieved her distress. Such supernatural aid is unfortunately not readily called in in these degenerate days; but laborious mortals, who endeavour to supply its place, still sometimes labour in the cause of the disconsolate public. It was out of a chaos of unarranged facts, multitudinous yet not complete, that Linnæus created an artificial order in the science of botany, and left to philosophers yet to come the task of framing a system after the true order of nature, when all, or nearly all, the essential facts should have been registered. It was the quality of order, which gave to the genius of Napoleon its most distinctive characteristic—a quality, overlooked in consequence of the brilliancy of his actions, and which may be marked throughout his campaigns, in the arrangement of his own resources and the appreciation of the position of his enemy, but which shone most brightly in the civil regulations of his consulate, and still aided his later struggles, after his judgment had been debauched by unlooked-for success. It is to a similar power of arrangement that we owe the revised tariff of Sir Robert Peel, and the application of uniform and discriminating principles to a mass of many hundreds of commodities. The legislation of Justinian was the work of many hands, and was disfigured by many faults, but is not the less the most gigantic instance in which human ingenuity has drawn order out of chaos. A mass of laws, precedents and opinions, which have accumulated for centuries, is surely the most chaotic material over which philosopher ever pondered, or fairy waved her wand. The legislative brick-maker has made many bricks, but no form of architecture is there. At the best, it may be compared to the timbers prepared to build some vast wooden edifice, all numbered and fitting into each other; but a conception of whose form no inspection of the parts will convey, and which is likely to be found, when erected, to be discordant in many parts, ill conceived for use, and imposing only from its size.

Sixty years have sufficed to form a body of Indian laws, which offer, on a smaller scale and with fewer complications, a counterpart of the difficulties which Tribonian and his colleagues encountered. The *Guide to the Civil Law* has introduced the principle of order into the body of civil enactments, and many other publications have thrown light on portions of the mass. What Linnaeus did for botany—the enabling a student to find the place of an object in a certain artificial arrangement—has been in great measure accomplished. What laws have been enacted on a certain subject, may be readily ascertained; but not so that mixed collection of enactments and customs, of precedents and constructions, which on any one subject constitute what is called law, and, in the last resort, determine the civil rights of the people. We have had a Law Commission, which, besides the good works it did in its time of existence, has left us but one or two unborn babes; and as yet there has not been strength for them to come to the birth. Pending that long-expected event, and not reverently awaiting its advent, Mr. Macpherson has stepped in, and has rendered a public service. Considering the heterogeneous mass from which he has digested his book on civil procedure, we have no hesitation in saying, that the work, which he undertook, has been admirably executed. Notwithstanding many omissions,* it deserves the credit of having consolidated one portion of the law into a regular system. The arrangement of the subject is historical, commencing with the persons and things that may, or may not, be parties or subjects in a regular suit; the mode in which it should be commenced, and in what court; the proceedings leading to a decree; the execution of the decree, and appeal. In producing a work on this subject, not only lucid but readable, Mr. Macpherson has rendered the same sort of service to the legal student, as one, who finds the leaves of a book cut out and heaped together at random, and arranges them in their proper order. The most indefatigable attention would scarcely give a critical knowledge of a book, which can only be studied in such a condition; once arranged, its internal relations become apparent. So it is in the work before us. The principles of the law are generally laid down at the commencement of each chapter, and the details and their consistency with each

* We may notice among the larger omissions, that there is no mention of the special rules concerning native soldiers, when parties to a suit—a class, which being exceptionally treated, deserved a section to itself, like that given to parties pleading in *forma pauperis*. It might be added, that, to complete the code of procedure, a digest of all the rules concerning summary suits should be made. But this is no omission;—Mr. Macpherson having only proposed to himself as a subject the proceedings in regular suits.

other are afterwards exhibited, and the weak points and inconsistencies are brought into light; principles are carried out to their legitimate consequences, and thus, in addition to the mere lucidity and clearer understanding of the whole, obscure and unsettled points have been put forward, which may ere long receive an authoritative solution. Looking upon the perfecting of this digest of a portion of the law as an important public object, we could wish that a select number of the district judges should be requested to annotate it, to mark its defects, omissions and superfluities, so far as the experience of six months or a year may suggest to them, and that a second edition may embody these suggestions and receive a careful revision, preparatory to its being admitted as a text-book for legal examinations. For the verification of particular provisions, it may still be necessary to refer to the place where the original law or precedent is to be found: but to make the digest complete, there should be nothing material, which is not noted in it, though not necessarily at full length.

In the preface to his book, Mr. Macpherson has recorded his opinion of the Bengal judicial system, and his suggestions for its improvement. His remarks, even where we differ in opinion, are eminently suggestive, and are of that class so often wished for and so seldom got in India, the sentiments of a dispassionate person, who has been brought up under a different system, and has applied his mind fairly to consider local facts.

The chief subjects discussed in the preface, are the origin and development of the Indian law; its consequent confused state; the necessity of written laws, contrasted with the success with which non-regulation provinces have often been administered; some defects in the present system; the importance of a judge's receiving a special preparation for his office; the comparative desirableness of his previous employment in the revenue department; and the want of a code. All of these are questions, about which much has been written, without perhaps entirely exhausting the subject; questions moreover of vital importance to the proper organization and working of the system, and some of them depending for their correct solution on facts, which are not at first sight closely connected with them.

We should be as unwilling to confine ourselves, when considering the origin and development of our Indian laws, to the years in which the Regulations and Acts were passed—to 1792 and the subsequent years—as we should, in studying English law, to ignore every thing that took place before 1. Richard I. or before the passing of the first known general enactment. It is indeed not a little instructive, and elucidatory of the Indian

system, to glance at the history of law in our native land ; to conceive clearly and weigh well the many points of resemblance and of change, of growth and of agglomeration, which the two have in common; and to consider whether the principles, which guide us in the one, may not be equally applicable in the other case; whether the feelings, which, we know, are entertained towards the system we were born under, may not offer a key to those with which Indian laws are regarded by the population subject to them.

Of the two portions of the law, the unwritten and the written, it is obvious that the former must always have the higher antiquity. Ours ascends beyond the region of historical evidence, into the atmosphere where antiquaries delight to revel. From the Romans we got our towns with a municipal constitution; from the Britons some customs probably, such as gavelkind, if not a more substantial contribution; the Saxons imported and consolidated their own customs; the Danes did likewise; till at length, before the conquest there prevailed three systems of law over three different portions of England—the Mercian, the West Saxon, and the Danish law. Upon this state of things came the Conquest, and added a new element to the common law, perhaps the most important of all; for the tenures of land, the judicial forms and pleadings, and the language of the courts, were all Norman. Land had been either held of the Crown by a charter, or was allodial, and simply private property. At one blow, the Conqueror's legislation (cap. 52) changed the tenure of all the land in England, by ordaining, that every land-owner should swear feudal allegiance to the King; and a further development of the same law (cap. 58), gave them a perpetual tenure, in place of the life tenure so frequent under the Saxons, and ordered every vassal to do military service. Hence arose reliefs, wardships, escheats, and all the intricacies in which the feudal law involved the possessor of land.

From all these sources combined arose the common law,—a system, which, by its general customs, settles the proceedings of courts of justice, the course of inheritance, and the formalities of documents, while it legalizes the existence of particular local customs. These customs are in the breast of the judges, and are learnt from the records of former judgments; but there must evidently have been a day, when there were no precedents, and when, what is now law, was either adopted from the usages of the people, or established *de novo* by the courts. The common law is always called the perfection of reason: and it was said in proof of it, that an infraction of one of its old rules, of which the reason was unknown, was sure to be followed by inconvenience.

But notwithstanding this reasonableness, it often did not do justice, which is not surprising, considering how much of it was new and did not tally with old customs. The only mode in which justice could be got, was by an appeal to the King, who, through his Chancellor, called up the case into his own court; and thus, in redressing the deficiency of the common law, laid the foundation of the equity courts and system of law. In the mean time, questions concerning spiritual matters, or depending on religious rites, such as marriage and legitimacy, fell under the jurisdiction of the priestly class, and of the ecclesiastical courts. All these things had been established, when the statutes, as now known, began.

Well known as these facts are, it will still not be superfluous to observe the broader features displayed in the history of our law. In its origin are seen local customs, derived from whatever source, and obtaining among the people a force equal to law; then, as courts of justice arose, receiving their sanction, subsequently moulded by the enactments of William into a new shape, and dating its present outlines from that period. Then arose an equity jurisdiction to correct the hardness of the common law, like the *Jus Prætorium*, as defined by Papinian to be that power which the Prætors exercised of supplying from their discretion the defects of the Roman law, and, conformable to Aristotle's opinion, that a law may, by reason of its universality, be deficient, and require to be rectified by special decrees. Then also was made the separate jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, in which, besides matters specially connected with religion, rights of marriage, divorce, and testaments were cognizable. The body of statute laws has since been enacted to limit and guide the whole.

Is it not possible, that such light, as is to be derived from a comparison of an analogous case, may be obtained from a review of the progress of English law, and be of use in considering the Indian system, if, not confining ourselves to the Statute Law of the one country and the Acts and Regulations of the other, we examine the origin and growth of both? Would that there existed a historical daguerreotype—a complete description of the state of what must be called the law, however inapplicable the term may appear—before the British sway extended over Bengal, or over other parts of India. There are materials for the latter, which are deficient with respect to Bengal; but in either case, there would be found, contrary to the accepted definition of the sovereign power, rulers, who enacted and did what was held by the people to be illegal, and subjects, who had certain fixed, if not always well-de-

finer, ideas of what was law, entirely opposed, where under Muhammadan dominion, to those of the ruler, but assented to on the whole, though sometimes disregarded from caprice or interest, by a Hindu Chief. Such as it was, under either rule, there was (notwithstanding the caprice or hostility of those in high place, and the absence of a check on their conduct) something which deserved to be called a common law, as much as the dearly local customs of the Saxons—something, however ill-defined and in some points inexactly observed, to which the people were attached, which regulated their relations with each other, and, though often liable to be made of no effect by the will of the governing power, had, as its sanction, the force of popular opinion. To relate all its provisions, to enter into all its minutiae, to record its numberless exceptional provisions, is a task, which never has been attempted, and which no industry or knowledge could successfully perform.

Such is the complication of rules under which the Hindu rejoices to live. The earliest, most elaborate and complete synopsis of them is to be found in the Institutes of Menu. In these later days as in that early time, the law of the Hindu enters more largely into the guidance of every-day conduct than in any other race. Much of it emanates from religious dogmas: much proceeds from the principles, which in every nation regulate the social relations of men. There is the law which affects the position in society given by caste, which has a religious origin; that which regulates the adoption of heirs, legitimacy, divorce, and inheritance, enforces contracts, gives hereditary office under Government, and prescribes the tenures of land. Every district, every village, every caste, even every family, might have, and often had, rules peculiar to itself. An Alfred or an Edward might, in Saxon times, endeavour, by compilation or selection, to reduce the similar mass of various local customs to uniformity, with some prospect of success; but the sages of the law among the Hindus had no such power to interfere with those of their country-men, whose origin and sanction, being partly in religious usage and class attachment, defied the aggressions of the legislator. In their codes will be found the proof of their impotence,* where they inculcate the ne-

* We alluded to such expressions as the following :—

“Every kingdom has its own customs, and every town has its own customs, so every tribe has its own customs: if, according to those customs, an unequal division take place, it is approved.

“If the mode of unequal division has passed regularly from father and ancestors, this also is approved.”—*Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws*, p. 94.

Agreeably to a text of Vrihaspati, “Immemorial usage legalizes any practice.”—*W. H. Macnaghten's Hindu Law*, i. 65.

cessity of the administrator of their laws being versed in local customs. In the society itself will be seen the luxuriant growth of diversified usages, the knowledge of which, in any one locality, might form the study of years.

A century ago then, throughout what is now British India, there existed a vast body of laws, of rules of civil conduct, accompanied by sanctions, whether enforced by the ruler or by the people themselves. It is of the permanent rules of the latter class, and not of the former, which have now mostly passed away, that it is worth while to take notice. Among them will be found rules of religious and moral conduct, and even of the minor morals, which had their appropriate, but often not their sole, sanction in the authority of the priesthood, or the chowdry, the caste or the local punchayet; and, in company with these, rules which more properly receive their force and currency from the Executive Government. There would be seen the arrangement of society into castes with all their complicated details; the division of the surface of the country into villages with defined limits; the establishment, for the most part, of hereditary offices of various sorts in each village; the privileges or emoluments annexed to each; the mode of succession; the tenure of land, by one class as tenant-at-will, by another as hereditary occupants, here with the power of freely alienating it, there with the necessity of securing the consent of partners: and lands paying a small charge for the support of a temple, or claiming to be free from all tax. There was to be remarked every variety in the mode of collecting the land-tax (a vital fact for the tenure of land), from the hereditary head-man, or the temporary Government renter of a village, claiming a comparatively trifling influence, to the zemindar of a larger district and possessing more extensive powers. Less important than the rules concerning land, but still more complicated,* there

* "Among the qualities necessary in a Brahmin judge is, that he should be versed in local usages and established rules."—*Ibid*, p. 141.

"Written evidence is declared to be of two sorts: the validity of both depends on the usage established in the country."—*Ibid*, p. 269.

* In Bengal, for instance, the taxes are described as follows:—

"These consisted of the *assul*, or original ground-rent, and a variety of taxes called *aboabs*, which had been indiscriminately levied at different periods by the Government, the zemindars, farmers, and even by the inferior collectors...The Committee (of 1772) proposed to deduct such as appeared most oppressive to the inhabitants,...reserving those which were of long standing and had been cheerfully submitted to by the ryots...Among the former were the duties, arbitrarily levied by zemindars and farmers, upon all goods and necessities of life, passing by water through the interior part of the country. The *bazee jumma*, or fines for petty crimes and misdemeanours, were also totally abolished: as well as the *haldary*, or tax upon marriage, which yielded a trifling revenue to Government."—*Harrington's Analysis*, i. 19, 20.

might be found a multitude of taxes, the body of them of old standing, but every where showing, in the presence of petty new imposts, the power of the minor officials to legislate within their own boundaries: the transit duty, with all its complexity, its old rates and new additions, its public duties leviable for the Government, its private toll in the lands of every powerful zemindar: the petty taxes on trades and on every profitable occupation which the legislative tax-gatherer could discover, and, on some things, such as marriages, not strictly profitable; and those levied on petty misdemeanours, and supplemental to the rules of caste and morality.

We have taken no notice of the criminal law, and the influence which its administration must have had on the currency of the rest. It is evident that under a Hindu ruler, who would look on the slaughter of a cow as a crime, the latter must have been in full force: under a Muhammadan governor, who enforced his own law wherever it clashed with that of the Hindus, it was only the adherence of the people that retained the latter in vigour. Such a state of things existed in Bengal;* and, in the course of time, a great part of the country was submitted to a foreign influence, similar in its nature, but not equal in its effects, to that of the Norman conquest on the Saxon polity, or still more analogous, perhaps, to the state of Ireland under the penal laws. A second power has supervened, whose mission appeared to be to call forth order out of chaos; which has modified the tenure of land by sweeping measures, erected a machinery of courts and police, created a system of procedure, and has, in part, seen the true policy of basing its super-

* The following passage quoted in the reply of the Government of India to the Madras petition on the *Lex Loci*, exhibits this curious state of things:—

“The Council of Revenue, in a letter to the President and Council, May 1772, enclosed a remonstrance of the Naib Dewan, respecting that part of the instructions in the last letter of the President and Council, which directed, that in cases of the inheritance of the Gentoos, the magistrates should be assisted by the Brahmins of the caste to which the parties belong. In that memorial, the Naib Dewan strongly remonstrates against allowing a Brahmin to be called in to the decision of any matter of inheritance, or other disputes of the Gentoos; that since the establishment of the Muhammadan dominion in Hindustan, the Brahmins had never been admitted to any such jurisdiction; that to order a magistrate of the faith to decide in conjunction with a Brahmin, would be repugnant to the rules of the faith, and an innovation peculiarly improper in a country under the dominion of a Mussulman Emperor; that when the matter in dispute can be decided by a reference to Brahmins, no interruption had ever been given to that mode of decision; but that when they think fit to resort to the established judicatures of the country, they must submit to a decision according to the rules and principles of that law, by which alone these courts are authorized to judge; that there would be the greatest absurdity in such an association of judicatures, because the Brahmin would determine according to the precepts and usages of his caste, and the magistrates must decide according to those of the Muhammadan law; that in many instances, the rules of the Gentoos and Muhammadan law, even with respect to inheritance and succession, differ materially from each other.”—*Special Reports of the Indian Law Commissioners*, 1847, p. 646.

structure on the ancient foundations, and of acting in a spirit in conformity with the still existing ancient civilization, but modified by the more enlightened views of modern days.

On examining this body of what we have called rules or laws, there immediately arises, first the question—What portion of them is to be considered as included within the province of jurisprudence? for it is obvious, that the whole are not so, unless the courts are solely guided by the spirit of the Hindu legislation, and place on an equal footing religious and legal provisions. A second question of scarcely less practical importance is—Whether a knowledge of that portion alone, which pertains to jurisprudence, and a study of its principles and details, with whatever written law may have been superadded, will suffice to constitute an efficient judge?

Without attempting here to define their limits, it will be sufficient to observe, that a portion of the native usages belongs properly to what is called law; a portion, as manifestly does not belong to it; while there is, between the two, a certain debateable ground, which, like the natural forms on the confines of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, may be doubtfully assigned to either. If a question of this doubtful nature is brought before the courts, it is the province of the code of procedure to assign to it its proper place, and to determine whether it shall be heard. To decide what law shall be applied, when it has been admitted to a hearing, whether the law current among the people, or the special law of the ruler, as under the Nazim in Bengal, or some modification, such as the enactments of the British Government, is the duty of the general legislator. And here let us observe, that it is this point, that constitutes the original difference between (what are called) the regulation provinces, and those countries which are administered under another system.

The essential characteristic of the former system is to aim at recording the law in writing, whence the letter of the law becomes the guide, and there is a fair field for ingenuity in evading it. The latter holds to unwritten law and, acting up to its spirit, foils such ingenuity by its greater elasticity.

Mr. Macpherson truly observes (Preface, p. iv.) that “it is possible that an officer, thoroughly acquainted with the customary laws and tenures, and with the individual character of the natives of a district, might, by patience and impartiality, and by the tact, which a long intimacy with oriental life can sometimes bestow, settle disputes very efficiently, and give high satisfaction to a rural population:” but he somewhat overestimates the rarity of what he calls “the special and scarcely communicable knowledge by which he has been guided.”

Unquestionably there have been men, to whose merits even such a description would do scarcely adequate justice; but it is not essential to the system, that such men should conduct it. Doubtless the more patience, impartiality, tact and knowledge are possessed by any officer, the better he will execute his duties; but the spirit of the system is not in them. Its spirit is simply conservative—to found peace and good order, not on written law, but on the conservation of existing rights. Whatever usage may be classed in the province of jurisprudence—whatever may be the existing rights of property—the modes of levying taxes—all those things, in short, which constitute the internal polity of a people, are accepted as facts, and the Government continues as it had been constituted before, only in an improved spirit. That large body of administrative questions, which, under the native government, were left to the discretion of the ruler, requires the exercise of the soundest common sense, but of no brilliant talents. In the greater capacity for Government of the British officer, is his superiority to the former ruler. As time passes on, consistency is given to the system, but the old shape is preserved: there is no dislocation; codes of procedure are formed, and precise methods of collecting the revenues, of prosecuting offenders, and of deciding civil disputes. The two former were, under the native ruler, inextricably entwined together, and continue so under the new. Oppressive taxes are removed. The property in land, depending so materially on taxation, is strengthened and improved by the registration of existing rights. The changes made, are the removal of inconveniences. The written laws, which in course of time accumulate, are generally laws rather for the guidance of the officers of Government than for that of the people, who continue in the ancient ways, but somewhat smoothed and made straight.

There is nothing in all this incompatible with the existence of a penal code, whose provisions might limit the powers of the judge, and which, if well considered, would not be more discordant with the feelings of the people than his unguided decisions. The guiding motive of such a system is to protect person and property in the most efficient way; and this will always be found to be one in which little complication exists. It need scarcely be added, that the civil judicature, being in the same hands, will be administered in the same spirit, as the other branches. There will be no discordance. How, out of such a system, has grown the separation of the civil and higher criminal jurisdiction from those of the revenue and police, as seen at this day in many of the regulation provinces of India, it is needless now to trace.

The able men who founded our judicial system did not follow this method. By whatever process, they seem to have arrived at the conviction that it is, as Harrington expresses it, a primary and essential duty of every just Government towards its subjects, to publish and enforce an equitable system of law (*i. e.* written law), adapted to their actual condition and circumstances, and calculated to protect them in their rights, natural and acquired. In pursuance of this (at all events praiseworthy) object, they turned their attention to the important subject of land tenures and taxes. The tenure of land is the point on which, more than on any other, depend the polity of the people and the distinctive characteristics of the law. An entire change of the rights of property in land is therefore an entire dislocation of society. Though it was impracticable to secure and define on one piece of paper all existing rights to land, more than one measure was possible. It was possible to follow some such course, as we have indicated above: it was possible, after the fashion of the first William, to place on a new footing the whole land of the country: it was possible to unite several powers in one hand, and to permit the revenue officer to judge all cases connected with land. But this was considered to be too great an authority for one person in Bengal. Then was shown a memorable instance of the most benevolent motives leading to the adoption of the worst of several alternatives. A uniform written rule was introduced, where no uniform rule had ever existed before; the customary rights of the most numerous class were irrevocably transferred to others; the possibility of retracing the step, if a false one, was carefully guarded against, and an entirely new element was introduced into the tenure of land. Then arose all the evils of the law enforcing the new right, and the people holding to the old one. Such were the auspices under which our judicial system developed itself. If disputes concerning land were enormously multiplied; if revenue and judicial authorities held different views of the same subject—the one more attached to the unwritten, the other to the written, law; if the courts were unable to meet the demand for justice; * if, in the disruption of rights to land, crime grew apace, and the police was inadequate to its repression;—it is due to the foundations of great civil institutions being laid in the denial of rights—to the adoption of a method, the reverse of that which experience has since pointed out as necessary to their preservation. Happily, in the N. W. Provinces, the effect of former legislation has been

* See *Calcutta Review*, No. 24—The Settlement of the N. W. Provinces.

in great measure got rid of, and actual rights have been fixed and recorded. The same rational course is pursued in the Punjab, and offers the best prospect of an efficient administration of justice. The first foundations of it must be laid in a correct revenue system, and that vast mass of complications, which have arisen in connection with land, may thus be avoided.

To return from this digression on the subject of forms of administration, to that of disputes properly included in the province of judicature, the leading land-marks are broadly laid down in the legislation of 1793.

“The civil courts are empowered to take cognizance of all suits and complaints respecting the succession or right to real or personal property, land-rents, revenues, debts, account, contracts, partnerships, marriage, caste, claims to damages for injuries, and generally of all suits and complaints of a civil nature.

“There is therefore (subject to certain specified exceptions) no description of civil right, for the enforcement of which a remedy may not be afforded by the civil courts.”—*Macpherson's Procedure*, p. 25.

The exceptions, besides those of time, person, and place (such as, where too long time has elapsed, or person or place are not subject to the jurisdiction) include also questions, where the subject-matter is taxation—a point, which sometimes involves nice distinctions, but which is so far of minor importance, that, if not cognizable by the civil courts, they are so by another authority, that of the revenue officers. There are some others which depend on more general principles.

“A suit may not be brought for any thing repugnant to positive law, to morality, or to public policy, as for the division of gains unlawfully acquired, or to enforce the performance of an engagement, which it would be fraudulent or immoral to fulfil, such as a conspiracy to cheat a third party, or an agreement to defeat his rights, or to evade the rightful process of law, or an agreement to compromise a prosecution, where the thief promises to restore the value of the thing taken, and the person, who has been robbed, undertakes not to prosecute the thief.”—*P.* 37.

There is yet a still wider, but even less-defined, exception to the statement that, there is no description of civil right to enforce which the courts do not offer a remedy, if we were to define civil rights in the spirit of Hindu legislation, and in the sense which the value attached to them by the people would imply.

“It is a question as yet undecided, whether the civil courts have jurisdiction to entertain a suit, which is brought, not for

‘ the enforcement of any civil rights, but for the bare declaration of a right to perform certain religious ceremonies, or indeed to decide any right merely in the abstract.”—*P. 28.*

Connected with this general statement, there are some special cases.

“ The right to receive payments, which are in their own nature voluntary, arising wholly out of personal preference, cannot be made the subject of suit in the civil courts, and, for this reason, the courts cannot take cognizance of claims for the office of chowdry. But it seems they will entertain a suit for compelling one man to employ another as his priest, or *porohit*, according to the hereditary custom of families.”—*Pp. 36, 37.*

On the other hand, “ if a member of a tribe interrupt and resist the heads of the tribe in the exercise of privileges to which the latter, as such heads, are entitled, the court can take cognizance of an action by the heads, for the recovery of damages in respect of the interruption, and for the recognition of their privileges.”—*P. 27.*

This, however, appears to be merely protection given, not the exercise of an exclusive right enforced. Again, in the Bombay courts, the hereditary office of the headship of the butchers in a town is held to be a fit subject for a suit. So is loss of character, arising from not being asked to a solemn feast: and also the exclusive privilege, possessed by the head of a religious sect, of riding in procession, with his palanquin carried across the road.*

The latter case, which the Sudder Judge, who first heard it in appeal, considered of such importance, as to demand the presence of a full court, is particularly instructive, as exemplifying the difficulties under which the courts have to administer justice. The inability to appreciate the value, or almost the existence, of a privilege, which yet was of sufficient importance to cause affrays, and to excite the minds of large numbers of the people; the impossibility of proving a fact, as notorious as that the present Pope is the representative of the early Popes; the call for evidence of the ancient enjoyment of a privilege, which was stated to have originated many centuries ago; the refusal to take the personal evidence offered; the rejection of the copper inscriptions tendered in proof, as being written in an unintelligible character and language—in themselves *prima facie* evidence of their antiquity; the ignorance that a grant of a privilege was exclusive under the old regime, inasmuch as no person could, without

* Moore's Indian Reports, vol. ii. 479, and iii. 208.

a grant, use any of the insignia of honour—show these difficulties in a very striking point of view.

Thus under one head are united together disputes concerning the rights of family priests, of heads of religious sects, of heads of trades or villages, processions of rival sects, and the marks of honour granted by former rulers. We look in vain for some rule, which may separate those cases which the courts will admit from those which they will refuse to entertain. But from the small number of cases we have mentioned, perhaps some general principle may be faintly discernible, though as difficult to be stated accurately, as the distinctions of the real and personal statutes of the civilians. It is that, where the subject matter of the suit is a question of religion or of morality, its sanction may be left to the religious and moral laws. If a certain individual refuses to say, or cause to be said, a certain prayer, his refusal may be contrary to his religion, but will be no subject for the interference of the civil courts: but if it causes damage to some other person, it may become so; or, if another prevents his doing so, he may demand protection in the exercise of his religion. Thus, we do not conceive the employment of a certain person as priest, or *porohit*, to be fit subject for a suit; but if the priest has not been paid, or a co-partner refuses his contribution, while other sharers contribute and would have to bear the loss, an action might lie. If a person, deprived of his caste privileges by a sentence of the caste authorities, appealed to the courts to remedy the injury and alleged injustice done him, it might be proper not to admit his application;* but, if it involved the right to property,† it would be a good cause of action. By the same reasoning, every right which is purely civil, whether that of mayor of a corporation who succeeds by election, or of head of a tribe who succeeds by hereditary descent, should be protected by the courts. Religious processions are a good example of this ambiguous class. They are known throughout India as causes of disturbance of the peace. We have

* "In the Bombay Reports, there is an instance of an action of damages for a 'malicious expulsion from caste.'—*Strange on Hindu Law* i. 161; *Dhurmashund v. Goolashund*, 1. *Bomb. Rep.* p. 11-35.

† This remark has a direct bearing on the *lex loci* question. The British Government has laid down the principle of complete toleration—of religion being no civil disqualification. The courts have always modified the action of native law, where it was directly opposed to morality or to the general principles of our Government, as was daily done in the administration of the Muhammadan criminal law. By that law, a relapsed convert is punishable with death: and this and many other provisions are held of no effect. In the case of a Hindu convert to another faith, the fundamental principle of policy declared by the British Government is directly opposed to the provision of the Hindu law, that the convert is civilly dead; and it may be surmised that had the question been raised and ably argued before the courts before the discussion of the *lex loci* question, the intolerant provision would have been found untenable, and abrogated like so many others.

witnessed their effects from Allahabad to Ajmeer, but they are more especially liable to cause that evil in the country south of the Nerbudda. Important as they are, the practice regarding them, speaking of India generally, is wholly unsettled: and it is even supposed they are a proper subject for the magistrate to decide finally—an opinion, which shows what vague notions are current concerning them. The business of the magistrate is to prevent the commission of injuries and to preserve the public peace; and, when a breach of it is apprehended, he rightly interferes to avert the threatened evil. It is the province of the civil courts to protect the exercise of rights and privileges, and to give compensation in damages for their infraction: and of such a nature is the question involved in disputes regarding processions. Assuming that the law permits processions generally, the right to conduct one through an inhabited place, the inhabitants of which object to it, depends on prescription. In the present state of society, such an event is often so galling to their feelings, as to induce a breach of the peace as a means of avoiding it; and this of necessity requires the interference of the Government authorities. Many circumstances may have their weight in considering such a question; the antiquity of the usage; the length of time during which it has not been exercised; the events, such as the building of a place of worship belonging to an adverse sect, which may have occurred in the interval; the danger to the public peace in enforcing it; the facility with which it may be abrogated, and the general policy of maintaining it in vigour. It will not do to lay down some general maxim, totally inapplicable to the state of society—such as, that the high road is open to all comers,—and to suppose, that, by such a dictum, the affair will be settled. The question is one of prescription on the one side, and of injury similar to that caused by libel on the other. Where a magistrate sees sufficient reason to interfere, from the apprehension of disturbance, there will also be reason enough for him to take such steps as will oblige the objecting party to show cause why the procession should not take place—a step which will immediately bring the matter to an issue in the civil court.

After the definition of the province of judicature, and the limitations and restrictions on the admission of suits, the trial runs its course, and it remains to apply the law. The sources from which the law is drawn, and the classification which its origin may give rise to, are not unworthy of attention. The sources are existing customs or common law, law treatises, the regulations and acts of Government, natural equity, and reports of former cases, with the circular orders which they have given rise to. The common law rules, or ought to rule, all cases con-

cerning tenures of land and various other subjects, wherever it has not, as in Bengal, been modified by special enactments. The law treatises, peculiar to different classes of the people and to various schools of the same class, are the primary authority in questions of succession, inheritance, marriage, and caste, and all religious usages and institutions, subject to modification on proof of custom adverse to the rules they lay down: for as the Hindu sage has said, "immemorial usage legalizes any practice." Equity is the chief guide in another class of cases. Statutes and precedents, it need not be said, are authoritative guides wherever they apply. Each of these three departments of law might have been appropriated to a different court; but the Indian courts undertake the somewhat arduous task of administering the whole. The judges should be equally familiar with customs, native law treatises, and the principles of equity, as with the statutes and precedents. This is a great charge: and if they are often not fully equal to it, it is no matter of surprisc. In suits concerning land, and in their criminal functions, we believe they are most efficient, and these constitute the greater part of their duties; in difficult questions, such as those which occasionally arise concerning contracts, less so; and least of all, in cases which require the application of English law. We should not expect from an English lawyer, or judge, a correct opinion on a question of French or Austrian law: and so long as the Indian judges administer a system of law whose object is the protection of the people of India, we shall expect an equally invariable want of correctness in their attempts to apply the law of England. The best prospect for their applying it correctly, (and, inasmuch, as we wish Indian law to be their study, we hope and believe, the *only* prospect,) is, that whatever they are to use, should be compiled in a hand-book, and whatever is not found in that book, should be to them non-existent. We say we hope it, because to require the expounders of the law to learn two systems, is to preclude them from a complete knowledge of either, and thus indefinitely to defer the consolidation of that system, which is still in process of formation and improvement. The greater the evil, the more surely will the remedy be at hand; and no remedy can be so simple or so easily practicable as the one we have proposed.

The classification, we have thus roughly sketched, is not without its bearing on the subject of a code, or digest. It indicates the want of such a work by pointing out the variety of sources from which the law is drawn, and the undefined state of some portions of it. This very variety qualifies different individuals to take up different branches of either of the departments of law, with a view similar to that, which produced the book now

before us. A compilation of all previous decisions and a statement of the law, which has led to, or may be inferred from, them on any one subject however narrow, cannot fail of being a step in the right direction: and for this reason, as much even as from the merits of the work itself, we augur well of the effects of Mr. Macpherson's labours. We do not expect a complete digest to be made under the orders of the Government, though some portions must come through that channel. We look to practical and individual exertions for future facilities in the study of the law, and for works on single subjects, which may one day become authority in the courts. However much we may entertain the wish, we can perceive nothing, except in the N. W. Provinces, which "encourages the hope, that we may one day see a civil code, fully digesting all the land tenures and regulations for each province, with a thorough investigation of the principles of equity applicable to each, in the relation of landholders to the Government and to each other, incorporating all that has grown up among the people and all that has been actually decided and settled; a digest, in which all existing materials may be reviewed and arranged, and in which the legislature, not misled by other systems, may give to India, that great public work so much wanted, and for which the materials have been silently accumulating."—*Macpherson. Preface, p. xvii.*

If we live to see that day,—if the chief part of the law is ever digested, the study of it made simple, the leading principles and special provisions alike recorded in order—we may then modify in some degree the opinions we entertain concerning the preparation of Judges for the bench.

It is a great problem how first to create, and afterwards to preserve at the highest point of efficiency, a body of judges, born in a foreign country, administering, in languages not their own, laws of such varied character, without the assistance of a well trained bar, or of a jury, and so situated, that on them alone depends the stability and correct working of the courts of judicature. Three things seem to be of consequence towards solving this problem, the means of ensuring local knowledge, and knowledge of the law—local knowledge, which comprises knowledge of the people, their character, language, and modes of thought, the things which are every day present to their minds, and the condition of society; and legal knowledge, which implies familiarity with the law applicable to all possible cases, and a judicial tone of mind: finally, the method of adapting those means to the other requirements of the state. A young man, whose life is to be devoted to the Indian service,

may or may not become some day a judge : but, if he becomes one, he will have, even on the threshold of justice, in the mere admission of suits, to handle considerations of morality and public policy. In the course of his duties as judge, he will require the knowledge of the different portions of the law and their relation to each other, and of that which is common to all laws, the science of jurisprudence. Without being early grounded in ethics and jurisprudence, he will scarcely be able, except under great difficulties, to commence at a late period of life the studies requisite to fulfil in their highest sense, the duties of judge: and, even if he never attains that office, such training cannot fail to be of service to him. The knowledge of the English law may be necessary in special cases in India, but is not more essential for the performance of the more usual duties of the office, than that of any other system. In fact, the practice of the courts is rather approximating to the Scotch method.

A young man arrives in India with so much previous instruction. Is he, after becoming familiar with the language, to be devoted henceforth to legal studies and legal duties? Whoever has suggested this course, can have little considered the position of a person at any age, and of however extensive learning, who finds himself for the first time in this country. Suppose him to have acquired what is called knowledge of the world, a power of judging the characters and motives of those around him, an intimacy with the conventional proprieties and modes of expression in his own land—how far will all this help him here? The very alphabet of these things is wanting to him. To learn them, he must first go to school. It may be possible for much knowledge of the positive laws and internal institutions to be acquired by continued study of books; but neither can this be reckoned upon from men as a body, when under the difficulty of comprehending the subject incidental to a remote country, nor can it, in any case, produce a sufficient knowledge. The ideas, annexed to corresponding terms in the two countries, are totally distinct. Take for instance those suggested by the mention of a tenant farmer. In England, this suggests thoughts of relations with landlord and labourers, agreements probably concerning rotation of crops and repairs and improvements, the assessment and payment of poor rates, of church rates, and of tithes, serving in the office of church-warden, liability to serve on a jury, probable proximity to a country magistrate, and a distance of not more than a day's journey from an assize town. We cannot boast of the acquaintance of any tenant farmers in this country, whose condition strictly corresponds with this; nor do we believe that, by however elaborate a description, we could enable any one really to know

what that condition is, so as to enable him to decide readily all questions affecting it. He might learn it by heart, but he would not know it. The only way to understand a thing of so complex a nature as the state of society in a country, not one's own, is to handle affairs, not to learn words by rote. To acquire a knowledge of the people, there must be association with them, and some point of contact with their every day life. Let us add to their credit, that, among government officers, men, who have had these advantages, both know them best and like them most. There must be opportunities of varied, as well as special, experience. This can never be acquired in the courts of law alone. Such limited experience will indeed be a foundation for knowledge; but it will bear the same relation to the firm base established by experience in a wider field, that an ocular deception does to a real object. It is from such considerations, that the ablest Indian statesmen have advised, that every civil officer should pass some years and gain some real experience in the revenue department, to enable him at a later period, to execute efficiently the functions of judge. By all means, let every point connected with landed tenures and with other customs which may be cognizable by the courts, be as far as possible recorded; let the written laws also be formed into a digest; but let it not be supposed that the study of these alone will supply all that is needful. Otherwise, we may see a repetition, on another stage and in a different form, of the charitable emotions of the judge, who wished his palanquin bearers to wear shoes and stockings, or of the piety of the Governor, who ordered the Bengal sepoy to attend divine service.

Admit that opportunities should be given of the most varied experience, and let it, as now, be prescribed, that a young man shall pass through the revenue and police departments, it will still remain a question, depending on practical considerations, what the further steps towards the office of Judge shall be;— whether it shall be through that of Collector, or whether the two departments shall separate from each other before arriving at that rank. By the former process, there are acquired habits of business, an enlarged knowledge of the people and of the whole system and spirit of the Government, a more intimate acquaintance with the rights of the agricultural population: nor is the judicial frame of mind altogether wanting, for abundant opportunities have been afforded for its exercise, in the details of police courts and the decision of summary suits. By the latter method, if such a change can in any way be engrafted on the present system, a longer time may be devoted to the business of the civil courts and to more complete judicial training. The former plan will confer more extended knowledge, the latter more special ac-

quaintance with the law; the former will produce abler men of business, the latter men more ready to cope with legal difficulties. Public questions are ever a choice of difficulties, and this one not less so than others. Upon the whole then, we give in our adhesion to the present system. But in doing so, we cannot but remark that the official course of education is manifestly incomplete. Until actually seated on the bench, no opportunity has been afforded to the Judge to have a practical acquaintance with the forms of the courts, their mode of considering civil disputes, and the various classes of questions which are usually brought before them. Whatever pursuit in life an education is intended to prepare for, it should contain the elements of every branch of knowledge requisite in that pursuit. The education in England should supply the more general and scientific knowledge; the professional education should familiarize with the technicalities. The matured judgment and experience of a later age would then be not unprepared to enter on the judicial functions. The practical result of this is, that, before entering on the substantive offices of Magistrate, Collector and Judge, the preliminary instruction of a young man should be completed by his passing some time attached to a civil court. There is much of the miscellaneous and interlocutory portion of the judge's business, which can be equally well done by an assistant as by the judge: there are the preparation of cases, the care for the attendance of witnesses and execution of decrees, the decision even of certain cases, and especially the trial of material issues of fact. It may be added that there can be little difficulty in providing ample employment, where such words as the following are true:—"I have most reluctantly come to the conclusion, that it is rarely the case that a Judge, even of the lowest rank, examines witnesses in person, or is present (in the sense of being attentively or intelligently present) at their examination, although it is usually conducted in the same room in which he is administering justice."—*Macpherson, p. 277.*

It can be scarcely necessary to insist that the result of becoming acquainted with the forms and rules of the civil courts will be manifold. For besides the greater familiarity with the laws, and with the mode in which they are administered, and the ease which that familiarity gives or adding to it by study, and of continuing to consider incidental cases in the judicial point of view, it will always be a decided advantage to both a Magistrate and a Collector to possess that knowledge; and it will give them, in instances where they now have insecure footing, a sure foundation for the execution of their duties.

We must here close for the present the observations, to which Mr. Macpherson's book has given rise. Our aim has

been rather to suggest ideas than to exhaust the subjects remarked upon. We have gone over some ground which has been repeatedly traversed before, but we have not done so without an object. Whoever has accompanied us thus far will have perceived that Indian society is in a great measure founded on, and exists by, prescription; that, of the usages thus existing, a portion only is properly the subject of jurisprudence; that that portion has as yet received no clear definition; and that a definition must be at least practically made, to prevent the courts acting out of their proper sphere, but made, we may add, with some approach to scientific precision, as a step essential to be taken previous to the mere conception of a code;—that it is to the manner of treating the unwritten law, that the different forms of administration of different Indian provinces owe their distinctive character; that ignorance of it on the part of our early legislators laid the foundation of considerable evils in Bengal—though now, that the deed is done, the state of society here may reasonably be compared with that of other parts of India in its present well-being and future promise; that in proportion as it is recorded and defined, the long preparatory process, which is now thought necessary to qualify an English officer for judicial functions, and which separates him from judicial pursuits, may be abridged and proportioned to the one remaining object of becoming familiar with the people: while in proportion as it is undefined, this preparatory study is more needed and must be more prolonged. It is not difficult to pursue these facts to their more obvious conclusion, and to perceive how inseparably connected in our Indian system are the digesting of the law both written and unwritten, and a more special mode of preparation and a higher standard of qualification in the judges. Every step towards simplifying the study of the law and fixing its principles and details will have a direct effect in facilitating and causing the acquisition of a more correct and well-founded knowledge of it by those who are to expound it. In proportion as progress is made in digesting the law, the opinion, which we have expressed concerning the latter, will become liable to modification: and a complete digest, if such a thing were possible, would induce very different arrangements from those now in force for the preparation of Judges for the bench. Such a change can only be the result of time and long-continued exertions. It is only by such endeavours, by many and laborious steps, always advancing towards, rather than expecting to reach, their object, that we may hope to attain the ultimate ends of every judicial system—a high standard of excellence on the bench and at the bar, ascertainment of the law, regularity of practice, and the efficient administration of justice.

ART. IV.—1. *Sacantola, or the Fatal Ring, an Indian Drama by Kalidas, translated from the original Sanskrit and Pracrit. By Sir William Jones. Calcutta.*

2. *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, containing translations of 6 plays, and notices of several others. By H. H. Wilson. 2 vols. London.*

THE feelings and character of a people are well delineated in its drama: for the drama embraces and illustrates a vast variety of topics. Its dialogue varies from simple to elaborate; from the conversation of every-day life to the highest refinements of poetical taste. Its claims, therefore, to the attention of the philosopher, as well of the philologist—of the man of general literary taste, as well as the professional scholar—are pre-eminent. Yet it is no less a fact, that, till the year 1789 had given to the world a prose translation of one of the most popular and esteemed Sanskrit plays by Sir William Jones, the literary public of the West were not even aware that the Hindus had a national drama. This translation paved the way for other translations of the same kind, exhibiting, perhaps, more ability, but not more closeness and fidelity to the original works. Much labour and talent have since been devoted to this branch of Oriental literature. Much, however, is still undone. The field for distinction is still open. Of sixty Hindu plays extant, nine only have yet been rendered into English.

The Hindus believe that the world is incalculably old. In their chronology, a few million years make an insignificant figure. It is a matter of little surprise then, that their drama should, according to some authorities, be of celestial origin. The art, they say, was gathered from the Vedas by the god Brahma, and by him communicated to the world below. The prevailing notion, however, ascribes it to Bhārata, a Muni, or inspired sage. We will not venture to say, whether such ascription be correct or not. Certain it is, that he was one of the earliest writers by whom the art was reduced to a system.

Professor Wilson thinks it impossible that the Hindus should have borrowed their dramatic compositions from the people either of ancient or modern times. The nations of Europe possessed no dramatic compositions before the 14th or 15th century, at which period the Hindu drama was in its decline. Muhammadan literature has never possessed a drama. There is no record that theatrical entertainments were ever naturalized among the ancient Persians, Arabs, or Egyptians; and the Hindus, if they learned the art from others, can have been obliged to

the Greeks alone, or to the Chinese. But a perusal of the Hindu plays will show how unlikely it is, that their authors were indebted to any foreign literature; as with the exception of a few general features, which are found alike in the dramatic writers of all nations, working, as they all more or less must do, on the common ground of universal nature, they yet present peculiar varieties of conduct and construction, which strongly evidence both original design and a national character.

Originality and antiquity then are the two leading characteristics of the Hindu drama—characteristics, which, in the history of the imitative arts, are seldom found apart. It is a common error to suppose, that, like the experimental sciences, poetry and its sister arts improve as civilization advances. The dramatic poet appeals to the passions and the imagination; and it is in the dark ages, in the infancy of a nation's intellect, that these are most vivid. The painter and the sculptor have to depict with truthfulness that, which to them seems beautiful; and new facts and deductions afford little assistance to their art. We have been told that antiquity is the childhood of human nature; and that as the world grows older, it grows wiser. This is true enough with respect to science and the arts of life; but not with respect to those arts, which are dependent on imaginative genius.

Warton has well remarked in his beautiful couplet:—

“ Not rough nor barren are the winding ways
Of hoar antiquity, but strewn with flowers.”

As civilization advances, the province of imagination becomes circumscribed, poems give place to theories, and criticism checks the creative faculty.

The dramatic literature of India had passed its zenith, and begun to exhibit symptoms of decay, before dramatic criticism raised its head. The works professedly treating on the subject of the drama are numerous, and abound with technicalities, nice distinctions, and useless classifications. They are therefore very uninteresting to the general reader. The critics of the Hindu school lost sight of the great objects of dramatic criticism. They cared little for the development of the plot, or the beauty of the language. They never identified themselves with the characters in the play. They framed a set of conventional rules: but they had no admiration for those graces, which are beyond the reach of art. In fact, they had no true sympathy for the drama. Yet it is from them that a great part of our information regarding the dramatic system of the Hindus is derived.

The general term for all dramatic entertainments is *Rupaka*, from *Rupa* signifying form;—it being their chief object to embody characters and feelings, and to exhibit the natural indications of

passion. A play is also defined as a poem that is to be seen and heard; and it is not a bad definition. Besides the *Rupakas* properly so called, there are the *Upa-rupakas* of a minor or inferior order. Of the former there are ten, of the latter eighteen species.

Every piece opens with a prelude, similar to the prologue of ancient and modern times. In the Hindu theatre, the actors of the prelude were never more than two, the manager and one of his company, either male or female; and it differs from the similar preliminary performances of every other people, by leading immediately into the business of the play. The first part of this introduction consists of a short prayer, or benediction, invoking the protection of some deity, in favour of the audience. It is generally followed by some account of the author. The piece thus opened is carried on by the division of scenes and acts (the first act furnishing a clue to the subject of the whole story), and closes, as it began, with a characteristic benediction or prayer.

The hero may be a god, a demi-god, or a mortal. He is usually young, handsome, valiant and well-born. The heroines are either the nymphs of heaven, the brides of demi-gods, the wives of saints, or deified woods and rivers. The extent, to which females were allowed to be present at dramatic entertainments, or take a part in the performance, affords an interesting picture of ancient Hindu manners. The rigid exclusion of women from society was unknown among the princes of India, before the Muhammadan conquest. They were allowed to appear freely in public on public occasions; they were present at dramatic performances; they formed the chief part of bridal processions, and they were permitted, at all times, to visit the temples of the gods. The presence of men in the Zenana was not prohibited, and women of rank seem to have travelled about, where and how they pleased.

Besides the hero and heroine, there are commonly several other characters, which occupy a prominent place in Hindu plays; among these are the friend and the antagonist of the hero, the female attendant of the heroine, the courtesan and the parasite. The buffoon is also a character of some note, and, strange to say, is always a Brahmin. He is a combination of simplicity and shrewdness, of stupidity and good sense. His wit is vulgar, his person deformed, and his dress fantastic. Dread of danger, love of ease, and fondness for good living, are amongst his most striking peculiarities.

In the Hindu plays, the powers of the Sanskrit language have been lavishly developed. The diction throughout is rich and

elaborate, and the metre varied, from the verse of four lines of eight syllables each, to that *which contains any number of syllables from twenty-seven to one hundred and ninety-nine*. The ordinary business is carried on in prose : but reflections or descriptions and poetical flights are in verse. If any charge can be urged against the style, it is that of diffuseness. The figures employed by many of the Eastern nations, and especially by the Persians, are conventional hints, which would scarcely convey an idea to a person unaccustomed to them. A beautiful woman's form is a cypress, her locks are musk, her eye a languid narcissus, and the dimple in her chin a well. The Sanscrit poets, on the contrary, leave little for the reader's imagination to pourtray. They are minute even to tediousness. They particularise the beauty of the heroine's eyes, her cheeks, her lips, her nose, her forehead, and expatiate on the smoothness of her skin and the manner in which she adorns her person. They represent every part and feature in detail. The comparisons or similes in which they deal are sufficient, without previous knowledge, to place the points of resemblance in a vivid light.

The performance of these plays was not of ordinary occurrence. In this respect, the Hindus resembled the Athenians, whose dramatic pieces were acted at the spring and autumnal festivals of Bacchus. According to Hindu authorities, the occasions suitable for the purpose are the lunar holidays, a royal coronation, assemblages of people at fairs and religious festivals, marriages, the meeting of friends, the birth of a son, and the season peculiarly sacred to some divinity. Neither were there any public buildings appropriated for such representations. In the chamber or hall of palaces, known as the music saloon, and in the spacious open courts of the dwellings of persons of consequence, minstrels and mimes performed their feats.* A complicated system of scenery or decorations could not therefore have existed. Yet there is abundant evidence in the plays to shew that the performers were separated from the

* Professor Wilsoff's elaborate essay on the dramatic system of the Hindus contains the following passage from the *Sangita Ratnakara*, descriptive of the place of entertainment :—"The chamber, in which dancing is to be exhibited, should be spacious and elegant. It should be covered over by an awning, supported by pillars, richly decorated and hung with garlands. The master of the house should take his seat in the centre on a throne; the inmates of the private apartments should be seated on his left, and persons of rank upon his right. Behind both are to be seated the chief officers of the state or household; and poets, astrologers, physicians, and men of learning are to be arranged in the centre. Female attendants, selected for their beauty and figure, are to be about the person of the principal, with fans and chouris; whilst persons carrying wands are to be stationed to keep order, and armed men as guards are to be placed in different directions. When all are seated, the band is to enter and perform certain airs; after which the chief dancer is to advance from behind the curtain; and, after saluting the audience, scattering at the same time flowers among them, she will display her skill.

audience by a screen or curtain; that seats, thrones, weapons and cars were in use; and that the personages were dressed in character.

We now proceed to notice a few of the particulars, which distinguish the Hindu drama from that of every other nation. The most striking of these is, that it is not in the Vernacular tongue. The greater part of every play is written in Sanskrit; and Sanskrit has ceased to be a living dialect from time immemorial. The plays must, therefore, have been intelligible to but a very limited number of the audience. Not only the highest offices of the State, but the highest branches of literature, were reserved for the sacerdotal order. It was their interest to connect every thing with a feeling of religious mystery, and to shut out from those, whom they considered their inferiors, the light of wisdom and truth. They did not fail of success. Those masterpieces of human intellect, whose power to soften and elevate will last as long as time lasts, though founded on stories popular and strictly national, exercised little influence on men, by whom their representation was regarded with reverential awe, and who could understand but little of what was said. Strange as this may appear, yet a state of things not very dissimilar might be seen in England, and is characteristically noticed in the *Spectator*. "We no longer 'understand the language of our own stage," says Mr. Addison, with the quiet humour peculiar to him, "in so much, that I 'have often been afraid, when I have seen our Italian performers chattering in the vehemence of action, that they have 'been calling us names, and abusing us among themselves, but 'I hope, since we feel such an entire confidence in them, they 'will not talk against us before our faces, though they may 'do it with the same safety, as if it were behind our backs."

The absence of a tragic catastrophe is another peculiarity of the Hindu drama. Such catastrophe is prohibited by a positive rule. The manners of the people and their intellectual and physical organisation were averse to it. Intense commiseration left a painful, and not a pleasing, impression on their minds. Terror tortured them. Those plays, which we regard as the highest efforts of genius, would have been regarded by them as unnatural and absurd. *Venice Preserved* would have been held up to ridicule, as a drama in which the hero stabs his friend and then himself. *Othello*, as a drama, in which he murders his innocent wife. It would have pleased them infinitely better, if the senate had forgiven the conspirators, and Jaffier, reconciled to Priuli and Pierre, had lived to a good old age;—if the truth had dissipated the workings of jealousy from the mind of the Moor!

The extent of the Hindu plays is another of their peculiarities—one play being generally three times as long as an ordinary European drama. In actual representation, however, it did not occupy more time than a modern performance of the same class, as it was never followed up by a farce or after-piece. The unities of time and action are fully recognized, but, as might have been expected from the absence of all scenic embellishment, no notice is taken of the unity of place. The imagination of the author roved at will, from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven. To the audience, it was a matter of indifference, whether the scene was above the clouds, or on *terra firma*.

Of the personal history of the dramatists of India, we know little; the greatest portion of our information regarding them being derived from the plays which they have written. The most celebrated of them are Kalidas, Bhavabhathi, Sudraca, and Sriharsa. We find it impossible to furnish the reader with a connected account of the life of any one of these personages, so scanty are the materials at our command. Nay, there is even some difficulty in ascertaining the precise time in which they lived. Kalidas, the noblest of the nine men of genius, who graced the polite court of Vikramaditya, is usually supposed to have flourished fifty-six years before Christ; Sudraca, a hundred and fifty years later; Bhavabhathi, also named Srikantha, or he in whose throat eloquence resides, in the eighth, and Sriharsa in the twelfth, centuries of our era. Both Sudraca and Sriharsa were royal authors; and it is to be doubted whether the plays, attributed to them, were in reality their own productions. At any rate, their works are decidedly inferior in point of literary excellence, to those of Kalidas and Bhavabhathi, between whom the contest for superiority lies. Kalidas excels in the softer kinds of description. Love, new-born love, is the passion which he most delights to portray. Haunts of repose and meditation, sequestered groves and flowery banks, fanned by odorous winds and watered by purling rivulets, where the hum of bees and the notes of birds proclaim the never-dying spring, are the spots which he most delights to frequent. Wood-nymphs crowned with stars, and sylvan deities with wings of gold, are the companions with whom he delights to associate. Not so with Bhavabhathi. He describes nature in her magnificence. Cloud-capped mountains and blasted heaths, the hoarse murmur of his native stream, and the gloomy grandeur of his native forests, midnight incantations—

—calling shades and beckoning shadows dire,
And airy tongues that syllable men's names—

are his favourite subjects. The battle-field and the charnel house have for him peculiar attractions. His three plays, *Malati*

and *Madhava*, *Ultara Ram Cheritra* and *Vira Cheritra*, are full of lofty sentiments and sublime delineations. We feel, however, that we cannot do justice either to him or to his renowned rival, who was also author of the same number of plays, by a mere mention of their works and description of their powers. A short account of the most esteemed production of each will not only enable the reader to judge of their respective merits, but afford him, at the same time, an insight into the character of the Hindu drama generally.

Sacantola, or the *Fatal Ring* is justly considered as the masterpiece of Kalidas. It is a *Natac* of the mytho-pastoral class, and was first acted in the beginning of summer, as appears from the sweet song sung by the actress in the prologue.

“Mark, how the soft blossoms of the *Nag-cessar* are lightly
‘kissed by the breeze.”

“Mark, how the damsels delicately place behind their ears the
‘flowers of the *Srishu*.”

The story is simple. It is this. Menaca, a goddess of the lower heaven, had entrusted to a devout hermit, who spent his life in the depth of a forest, the care of her only daughter—*Sacantola*. Thither, by accident, the sovereign of the district arrives on a hunting excursion. Himself unseen, he observes *Sacantola* and her two companions, *Anusya* and *Prijamvada*, watering their plants, and is instantly captivated. He dismisses his attendants, and enters into conversation with the damsels. The heart of *Sacantola* is soon won, and she confesses her love. The king discovers himself, and takes her as his wife. Presently, however, he is summoned to his court, parts with *Sacantola* with many expressions of regret, promises to send for her within three days, and leaves a ring in token of remembrance. In the mean time, a choleric Brahmin, named *Durvasas*, comes to the residence of the hermit, when his two daughters are at a little distance, and *Sacantola* is overtaken with sleep. Finding no one to receive him, he thus pours forth a malediction: “He,
‘on whom thou art meditating, on whom alone thy heart is
‘now fixed, while thou neglectest a pure gem of devotion, who
‘demands hospitality, shall forget thee, when thou seest him
‘next, as a man, restored to sobriety, forgets the words which
‘he uttered in a state of intoxication.” *Anusya* and *Prijamvada* overhear his words, and, in love for their sleeping companion, hasten to appease his anger. The Brahmin says that his words cannot be recalled, but that the spell would be dissolved, when the king should look upon his ring. Days pass, and *Sacantola* finds herself pregnant. Her foster-father, who was absent at the time of her marriage, resolves to send her to

the palace of her lord. Her friends instruct her to shew him the ring, should she not be immediately recognized. Arrived at her destination, she is disowned by the king, and finds that her ring is lost. In this extremity, she asks the protection of the king's priest, which is granted. On her way to his house, a body of light in a female shape descends and, having caught her hastily in its bosom, disappears. The king regards this as the work of sorcery, and dismisses the whole thing from his mind. After a time, a poor fisherman is brought up in custody of the officers of police, for having in his possession a ring of value. This is the same ring which Dushmanta gave to Sacantola. It had fallen from her finger into the pool near Sacratara, as she took up water to pour on her head, and was found in the bowels of a fish. With it he recovers his memory. Struck with horror at his past conduct, he clothes himself in penitential weeds. The seasons lose their charms. The songs of his favourite queen, Hansamati, delight him no more. While thus afflicted, he is summoned by Indra, the god of the firmament, to subdue a race of giants, who defied his prowess. He is conveyed to the celestial regions by Matali, Indra's charioteer, and acquits himself gloriously in the divine service. On his descent, he alights on the mountain of Hemacuta "where Casyapa, father of the immortals, and Aditi, his consort, reside in blessed retirement." Here he meets his wife and son, and perfect happiness succeeds.

Such is the ground-work of a play, which we have perused with mingled feelings of delight and admiration, and which has convinced us, that, though Kalidas did not possess the master-mind of our divine poet, he possessed, at least, his gentle fancy, his simple heart, and his delicate sensibilities. We quote the scene in which Sacantola parts with her foster-father, Kanna, and the friends of her childhood. It is perhaps the best in the volume, and reminds us of Milton's Eve, bidding farewell to the flowers in Paradise.

"*Kanna*.—Hear, O ye trees of this hallowed forest; ye trees in which the sylvan goddesses have their abode, hear and proclaim, that Sacantola is going to the palace of her wedded lord; she, who drank not, though thirsty, before you were watered; she, who cropped not, through affection for you, one of your fresh leaves, though she would have been pleased with an ornament for her locks; she, whose chief delight was in the season, when your branches are spangled with flowers.

CHORUS OF INVISIBLE WOOD NYMPHS.

"May her way be attended with prosperity! May propitious breezes sprinkle, for her delight, the odoriferous dust of rich

blossoms! May pools of clear water, green with the leaves of the lotus, refresh her as she walks! and may shady branches be her defence, from the scorching sunbeams!

(*All listen with admiration.*)

“*Sarnagarava*.—Was that the voice of the Kokila, wishing a happy journey to Sacantola? or did the nymphs, who are allied to the pious inhabitants of these woods, repeat the warbling of the musical bird, and make its greeting their own?

“*Gautami*.—Daughter, the sylvan goddesses who love their kindred hermits, have wished you prosperity and are entitled to humble thanks.

Sacantola walks round bowing to the Nymphs.

“*Sacantola*.—(*Aside to Prijamvada*)—Delighted as I am, O Prijamvada, with the thought of seeing again the son of my lord, yet, on leaving this grove, my early asylum, I am scarce able to walk.

Prijamvada.—You lament not alone. Mark the affliction of the forest itself, when the time of your departure approaches! The female antelope browses no more on the collected kusa-grass, and the pea-hen ceases to dance on the lawn: the very plants of the grove, whose pale leaves fall on the ground, lose their strength and their beauty.

“*Sac*.—Venerable father, suffer me to address this Madhavi creeper, whose red blossoms inflame the grove.

“*Kan*.—My child, I know thy affection for it.

“*Sac*.—(*Embracing the plant*)—O most radiant of twining plants, receive my embraces, and return them with thy flexible arms: from this day, though removed to a fatal distance, I shall for ever be thine. O beloved father, consider this creeper as myself.

“*Kan*.—My darling, thy amiable qualities have gained thee a husband, equal to thyself. Such an event has been long, for thy sake, the chief object of my heart; and now, since my solicitude for thy marriage is at an end, I will marry thy favourite plant to the bridegroom, Amra, who sheds fragrance near her. Proceed my child on thy journey.

“*Sac*.—(*Approaching the two damsels*)—Sweet friends, let this Madhavi creeper be a precious deposit in your hands.

Anusya and Prijamvada.—Alas! in whose care shall we be left.

(*They both weep.*)

“*Kan*.—Tears are vain, Anusya; our Sacantola ought rather

to be supported by your firmness, than weakened by your weeping.

(*All advance.*)

“*Sac.*—Father, when yon female antelope, who now moves slowly from the weight of the young ones, with which she is pregnant, shall be delivered of them, send me, I beg, a kind message with tidings of her safety. Do not forget.

“*Kan.*—My beloved, I will not forget it.

“*Sac.*—(*Advancing, then stopping.*)—Ah! what is it that clings to the skirts of my robe, and detains me?

(*She turns round and looks.*)

“*Kan.*—It is thy adopted child, the little fawn, whose mouth, when the sharp points of kusa grass had wounded it, has been so often smeared by thy hand with the healing oil of *Ingudi*; who has been so often fed by thee with a handful of *Syamuka* grains, and now will not leave the footsteps of his protectress.

“*Sac.*—Why dost thou weep, tender fawn, for me, who must leave our common dwelling place? As thou wast reared by me, when thou hadst lost thy mother, who died soon after thy birth, so will my foster-father attend thee, when we are separated, with anxious care. Return poor thing, return; we must part.

(*She bursts into tears.*)

“*Kan.*—Thy tears, my child, ill suit the occasion: we shall all meet again: be firm: see the direct road before thee and follow it. When the big tear lurks beneath thy beautiful eye-lashes, let thy resolution check its first efforts to disengage itself. In thy passage over this earth, where the paths are now high, now low, and the true path seldom distinguished, the traces of thy feet must needs be unequal; but virtue will press thee right onward.”

The aerial journey of Dushmunta in Indra's car excels any thing of the kind that we have seen in Sanskrit authors:—

“*Matali.*—This is the way which leads along the triple river, heaven's brightest ornament, and causes yon luminaries to roll in a circle with diffused beams. It is the course of a gentle breeze, which supports the floating forms of the gods; and this path was the second step of Vishnu, when he confounded the proud Vali.

“*Dushmunta.*—My internal soul, which acts by exterior organs, is filled by the sight with a charming complacency. [*Looking at the wheels.*] We are now passing, I guess, through the region of clouds.

“*Mat.*—Whence do you form that conjecture?

“*Dush.*—The car itself instructs me that we are moving over clouds pregnant with showers; for the circumference of its wheels disperses pellucid water; the horses of Indra sparkle with lightning; and I now see the warbling *chátákas* descend from their nests on the summits of mountains.

“*Mat.*—It is even so; and in another moment you will be in the country which you govern.

“*Dush.*—(*Looking down.*)—Through the rapid, yet imperceptible, descent of the heavenly steeds, I now perceive the allotted station of men. Astonishing prospect! It is yet so distant from us that the low lands appear confounded with the high mountain tops; the trees erect their branchy shoulders, but seem leafless; the rivers look like bright lines, but their waters vanish; and at this instant the globe of earth seems thrown upwards by some stupendous power.

“*Mat.*—(*Looking with reverence on the earth*)—How delightful is the abode of mankind! Oh, king, you saw distinctly!

“*Dush.*—Say, Matali, what mountain is that which, like an evening cloud, pours exhilarating streams, and forms a golden zone between the Western and Eastern seas?

“*Mat.*—That, O king, is the mountain of Gandharvas, named Hemakuta; the universe contains not a more excellent place for the successful devotion of the pious. There Casyapa, father of the immortals, ruler of men, son of Marichi, who sprung from the self-existent, resides, with his consort, Aditi, blessed in holy retirement.

“*Dush.*—(*Devoutly.*)—This occasion of attaining good fortune must not be neglected. May I approach the divine pair, and do them complete homage?

“*Mat.*—By all means; it is an excellent idea. We are now descended on earth.

“*Dush.*—(*With wonder.*)—These chariot wheels yield no sound—no dust rises from them; and the descent of the car gave me no shock.

“*Mat.*—Such is the difference, O king! between thy car and that of Indra. * * *

“*Mat.*—(*Checking the reins.*)—Thus far and enough. We now enter the sanctuary of him who rules the world, and the groves which are watered by streams from celestial sources.

“*Dush.*—This asylum is more delightful than Paradise itself. I could fancy myself bathing in a pool of nectar.

“*Mat.*—(*Stopping the car.*)—Let the king descend.

“*Dush.*—(*Joyfully descending.*)—How canst thou leave the car?”

“*Mat.*—On such an occasion it will remain fixed; we may both leave it. This way, victorious hero; this way. Behold the retreat of the truly pious.

“*Dush.*—I see with equal amazement both the pious and their awful retreat. It becomes indeed pure spirits to feed on balmy air, in a forest blooming with trees of life, to bathe in rills dyed yellow with the golden dust of the lotus, and to fortify their virtue in the mysterious bath; to meditate in caves, the pebbles of which are unblemished gems, and to restrain their passions even though nymphs of exquisite beauty frolic around them. In this grove also is attained the summit of true piety, to which other hermits in vain aspire.”

Bhavabhuti's *Malati* and *Madhava* is a drama of a different character from the one just described. In pastoral beauty it is certainly inferior, but there is more in it approaching the sublime. The plot is a wild one, and, though not without defects, is on the whole skilfully managed. Bhurivasu, minister of the king of Pudmavati, and Devereta, in the service of the king of Viderba, had agreed that their children Malati and Madhava, when ripe in years, should be united in wedlock. The king of Pudmavati having indicated an intention to propose a match between Malati and his favourite Nandana, who was all that unmarried girls dislike, the two friends contrive a plan with Kumandaki, an old priestess who enjoys their confidence, to throw the young people in each other's way, and to connive at a stolen marriage. Madhava is accordingly sent to finish his studies under her care. The first scene, which is merely a preliminary one, informs us of all these circumstances, and prepares us for the appearance of other characters, particularly of a former pupil of the priestess, named Saudamani, who has now arrived at supernatural powers by religious austerities, and of Aghorghanta, a magician who frequents the temple of the dreadful goddesses, near the place where dead bodies are burnt.

By the contrivance of Kamanduki and her instruments, Lavangika and Avolokita, several interviews pass between the lovers. During one of these, a noise behind the scenes announces that a tiger has broke loose from the temple of Siva, and is destroying whatever falls in his way. Madhava rushes out, and finds the monster lying dead at the feet of his friend, Makaranda, and Madayntika, the youthful sister of Nandana, senseless in the arms of her deliverer. Makaranda and Madayntika of course fall in love.

Meantime, the king has made the long expected demand, and the minister, apprehensive of his displeasure, returns an answer that “Malati is *his* daughter, and may be disposed of at pleasure.”

Madhava's hopes are dashed to the ground. He resolves to sell his living flesh for food to the ghosts and malignant spirits, as his only resource to purchase the accomplishment of his wish. He accordingly repairs at dead of night to the temple near the burning place, and finds Aghoraghanta and his pupil, Kupal-kundala, a sorceress, engaged in their unholy rites. A female, dressed as a victim, stands also on the spot. It is Malati. Madhava rushes forward to her rescue, and bears her away. Placing her in safety, he returns and confronts the magician. They quit the stage fighting. Aghoraghanta meets his death from the hands of the hero, and the sorceress vows vengeance for the injury.

The preparations for Malati's marriage with Nandana now proceed without interruption. On the day of her marriage Makaranda assumes her wedding dress, and is carried in procession in her place. Nandana, disgusted with the masculine features of his bride, consigns her to his sister's care. An interview between the lovers thus takes place. Kupal-kundala in the mean while watches an opportunity, and carries Malati off in a flying car. Just at this juncture Saudamani, the former pupil of the priestess, arrives, and by her skill rescues Malati from the sorceress. The play concludes with a double wedding.

The following is a fair specimen of Bhavabhuti's style:—

SCENE.—*The field in which dead bodies are burned, in the vicinity of a temple. Enter in the air, in a heavenly car, and in a hideous garb.*

KUPALKUNDALA.

Glory to Saktinath, upon whose steps
The mighty goddesses attend, whom seek
Successfully alone the firm of thought.
He crowns the lofty aims of those, who know
And hold his form, as the pervading spirit,
That, one with their own essence, makes his seat
The heart, the lotus centre of the sphere,
Sixfold, by ten nerves circled. Such am I.
Freed from all perishable bonds, I view
The eternal soul, embodied as the God,
Forced by my spells to tread the mystic labyrinth,
And rise in splendour throned upon my heart.
Hence through the many channelled veins I draw
The grosser elements of this mortal body,
And soar unwearied through the air, dividing
The water-shedding clouds. Upon my flight
Horrific honours wait; the hollow skulls,
'That low descending from my neck depend,
Emit fierce music as they clash together,
Or strike the trembling plates that gird my loins;
Loose stream on every side my woven locks,
In lengthening braids; upon my pond'rous staff
The string of bells, light waving to and fro,

Jangles incessantly ; my banner floats
 Upborne upon the wailing breeze, whose tone
 Is deepened by the echoes it awakes
 Amidst the caverns of each fleshless skull,
 That hangs in dread array around my person.

(Alights and looks about.)

I scent the temple of Karálá, near
 The cemetery, and perfumed of old
 By fetid odours from the funeral pile.
 It is my present object : for to-day
 My wise preceptor, great Aghoraghanta,
 Calls me to aid him in the powerful rite
 That terminates his toils ; to-day he offers
 The promised gift, the gem of woman kind,
 A victim to the goddess. In this city
 The damsel dwells, and I must make her mine.

(Looking out.)

But who comes hitherward, of pleasing form,
 With braided hair, and in one hand a sword ;
 The other—ha ! it braves the world's restraints,
 And soiled with blood, determinately grasps
 A lump of human flesh ! And now I look,
 I know the youth ; 'tis Madhava, the son
 Of the old dame, Kamanduki's dear friend.
 What makes him vender of the flesh of man ?
 It matters not. Now to my work ; for see,
 The hour of twilight hovers o'er the west ;
 Along the skirts of the horizon steal
 The winding glooms, like dark Tamálá blossoms ;
 And earth's far bounds are lost, as if immersed
 In nascent waters ; to the woods young night
 Her own yet gentle shade imparts, as if
 A wreath of smoke were wafted through the air.
 And spread abroad in mist before the breeze.

Exit.

ENTER MADHAVA.

May those endearments yet be mine, that spring
 From young affection and the dawn of passion,
 Now first awakened in my Máláti ;
 Which for an instant only to imagine
 Inspires my heart with ecstasy unsullied
 By all impure admixture. 'Twere enough
 To be enfolded in her arms ; to lean
 My face upon her cheek, or to be prest
 Against her firm and palpitating bosom,
 Fragrant with perfume, and with pearls adorned ;
 Yet this is too remote ; I will but ask
 To see her face, the shrine of love once more ;
 Once more ! Ah, no ! for ever in my view
 She lives ; assiduous memory constant turns
 To cherished hopes, and, fed by hourly thoughts,
 One sole idea engrosses every sense,
 Till all my inmost soul is Máláti.

(A noise behind.)

Now wake the terrors of the place, beset
 With crowding and malignant fiends ; the flames
 From funeral pyres scarce lend their sullen light,
 Clogged with their fleshy prey, to dissipate

The fearful gloom that hems them in. Pale ghosts
Sport with foul goblins, and their dissonant mirth
In shrill respondent shrieks is echoed round.
Well, be it so ; I seek and must address them.
Demons of ill and disembodied spirits,
Who haunt this spot, I bring you flesh for sale,
The flesh of man untouched by trenchant steel,
And worthy your acceptance.

(*A great noise*)

How the noise,
High, shrill and indistinct, of chattering sprites
Communicative fills the charnel ground !
Strange forms like foxes flit along the sky :
From the red hair of their lank bodies darts
The meteor blaze ; or from their mouths, that stretch
From ear to ear, thick set with numerous fangs,
Or eyes, or beards, or brows, the radiance streams.
And now I see the goblin host : each stalks
On legs like palm trees, a gaunt skeleton
Whose fleshless bones are bound by starting sinews,
And scantily cased in black and shrivelled skin ;
Like tall and withered trees by lightning scathed
They move, and, as amidst, their sapless trunks
The mighty serpent curls, so in each mouth
Wide yawning rolls the vast blood-dripping tongue.
They mark my coming, and the half chewed morsel
Falls to the howling wolf,—and now they fly.

(*Pauses, and looking around.*)

Race dastardly as hideous ! All is plunged
In utter gloom. (*Considering.*) The river flows before me,
The boundary of the funeral ground that winds
Through mouldering bones its interrupted way.
Wild raves the torrent as it rushes past,
And rends its crumbling banks ; the wailing owl
Hoots through its skirting groves, and to the sounds
The loud long moaning jackal yells reply.

(*A voice behind.*)

Ah, cruel father ! She, you meant an offering
To the king's favour, now deserted dies.

MADHAVA (*alarmed.*)

What voice was that, so musical and wild,
That sounds like the affrighted Osprey's cry ?
It bursts not unfamiliar to mine ear,
And penetrates my soul, my throbbing heart
Faint dies within me, and a lifeless chill
Steals along every limb ; my tottering steps
Can scarce sustain their load. What should this be ?
The dreadful sound came from Karala's fane,
Fit scene for deeds of horror. Be it so ;
I must be satisfied.

(*Rushes off.*)

Detached lines and passages of beauty, unconnected, or but slightly connected, with the fable, make a prominent figure in

Hindu plays. Almost all of them are more or less interspersed with these little gems. We give a few examples.

AN ANTELOPE.

The fleet animal has given us a long chaso. O! there he runs with his neck bent gracefully, looking back from time to time at the car, which follows him. Now, through fear of a descending shaft, he contracts his forehead, and extends his flexible haunches; and now through fatigue he pauses to nibble the grass in his path, with his mouth half opened. See how he springs and bounds with long steps, lightly skimming the ground and rising high in the air! And now so rapid is his flight, that he is scarce discernible.

A SIMILE.

My body moves onward, but my restless heart runs back to her like a light flag borne on a staff against the wind, and fluttering in an opposite direction.

A SWAN.

Behold a while the beauties of this lake,
Where on its slender stem the lotus trembles,
Brushed by the passing swan, as on he sails
Singing his passion.

THE SHADOW IN THE WATER.

There, where the Para and the Sindhu wind,
The towers and temples, pinnacles and gates
And spires of Padmavati, like a city
Precipitated from the skies, appear,
Inverted in the pure translucent wave.

A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN.

Her silky curls,
Luxuriant shade her cheeks; and every limb
Of slightest texture moves with natural grace,
Like moonbeams gliding through the yielding air.

A LANDSCAPE.

The overhanging trees laden with nests pay their offerings of flowers to the tranquil river, as the young elephant, reclining against the stem, shakes them down with his trunk and forehead: the doves and woodcocks murmur in the boughs; and birds of variegated hue seize the insects of the bark with their beaks, and scatter their shadows on the waters below.

Seventeen hundred years ago the state of the theatre and of the acted drama of the Hindus was far from being contemptible. Instead of improving, it has gradually degenerated; until at last their theatrical representations are little better than pantomimical exhibitions. The plays, which celebrate the loves of Krishna and his mistresses, and a few others equally worthless, are the only ones that are acted. The language, a strange mixture of pure and vulgar Bengali, is execrable, and the acting still more so. Indecent songs, accompanied by still more indecent gestures, are sung in the presence of delicate females. The plots, which now delight the people, are such as must be revolting to

every rightly constituted mind. What is immoral is presented in constant connexion with what is attractive. There are passages in the life of Krishna, which many, even who lead licentious lives themselves, would regard with abhorrence: and, compared with which, the discourse that passed between Socrates and Phædrus under the plane tree, while the fountain warbled at their feet, and the cicadas chirped over head, is decent. In no other country has the national taste been so strangely perverted, or the stage been so lamentably deteriorated.

The limits of our article will not permit us (indeed it would be foreign to our purpose) to attempt in this place, any thing like a comparison between the English and Hindu drama. Yet there are one or two characteristic circumstances connected with the former, which we cannot pass over in silence. In force of passion it is doubtless superior, and differs from the Indian drama in this respect, as much as the thundering tread of English infantry differs from the light movements of a battalion of sepoys. During a single reign, the reign of Elizabeth, the drama of England rapidly rose to the point of culmination. The causes of its sudden development are interesting and worthy of inquiry. The most prominent of them were the invention of printing, the discovery of the new world, and last, not least, the Reformation. The first threw open to the ill-informed and ill-read public of the time the rich and fascinating stores of the Greek and Roman classics, and the romantic poetry of Spain and Italy. There were translations of Tasso by Fairfax, of Ariosto by Harrington, and of Homer and Hesiod by Chapman. English poets then borrowed largely from the writers of antiquity. In Ben Jonson's tragedies of Catiline and Sejanus may be found almost literal translations from Tacitus, Sallust and Cicero's orations. The second enlarged our bounds of knowledge most materially, and new mines of intellectual wealth were opened at our feet. Voyages and travels were eagerly read. Green islands and golden sands seemed to rise, as by enchantment, out of the bosom of the watery waste, and to wing the imagination of the dreaming speculator. The third placed in the hands of every class of society the Bible, which had before been confined to the privileged few. Its wonderful and varied contents, from Genesis to the Revelations, gave a *mind* to the people. What is there equal in sublime grandeur, to the account of the creation, or, in romantic interest and patriarchal simplicity, to the story of Joseph and his brethren, of Ruth and Boaz, of Rachel and Laban, of Jacob's dream, and of the deliverance of the Jews out of Egypt? It has done more to elevate and

humanize the thoughts, and to tame the unruly passions, than philosophers of all ages and countries, who have attempted to reform and benefit mankind, and its influence on the national character is incalculable.

It is time for us to say what have been our feelings in perusing the Hindu plays. They were not feelings of unmixed admiration, but of admiration blended with sorrow. The *Mrichakati*, *Sacantola*, *Malati* and *Madhava*, *Uttara Ram Charitra*, and *Vicramarvasi*, are undoubtedly works of genius. They are all highly poetical; but, through the poetry with which they abound, the dark outlines of Hindu polytheism and superstition are distinctly visible. The hall of Indra, with its roof of gold and its pillars of chrysolite, where a thousand gods sit in solemn conclave; the huge sea serpent, which upholds on its head the world we dwell in; Krishna and his shepherdesses; Shiva with his forehead of fire; Kali with her tongue dripping blood; Suras, Asuras, and "Glendoveers" pass before the mind's eye like some unhallowed dream. None of the dramatists had a right conception of the attributes of Him, who rules over all: and to them such dreams were matters of profound veneration, truths not to be doubted. And yet, why should we grieve, when it is time for us to rejoice? The degrading superstition, which hung like a cloud over the length and breadth of the land, from Himalaya to Cape Comorin, from Coromandel to Malabar, is passing away. The bed of the stream, which had erst been dry, is filled half way up with pure and healing waters. The simoom blast is giving place to a gentle breeze. Green pastures start up in the midst of the wilderness, and astonish the eye. The work of regeneration has commenced, and is advancing fast. Perhaps another century shall not elapse, ere the rites and doctrines, which have interwoven themselves with the fibres of Hindu society, shall be completely outrooted, the trammels of caste broken down, and every idol thrown into the sea. The next generation even *may* cease to pay that homage to stocks and stones and creeping things, which is due alone to the Eternal, the Incomprehensible One!

ART. V.—1. *The Chronology of Creation, or Geology and Scripture reconciled.* By Thomas Hutton, F. G. S., Captain, Bengal Army. Calcutta. W. Thacker and Co. 1850.*

THE circumstances, in which most men, with the exception of a few rich amateur travellers, are placed in India, seem peculiarly unfavourable for the pursuit of science. The civil, military, and medical servants of the Company come out young; their education may be good, so far as it has gone (but that we know cannot be very far) into the domains of knowledge. The cleverest among them, those who are the most intellectual and aspiring, have had time to climb but a few steps of the Babel-like tower of modern science, when the necessities of the public service launch them upon the active duties of their several lines of employment. The civilian—what with the study of the languages, and an immediate induction into the mysteries of *rûbûkâris*, *purwanahs*, and regulations—is not given much leisure even at starting; whilst the indefinite prospect of a range of metamorphoses, not at all inappropriate in the land where belief in metempsychosis is indigenous, can scarcely be expected to encourage him in application to lines of knowledge, which promise him no assistance in the various departments, into which he may chance to stumble. He may reasonably doubt whether the Financial Secretary knows much of transcendentials, and may even entertain a suspicion whether skill in vulgar and decimal fractions be a *sine quâ non* to an Accountant General; the ability to pen a tolerable article for the *Penny Magazine* on the staples and raw products of India, is evidently wholly unnecessary for a Home Department Secretary; fortunately, too, it requires no acquaintance at all with the laws of the Universe to qualify a man for the Law-Commission; geology wont make a judge, nor conchology a collector; neither chemistry nor botany are the portals to a seat at the Board of Salt and Opium; acquaintance with the *Principia* or the *Mecanique Celeste*, though very sublime attainments in their way, are not likely to raise him to the ethereal position of a seat in Council; and he knows right well that he might be the very Faraday of galvanism and electricity, but that the art of devising reasons for the appropriation of *Koh-i-nûrs*, would be far more effective in secur-

* We return, according to our promise, to Captain Hutton's work. Having already considered its Scriptural bearings, we shall now examine into its claims, as a theory of Geology. The present article does not agree in every minute detail with the former; but, if the circumstances were known under which the articles were written, the general agreement would be admitted to be much more remarkable than the occasional discrepancies.—Ed.

ing a berth at the Board of Administration of an annexed province. There is nothing, in short, but a pure love of knowledge—a passion rare among young men—to tempt the young civilian to enter on the thorny path of science.

With the young soldier, the case, except as to the Protean prospects, is much the same. He too must study the languages; must be *set up*, drilled, shaken into his saddle, and become a proficient in “keeping his distance” and in the mysteries of the “halt, dress up” at the proper moment; must attend court-martials, and make himself acquainted with military law; must be prepared for its practice and application, which soon come upon him; must sound the profundities of the pay and audit regulations; and finally must almost magically become an economist of no mean order, to pass through the ordeal of years of poverty without embarrassment, and without being unable to meet the various demands which, as a gentleman and an officer, whether in war or peace, he is expected to satisfy. He too, at starting, has little time for science, and usually less means than the civilian.

The medical man comes to India better prepared, in some particulars, than either of the above classes. Though young, he must have at least made his entrance-bow at the porch of science; ought at any rate to have had a glimpse of the interior of the fane, admired its architecture, and carried away with him an idea of the labour and skill already expended in rearing the edifice. But he too is young; is immediately brought into professional activity; in imitation of his military cotemporary, is probably knocked about from Calcutta to Peshawur; is not much richer; and finds that, so circumstanced, and in such a climate, the performance of his duties, and the keeping up some degree of professional reading, are about as much as he can accomplish. Science has not much to expect from him.

The chaplains of the churches of England and Scotland and the pastors of churches of other denominations, are devoted to a higher calling than the service of science. The same may be said of the Missionaries. Education, as auxiliary to religion and truth, comes indeed under their special care, and very nobly they have put their shoulders to the wheel; so much so, that although there have been, and now are, men amongst them, whose attainments are of the highest order, such as would insure success in every branch of science, and corresponding distinction—yet, with true singleness of eye and purpose, the greater the talents, the richer the intellectual gifts, the more devoted and the more entirely have these been applied to their Master's work. This is as it should be. Science would not wish more than the crumbs of their time, and does not look for material advancement at their hands.

Again, in India, except at the three Presidencies, the scientist finds no museums, no libraries, none of those facilities, which even second and third-rate cities now present in Europe for the aid and encouragement alike of the student and of the proficient in the various branches of knowledge. Even at the Presidencies, (let those speak who know the real state and practical value of our museums, libraries, and philosophical societies,) we fear, that at best they will be pronounced but sorry affairs; institutions by no means coming up to the intentions of their founders. Away from the Presidencies, there is an utter want of every thing of the kind; no museums, no libraries, and, what is still more disheartening, no means of obtaining works or instruments, except at great cost and risk from England. What wonder if the amateurs of science are few?

The necessity, imposed upon all branches of the public service, for acquiring a competent knowledge of the languages of India, has been favourable to the pursuits of literature. Fewer difficulties present themselves to the philologist. If gifted with the requisite ability, ordinary perseverance will make him an erudite scholar, and will enable him to engage in the archaeology, the history, the religious and purely literary works of the various peoples of the East—a wide, and very important field for literary exertion. Accordingly, we have examples from every branch of the service, civil, military, and medical, of profound scholars in Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, and other languages. Men in India are well placed for such pursuits, and in some important respects enjoy advantages, which the European *savans* do not. In this line, the Western world had even a right to expect from the Company's servants fully more than they have accomplished; the stores of Eastern literature might have been earlier and more completely made known, and a more rapid progress in disentombing the ancient history of the East might fairly have been anticipated. A Wilson, a Prinsep, and a Rawlinson did not step into the field a moment too soon to save our credit in these respects. Continental Orientalists were very fast leaving us behind them. We are never, therefore, surprised at men in India seeking amusement, distinction, and fame, by devoting themselves to the literature, the history, the antiquities of the nations among whom their lot is cast; they are on the ground for such pursuits, and have much to invite and to encourage them in their labours. The case is very different, however, with the aspirant for scientific acquisition and distinction. Nothing can well be more discouraging than his prospects; and he needs a stout heart to face the difficulties, to appearance almost insurmountable, which

beset his path. Yet, to the honour be it spoken of the Company's servants, men have been found not only to face, but to overcome, these difficulties: and, although the scientific labours and discoveries of our countrymen in the East cannot be ranked very high, cannot pretend to rival those of the chiefs of science in Europe, they have been by no means insignificant; and when the circumstances under which they were achieved are considered, they must be admitted to reflect credit of no ordinary stamp upon the individuals concerned. We have no intention, however, of calling the muster-roll of our best scientists; we have now to deal only with one branch of knowledge, and confine the few remarks we have to offer to our readers to that branch.

Geology has become an inviting (it may be even said, a captivating) study; and is scarcely, if at all, inferior to astronomy in interest. When Herschel tells us that admission to the sanctuary and to the feelings and privileges of a votary to astronomy can only be gained by one means—a sound and sufficient knowledge of mathematics, the great instrument of all exact inquiry—he at once assigns a reason why astronomy has so few real votaries, and geology so many. Except to a very few minds, the pure, abstract branches of mathematics offer a dreary prospect; and an apprenticeship in the differential and integral calculus forms, by no means, an inducement to enter upon astronomy. The threshold of geology is not quite so forbidding. She appears to dispense with extreme skill in the higher mathematics, and to be content with a less abstract, more experimental class and calibre of intellect. What she deals with in the first instance, is not the contemplation of bodies, which in space are mere points, but the wear and tear of the earth we tread on. She does not bid her votary gauge the heavens, but asks him climb the mountain, and read, if he can, what the bluff mass, from cloud-capped pinnacle to rent ravine at its base, may reveal. She tells him to question old ocean, as to the pranks he and his auxiliaries, the streams and rivers, are pleased to play with the land—to catechize light, heat, electricity, and to become as well acquainted, as circumstances admit, with all the denizens of earth and sea. Although her demands are rather encyclopedical, and her knights must be armed *cap-à-pie* in all points complete, yet it is felt that, in her ranks, besides the men at arms, the squires and archers are given place. She discards none of her followers however humble; only let them observe accurately, and record truly, and Geology has learnt from experience that she may be indebted for an extension of knowledge to her lighter-armed troops. She forms the common goal in which the mi-

neralogist, the conchologist, the botanist, the anatomist, and, we scarcely know how many more sibillant-ending classes, find their lucubrations leading to broad startling facts, and still more startling theories. Under her magical wand even the microscopical observer finds his occupation Titan-like; and an Ehrenberg builds whole strata of the exuviae of animalculæ. Earth-history necessarily comprehends all the phenomena, past and present, through which her material agents, whether organic or inorganic, passed or are passing. If pursued in a right spirit, the study of God's works, like the study of God's word, cannot be a trifling occupation, whatever line it takes: for man's limited faculties of perception and comprehension *always* prevent him from estimating the special value in the scheme of nature, which any one branch of knowledge may be found to possess. Her modes of record are perhaps nearly as numerous as her modes of action, but the hand-writing of the record is not, always equally legible—is in some instances more palpable than in others; yet we may safely assert that every branch of natural history, however minute or gigantic may be its objects, has been ennobled by alliance with the great aims and sublime ends of geology.

With one class, this science cannot but prove a favourite study; for in time of peace there is no other, which will form the eye and mind to that instantaneous perception of the characteristic features of ground, so essential in war to the military man. To acquire even a smattering of the science, a man must have all the activity and indefatigability of the sportsman, with something else in view for their reward than a full game bag. There is no harm in combining the two pursuits, as the one can be easily subordinated to the other; and the killing a wild sheep on the Bolan Hills may lead to after remarks, and eke out a theoretical notion with a few arguments; but there is little chance of the subsidiary becoming the principal object, if once an officer lodges a geologist's note-book in his game bag. Sport or no sport,—river, moor, and mountain are then replete with instruction and amusement; game may be scarce, but geological subjects are multifarious; and as the science exacts topographical knowledge, and then proceeds to give it correctness of detail, maturing the judgment in the general pictures formed of the local features and peculiarities of ground, the man at play is all the time training for the serious business of war.

We must be pardoned for doubting whether considerations of this kind have usually been very operative in enlisting for the service of geology the few military ~~men~~, who in India have turned their attention to the science: we doubt also whether

the fact that the East India Company very properly maintains a chemical and geological lecture at their military college, has in this respect been much more influential. A lecture from Macculloch, like his treatise on rocks, must surely have been a heavy article; and that Cadet-mind should revolt at both, could not be surprising. He occasionally, however, seems to have sown a seed, which afterwards, under favourable circumstances, sprang into life and bore fruit. The neighbourhood of the Sub-Himalayahs, and the discovery of a tertiary deposit, rich in fossil remains, aided by the spirit of observation and inquiry, evoked by Lyell's "Principles of Geology," doubtless, had the main share in turning the attention of Cautley, Baker, and Durand, to developing the palæontological treasures of the hills near them; but we have heard one of these officers gratefully acknowledge that Macculloch had laid the foundation of much after-amusement in his life: for that it had been he of the *Treatise on Rocks* that had first given his mind an impulse towards the science, as fruitful in interest and in ill-appreciated importance. Macculloch would probably have been rather vexed, had he lived to see the line which his élèves took—to see them quitting the *fruitful* contemplation of Trap, Gneiss, and Granite, in order to pore over Cuvier's comparative anatomy, collect skeletons from man to mouse, build museum bungalows, and spare neither purse nor person, in order to bring to light the fossil treasures of the Sub-Himalayahs. Yet, even Macculloch would have smoothed his brow, and given a smile of approbation, when Cautley and his medical co-adjutor Falconer won the medal of the Geological Society for exhuming and describing the *Sevatherium*; and might have admitted, that (though the labours of Baker and Durand were less distinguished) to establish the fact of the existence of gigantic chimpanzee-like quadrumanous animals, and to add the camel to the list of fossil remains contemporaneous with the *Sevatherium*, and with animals allied to the Cuvierian *Pachydermata*, was some small service to his favourite science. The *Sevatherium*, and a very fine specimen of a fossil *Mastodon* with tusks complete, are amongst the most striking fossils in the British Museum, and bear witness in the capital to the labours of our Indian geologists; whilst, at Liverpool and other places in England, further proofs of their exertions may be found. Some of these scattered specimens, though less striking than those in the national Museum, are scarcely of minor interest; and Macculloch's élèves have at any rate done something.

Falconer, we believe to have been professedly a botanist, as he early succeeded to Royle's easy chair at Saharunpore:—but

geology is very captivating, and the fossil influenza of the vicinity was irresistible. Who could resist a full-blown *Sevatherium*? Nay, it does not need the apparition of so brave a monster to bid men turn to this alluring study. Far less made a Griffith alive to its charms, albeit a most enthusiastic botanist. We remember his being styled by his engineer comrades, the bravest man in Keane's army of Afghanistan. They used to relate of him, that nothing ever stopped Griffith, who seemed to bear a charmed life; that, when it was courting death to proceed alone beyond the picquets, he might every day be seen walking quietly off into the country to search for plants, always accompanied by a large bright shining tin-box, which, carried on a man's head or shoulder, shot off the sun-beams like one of Colonel Waugh's reflectors, and could be seen for miles. On these occasions, it was always a question, whether Griffith, who was a great favourite, would ever come back; however, the sun was no sooner dropping towards the horizon, than the botanist's day beacon hove into sight, and, in due course of time, in came Griffith, moaning over the poverty of the Afghan Flora. It was a country to make a man a geologist, for if he could not find "sermons in stones," there assuredly was not much else to converse with: and accordingly, even Griffith, the hope and pride of botanical science, as he could not fill his tin light-house to his heart's content, nibbled freely at geology. Our readers must pardon this digression, as, except for his great promise, extensive travel, zeal for knowledge, and a most faithful, indefatigable, truth-loving spirit, we are scarce justified in quoting the lamented Griffith among India's medical geologists. He and Falconer, however, came into our minds from their association with their military friends, and from no purpose of running over the names of many distinguished medical lovers of science.

James Prinsep's death is an era in the history of the Asiatic society; since that event, we have had little to denote intellectual vitality among the "physical" members of the Asiatic society. With the exception, that Falconer was labouring in England at a work on the palæontological remains of the Sub-Himalayah, nothing for years has been heard of their fossil treasures. The junta, which, some twelve or fourteen years ago, was busily engaged in exhuming and describing them, appears to have been suddenly broken up and dispersed: and none seem to have succeeded to their labours. These, it will be remembered, both in the instances specified and in others not here so noted, were confined to observation, rather than to theorizing—to the collection of facts, rather than to the framing or

aiding to frame, any particular system in vogue among geologists. Naturally enough, there was a leaning to Lyell's views; for his "Principles of Geology" took great hold of the public mind: but our Indian contributors were cautious in their conjectures and none of them hazarded themselves far upon the shifting quicksands of theoretical geology. They eschewed cosmogony. For the last few years, their silence has been so profound, that we began to number them amongst the extinct species of a by-gone Indian era, which (as it passed away, when that talented individual was laid in his grave) might very justly be called Prinsep's era of intellectual activity; for he had the gift of drawing forth the sympathetic co-operation of every class and branch of literary and scientific men to be found in India. The sleep of our geologists turns out, however, not so lethargic as we had imagined; and to our surprise, one of its military votaries now comes forward with a bold, confident step, and a lofty aim, to prove to the world by the "Chronology of Creation" that our suspicions were unjust. Captain Hutton dates the foundation of his work as far back as 1837, and must therefore be considered as putting forth no hasty views. In the present day, few authors dwell thus long and patiently upon their works; and, though of all subjects, theoretical geology inherits least to be treated in the off-hand style of the day, we doubt whether, except our author, we can select another instance, within a moderate period of time, in which a writer, with new theoretical views to propound, has been less in a hurry to divulge them. The fact is creditable to him; and, whatever may be our opinions as to the result of his well-weighed lucubrations, we respect the man, who in the present day can take time to think before he writes, and, when he does so, write free from the presumption and sceptical bias of shallow scientists.

In other respects, the author is bold enough, and no bad hand at knocking on the head prior theorists. Armed in Whewell's panoply, he first breaks a spear with the nebular hypothesis, and combats the theory of gradual refrigeration. Lord Rosse's magnificent telescope, which has resolved into clusters of stars such multitudes of Nebulæ, that had before, by instruments of inferior power, been irresolvable, has of course modified the views of astronomers. For a long time, influenced by Halley's idea that these nebulous objects were a gaseous or an elementary form of luminous sidereal matter, and by the elder Herschel's speculations, the opinions of astronomers were very generally in unison with the theory of the latter eminent man; but the late discoveries, made through the agency of Lord Rosse's fine instrument, have shaken astronomers from a

close adherence to the nebular hypothesis, as originally propounded : and Sir J. Herschel comes to a conclusion, analogous to that adopted by the author—namely, that it may very reasonably be doubted, whether the distinction between such Nebulæ, as are easily resolved, barely resolvable with excellent telescopes, and altogether irresolvable with the best, be any thing else than one of degree, arising merely from the excessive distance of the stars, of which the latter, as compared with the former, consist. Although Sir J. Herschel's views are thus far modified with respect to the basis of his father's beautiful and striking speculations, he does not therefore entirely reject the conclusions to which these pointed, but states the case thus : “ Neither is there any variety of aspect, which Nebulæ offer, which stands at all in contradiction to this view (his father's). Even though we should feel ourselves compelled to reject the idea of a gaseous, or vaporous, nebulous matter, it loses little or none of its force. Subsidence and the central aggregation consequent on subsidence, may go on quite as well among a multitude of discrete bodies under the influence of mutual attraction, and feeble or partially opposing projectile motions, as among the particles of a gaseous fluid.” Having thus drawn a distinction between the nebular hypothesis and the theory of sidereal aggregation, he still notes the former as a physical conception of processes, which may yet, for aught we know, have formed part of that mysterious chain of causes and effects, antecedent to the existence of separate, self-luminous, solid bodies.” Now this is the language of a master in those powers of analysis, which seem to embrace almost every subject in nature. It is the language of one, who knows well, that a very different law of attraction prevails, when the particles of matter are placed within inappreciable distances from each other, as in chemical and capillary attraction and the attraction of cohesion; that the cause of this departure from, or modification of, the law of gravity is as yet undiscovered and undefined; and that, as change in the law of gravitation takes place at one end of the scale, it is not impossible, in the words of Mrs. Somerville, “ that gravitation may not remain the same throughout every part of space,” and that the day may come, when gravitation, ceasing to be regarded as an ultimate principle, may be embraced by a still higher, more comprehensive law, of which that of gravitation shall only form a particular phase. As yet we know little or nothing of space, of the influences which pervade it, or of the ether, which, without checking the planetary motions, is the transmitting medium of electricity, light, heat, and gravitation between the planet-

ary bodies. The few therefore, who are masters of the mighty instrument, analysis, see that the empire of laws, affecting the material universe, so far from being known, is but very partially, and, if we may use the term, grossly scanned by the most able and subtile wielders of analysis—that power, which is to the dominion of the physical laws of creation, what Rosse's telescope is to that of space. Such persons therefore are slow to hazard even conjectures, otherwise than as lines of future enquiry, of possible future discovery in the great ocean of untraversed knowledge:—to them matter in its primordial state is not quite so easily disposed of, as with our author, whose words on this subject we proceed to quote.

“ It will be seen, from what we have already advanced, that a sphere existed, consisting of water, holding soluble matter in solution and insoluble matter in suspension; and that this sphere revolved upon its axis, by which movement its insoluble matter was precipitated to its centre; that there was as yet no vital atmosphere, and no watery vapours, and neither light nor heat from the sun.

“ The first objection, which occurs to this doctrine, arises out of the difficulty of conceiving the existence of fluidity in the absence of heat—the sun, according to theory, not having yet been brought into its present relation with the earth as a *luminary*. It must be obvious, however, on mature reflection, that a body, containing in its bosom, both in solution and suspension, the material elements of all the mineral substances with which we are acquainted, could not possibly have been devoid of heat. The chemical combinations going on within it, must, on the contrary, have evolved heat in very considerable quantities, and the temperature of the revolving fluid body would necessarily have been kept high. This heat was the natural effect of chemical action, and was altogether independent of the sun, because that luminary was not yet itself sufficiently perfect to enable it to diffuse active heat. The chemical heat, evolved in the chaotic ocean, was the *latent heat*, which all bodies appear to contain, and which remains inactive and imperceptible, until called forth into its active state by chemical combination with other substances.

“ Thus, for instance, a mass of carbonate of lime offers no indication of contained heat, until a drop of acid is applied, when great effervescence immediately ensues, and considerable heat is evolved. This appears to take place independent of the sun, and is a proof, that the primeval ocean might have been in a fluid condition without the aid of that body—it being a chemical compound, in which heat was evolved by

‘ vigorous chemical action going on within it. The heat, thus produced, would nevertheless have been quite insufficient to cause evaporation, and would have been confined to the waters in which it was evolved, imparting to them, perhaps, something of a thermal temperature, and causing an increased or more rapid precipitation of mineral substances. If, therefore, it be allowed, that chemical heat can have existence independent of the sun, we shall find no difficulty in admitting the fluidity of the primeval aqueous spheroid: for that being a chemical compound, in which vigorous chemical action was going on from the first moment of its existence, must necessarily have been kept at a high temperature by the heat evolved.

“ But we may in turn demand, from whence do the Nebulists derive their heat, the sun not being yet in existence ?”—*Chronology, pp. 24, &c.*

Now this may have appeared as simple a mode of getting up the steam for our little tea-kettle, the earth, as any other the author could adopt; but, omitting notice of sundry assumptions, which will strike the scientific reader, it unfortunately does not bring us much nearer a satisfactory explanation, than do the sundries of his opponents. The Nebulists might turn round on our author, and say, Why not extend to us the advantage of your unexplained agent, latent heat, for the benefit of matter in nebulous tenuity, as easily, as assume it for yourself in behalf of matter more aggregated, in a state of solution or of suspension in your supposed menstruum? The question would be perfectly pertinent; as also it would be fair on the part of the Nebulists to contest the author's assumptions where, speaking of the nebular hypothesis, he says, “ Is it not evident that the intensity of heat, necessary to produce this extreme state, must, at some former period, have pervaded all space? How then did refrigeration commence?” Space and its ether are not so easily filled and disposed of: and who knows the laws and generation of heat, the laws of matter at the “ other end of the scale” as before noted, and the laws of interaction between electricity, light, heat, ether, and matter in infinitesimal particles, at inappreciable distances? With a great furnace pouring forth daily over our heads its almost incalculable supplies of heat, and producing almost every motion, observable on the surface of our globe, we are so far from having approached to a comprehension of the modes of action, and means of supply of this great, unfailing magazine of light and heat, that Herschel, speaking of the sun, says:—

“ The great mystery, however, is to conceive how so enor-

'mous a conflagration, if such it be, can be kept up. Every discovery in chemical science seems to remove farther the prospect of probable explanation. If conjecture might be hazarded, we should look, rather to the known possibility of an indefinite generation of heat by friction, or to its excitement by the electric discharge, than to any actual combustion of ponderable fuel, whether solid or gaseous, for the origin of the solar radiation:"—and, in a very suggestive note, he adds, "Electricity traversing excessively rarefied air or vapours, gives out light, and doubtless also heat:—may not a continual current of electric matter be constantly circulating in the sun's immediate neighbourhood, or traversing the planetary spaces, and exciting, in the upper regions of its atmosphere, those phenomena, of which, on however diminutive a scale, we have yet an unequivocal manifestation in our Aurora Borealis?" *Mutatis mutandis*, much of this is applicable to the question of the generation and maintenance of the internal fires of our sphere: and we quote this eminent man, not because we are ourselves, or consider him, what the author would designate, a Nebulist, but because we wish our readers, who may not have given the subject much attention, not to suppose, that the use of the words, chemical operation or latent heat, brings them much nearer the mark than any other set of phrases, thus applied, would.

The fact is, that according to his range of scientific vision, man is very apt to call in creative agency. As he ascends with slow and toiling step the mountain side, his horizon expands; first the valley of his house, which circumscribed alike his views and thoughts, is seen to join the plain; then the latter opens out; presently, it is seen to be dotted with woods, villages, towns; a little higher still—and, when he looks down upon the expanse of plain, he has lost sight altogether of the home, from whence he started: but the sun now gleams upon distant rivers, whose sources he knows to spring from the mountain range on which he stands, and he sees them sweep majestically through the champagne country which they fertilize: higher still, and the summit is reached, and from thence the mighty ocean may be seen, forming a distant horizon, which appears to melt into and blend with the very heavens. Reader, if you are of the privileged few who attain that height, and you hear the whisper of intellectual pride, "all these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me;"—beware, and look above you. The home of modest thought and piety may indeed at the moment seem beneath you and out of sight; but the heavens are as far above you as ever, and,

though they appear to blend with your horizon and to join the earth, yet rest assured that, that old problem, "Knowest thou the ordinances of Heaven? Canst thou set the dominion thereof in the earth?" remains to be solved. Most, who reach that dizzy height, confess this truth—that, as they rise, though they see further, the horizon expands, and to grasp and comprehend nature, seems more and more impossible to mere human intellect. They can trace, or fancy they can trace, the impress and continuous action of the laws of God for the universe of matter to more primordial conditions, than persons of smaller attainments may be able to do; and therefore they will naturally be inclined to call in creative agency, at a point further removed, than those of minor acquisitions and more contracted scientific vision: but both are probably almost infinitely distant from the truth—the mark they aim at. Given the earth in the state in which our author assumes it, and some of his remarks, with reference to the Wernerian and Huttonian theories, merit attention: but we merely indicate a fact of intellectual idiosyncrasy, when we observe, that those of higher flight and stronger wing in the regions of science, would naturally, when putting their hands to cosmogony, have recourse to creative agency at more primeval stages, than those at which our author makes his stand. We have no intention by our remarks of deciding, at his expense, in favour of Analysts, or Nebulists. An accomplished mathematician wields indeed a powerful instrument, which, like Babbage's calculating machine, sometimes produces unlooked-for results; but when we read of their formulæ being held "emblematic of omniscience," as condensing into a few symbols the immutable laws of the universe, we cry, "hold, enough." On the contrary, we regard these formulæ as *mechanical* aids to man's limited powers of continuous and comprehensive thought, as the pegs on which he hangs trains of reasoning, and as emblematic of the impotency of human intellect to grasp, unaided, the meanest fragments of the wisdom of omniscience. We would simply warn our readers, to whom we very heartily recommend Capt. Hutton's work, to take a wide glance at the field of science, always, however, bearing in mind that in science, as in religion, a cardinal principle is humility.

We shall not dwell upon our author's Biblical criticism, or his strictures on Dr. Buckland, Kirby, and others: they appear to us frequently sound and judicious. Here, as elsewhere, the author demolishes more easily than he constructs, not an uncommon characteristic of theoretical geologists, and inseparable from the very nature of their subject—systems,

as the author correctly observes, approaching perfection by degrees, and seldom by leaps. In company with the Rev. J. Pye Smith, however, our author does take a leap, which it is here advisable to notice.

“In endeavouring to prove the high antiquity of our earth on evidence derived from astronomy, the Rev. Pye Smith observes, that the light, by which Sirius is seen by us, moving at its known velocity of 192,000 miles in a second, is at least six years and four months in its passage to our system. By applying the equation, which Sir W. Herschel had established, he brought out, that the brilliant Nebulæ, which only that telescope (referring to a four-feet reflector telescope) can reach, are distant from our system by a number of miles, to express which in common arithmetical numeration requires twenty figures, of which the first are 11,765,475, the 11 denoting trillions, and the other number billions; the remaining part of the sum being much more than 948 thousand millions. This almost unmanageable number is expressed by Sir W. Herschel, as above $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions of millions of millions of miles! It follows that the light, by which those bright objects become visible to us, cannot have been less than one million and nine hundred thousand years in its progress. Now it is fully in accordance with the statements of holy writ, to believe that the heavenly bodies may have existed through ages, previous to the first day of Genesis, although they did not give light to our planet before that day. The text, it must be observed, insists upon nothing more than that light had not yet visited the earth: but it does not declare that the bodies, from which that light was eventually to proceed, were not already in existence. The application, therefore, of evidence derived from astronomy proves indubitably the great antiquity of those material elements from which this system was at length elaborated; and it will be perfectly consonant to reason, and in accordance with Scripture, to believe, that the creation of the material elements of the earth was contemporaneous with the creation of the elements of the heavenly bodies, and that all were left under the guidance of certain natural laws to progress towards that state, which would eventually fit them to form our present solar system, and for which they were evidently not prepared before the first day. Our planet, therefore, and the heavenly bodies, existed together through the undefined beginning, (although not precisely in their present relation to each other,) until such time, as each had become prepared to assume its proper functions in the system, when, having been perfected, their light

‘ would then first have reached or been intercepted by the aqueous spheroid. That period, as the Bible and reason lead us to believe, was the particular point of time spoken of as the first day, when light was, as regarded our earth, to all intents and purposes created. But while the light of Sirius is said to be six years and four months in reaching the earth, and while the light of the brilliant Nebulæ is one million and nine hundred thousand years in reaching it, that of the Sun arrives in only eight minutes. If, therefore, no light reached the earth before the first day, when the effects of the Sun became apparent, it must necessarily follow, that all light had arrived at the same state of perfection on the first day, and consequently, that the light of the heavenly bodies being simultaneously apparent on that day, must prove that of the elementary materials ‘ of the heaven and the earth ’ were created at the same time, as the Bible and astronomy teach us to believe;—and that the duration of the period styled ‘ the beginning ’ must have been at least long enough to admit of the light of the Nebulæ reaching the earth on the first day—which will give to the strata, from the centre of the planet up to the highest of the *primary* rocks inclusive, an age of no less than one million and nine hundred thousand years before the first day began ; and as throughout that period, no organized beings could have inhabited it, there was evidently a time, as the Scripture and Geology disclose, when neither vegetable nor animal life had existence upon the globe.”—*Chronology. Pp. 64-67.*

Granting for a moment, that the calculation, in the foregoing passage, of the time required in order that the light of the brilliant Nebulæ, observed by Herschel, should reach the earth be a correct approximation, what would be the author’s calculation for the fainter Nebulæ, which, nevertheless, in Lord Rosse’s telescope, form such sublime and brilliant clusters of stars? It would be no difficult matter to double, or even treble, the period assigned. When the time comes, as may be reasonably anticipated, that Lord Rosse’s instrument is far surpassed, and more distant Nebulæ are discovered and resolved, what then will become of the foregoing calculation, and the argument the author subsequently bases upon it? We are not prepared, however, to admit that it is even a correct approximation to the actual time taken by the light of the brighter Nebulæ in reaching the earth. Sir J. Herschel, in the last edition of that invaluable treatise, his *Outlines of Astronomy*, Art. 803, gives a much more moderate estimate of the period required, in order that the light of a star in the galaxy, having

the intrinsic brightness of a star of the sixth magnitude, may reach the earth. Two thousand years is the time which he allows; and his calculation appears, though rough and pretending to no mathematical nicety, to be a fair one, founded on as sound a basis as circumstances permit. Either way, however, if we adhere to the formula and its application, which the Revd. J. Pye Smith uses, and bring it to bear on the nebular discoveries of Lord Rosse's telescope—or adopt the sounder and more moderate estimate of Sir J. Herschel, what, in either case, becomes of the comparison, instituted by our author, between the historical and the geological chronology? We must let the writer speak for himself.

“We have likewise adduced proof from the facts of astronomy, founded on the transmission of light from the heavenly bodies, to show that the duration of the beginning, in which the materials were deposited, out of which the volcanic and primary rocks were subsequently elaborated, was no less than 1,900,000 years; and from these data, we may now perhaps be enabled to determine, what has been the lapse of time between the termination of that period and the current year.

“It appears, according to Dr. Buckland, that there are eight distinct varieties of the crystalline unstratified rocks, and twenty-eight well defined divisions of the stratified formations. Taking the average maximum thickness of each of these divisions, at 1,000 feet, we should have a total amount of more than five miles; but as the transition and primary strata very much exceed this average, the aggregate of all the European stratified series may be considered to be at least ten miles.* Now, according to the views set forth in the earlier pages of this essay, it will be seen, that all the primary and volcanic products belong to the period which elapsed previous to ‘the first day’ of the Scriptures, while the sedimentary or fossiliferous strata belong to the subsequent periods; therefore, in estimating the time which has elapsed since the first day, we have only to consider the thickness of these latter deposits. Consequently, the primary, or azoic, divisions of Dr. Buckland's statement, which he appears to estimate at about one-half of the whole thickness, will have to be deducted; and we shall then have about *five miles* for the thickness of the rest. If, then, half the mean diameter of the globe, or 3,956 miles, *minus* five miles

* Bridgewater Treatise, p. 37.

of fossiliferous strata, were deposited in 1,900,000 years, how long a time would it require to deposit five miles? The answer is 2,404 years, 5 months and 15 days.

"But, as this term is seen to embrace the whole of the tertiary or post-diluvian deposits, it will be necessary to enquire into the probable thickness of these strata.

"On this subject it must be observed, that much uncertainty prevails, for some of the formations which contain exclusively the remains of marine animals in certain situations, contain, in other situations, river, or lake shells, with wood and the bones of land animals. It is, therefore, probable, that while the waters in one lake or basin might be saline, those in another lake might be fresh; and *two contemporaneous formations* may hence contain *very different organic remains*. As the London clay and plastic clay and sand, taken together, equal or exceed in thickness the beds of plastic clay, *calcaire grossier* and gypsum in the Paris basin, the London clay may properly be regarded, not as identical with the *calcaire grossier* and gypsum, but as their geological equivalent. While the beds of limestone and gypsum were depositing in the Paris basin, the London clay might be deposited in the London basin; and this may explain why many species of marine shells in the London clay are similar to those found in the *calcaire grossier*.*" Now the Rev. J. P. Smith furnishes a table, which shows a thickness of 2,520 feet for the whole of the series; but, as this includes the strata both of the Paris and London basins, which are held to be equivalent, it is evident, that this amount will have to be reduced—a fact, indeed, which he himself pointed out, since he informs us that 'all the tertiary beds must not be understood as being successional; for many are mutually equivalents in different districts, for example, the London clay and the Paris gypseous rocks.†' The thickness of the strata, as given by this author, (who, be it remembered, leans wholly towards the indefinite chronology of modern geologists) is 1,000 feet for the London strata, and 360 feet for those of Paris. Retaining, therefore, the larger amount, and expunging the lesser, the entire thickness of 2,520 feet will be reduced by 360 feet, leaving 2,160 feet for the remainder. It is even more than probable, that many of the strata of central France, would, on a careful examination, be likewise expunged, and the reader is therefore requested to bear in mind that this calculation can lay no claim to exactitude; for with such rough and uncertain data, an approximation to the truth is all that can be aimed

* Bakewell's Introduction to Geology, p. 369.

† Rev. J. P. Smith on Geology and Scripture, p. 374.

at; still the coincidences elicited are so truly remarkable, that we may fairly venture to pronounce the Scripture chronology to be undoubtedly the true one. The question then now stands thus :—

“ If five miles of strata were deposited in 2,404 years, 5 months, and 15 days, how long a time would it require to deposit 2,160 feet? The answer is 194 years and 12 days.

“ Now, deducting this period from the age found for the whole series, we have—

Years.	Months.	Days.
2,404	5	15
Minus 194	0	12
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Or 2,210	5	3

for the time which elapsed between the first day and the Mosaic deluge; or an agreement, within fifty-two years, with the age assigned by the chronology of history! A trifling discrepancy, which, taking into consideration the extreme difficulty of obtaining an accurate measurement of the various strata, may, in conjunction with what has already been urged, be fairly appealed to, as affording positive evidence of the strict truth of the scriptural chronology, and of the total untenability of the indefinite and unorthodox chronology of modern geology.

“ Thus we have the historical and geological chronologers, supporting and substantiating each other in the following satisfactory manner, namely :—

Historical Chronology.

	Years.	Ms.	Ds.
From the first day to the commencement of the tertiary or post-diluvian era*.....	2,262		
From the deluge to the birth of Christ.....	3,216		
From the birth of Christ to the current year.....	1,849		
	<hr/>		
	7,327		
	<hr/>		

Geological chronology.

From the first day to the commencement of the tertiary or post-diluvian era.....	2,210	5	3
From the deluge to the termination of the tertiary period.....	194	0	12
From the tertiary period to the birth of Christ.....	3,021	11	18
From the birth of Christ to the current year.....	1,849		
	<hr/>		
	7,275	5	3
	<hr/>		

or a discrepancy of only fifty-one and a half years between the two chronologies, and which, moreover, is seen to arise solely from the difficulty of obtaining an exact and accurate measurement of the various strata. Thus the coincidence of

* This is according to the chronology of the Septuagint.

‘ the conclusions, arrived at by such very different means, is so truly remarkable, as to fix this chronology as the true one;— and we are consequently at liberty to declare that the chronology of creation, engraven in legible characters on the strata of the earth, is absolutely and positively identical with the chronology of Scripture history; thus clearly and substantially proving, what every well-regulated mind will be prepared to expect, namely, that the word of the ever-living God is established beyond a doubt upon the testimony of his works.”—*Chronology*. Pp. 473-479.

Now the whole of this train of argument and comparison is based upon the application of an equation, established by Sir W. Herschel and applied by the Rev. J. Pye Smith, and upon an avowedly incorrect series of assumptions, or approximations to the supposed thickness of the strata, composing the Earth's crust. We have before shown Sir J. Herschel's more moderate estimate of the time required for the light of Nebulæ to reach the globe; and it is needless to note in detail the author's loose estimate of the thickness of the earth's strata. We are convinced, that the writer was not aware how such equations are established, and still less aware, how they may be applied by different minds: otherwise, even if all his material data had been exact and absolutely certain, he would never, on such grounds, have written so dogmatically. We have a great respect for the powers of analysis; but it is well known, that in their application to questions of physical science, a tentative course has sometimes necessarily to be pursued in the formation of equations. How vast the very field of the theory of equations! How complicated their application to physical problems! How easy to err! Let mathematicians say and write what they please—but very much of the *εμπειρία* enters into the modern analysis, and its application to complex problems in physical science. Who, really conversant with the matter, would base the positive evidence of the strict truth of the Scriptural chronology upon the application, made by the Rev. J. Pye Smith, of a tentative equation, established in Sir W. Herschel's day, to the light of the Nebulæ?*

Whilst bringing together, because intimately connected, the second and the thirtieth chapters of the Chronology of Creation, we have passed over the great body of the work: but this was necessary, in order to lay before the reader its rash hypothetical line of argument—a very towering structure to be based on a

* The only safe guide to the distances of the heavenly bodies beyond our system is Parallax. While the limit, at one end of the scale, is, where the diameter of the earth's orbit subtends an angle of half a second, or a second—Captain Hutton appears to forget, that, at the other end, he has to deal with infinity.—*En*.

formula. We now revert to the earlier chapters of the work, and, passing over our author's views with respect to the creation of light; the sun's non-visibility on the first day of the Mosaic account of Creation, and the proofs of its existence on that day; also, the formation of the firmament on the second day, as the result of the sun's action and of natural laws—all, subjects on which much might be written, with reference to Captain Hutton's views—we hasten to make the reader slightly acquainted with what the author considers his new theory—the elevation of land, simultaneous with corresponding depressions at the Antipodes. We give his own words:—"Although it is generally admitted, that where elevation has taken place, there too must an attendant depression, or subsidence, ensue, yet no writer seems to have considered it probable, that such subsidence was *the result* of corresponding up-heavements, or elevation of strata, on the opposite or antipodal surface of the earth; and yet this would appear, from the tendency of the foregoing remarks, to be likewise necessary to the production of dry land; for, as we have seen that neither up-heavements from the centre (Fig. 1), nor superficial depressions (Fig. 2), when taken singly, could possibly have produced the desired object, it becomes necessary to inquire, whether their conjoint effects might not have done so. Let us then look into the probability of this apparently new theory.

"If we suppose, that, simultaneous with the elevation of a mountain range on our surface, a depression at the antipodes were to occur, it seems to be then apparent, that the depth of water being diminished in a degree corresponding to the magnitude of the disruption, would cause some dry land to appear above the surface of the water,—namely, the summits of the up-lifted strata."—*p.* 127. After referring to a diagram in illustration of this supposition, the writer proceeds to remark:—"It may possibly be objected that if up-heavements took place, as here supposed, the mountains would still be liable to re-sink as soon as the exertion of volcanic force had ceased. The results of the movement are, however, in this instance, very different from those which would follow the mere outburst of matter from the centre. No continuance of heat is required to give stability to the mass up-heaved, nor is any internal hiatus liable to be formed; the mass is still solid from its summit to its base, and no sooner does the exciting cause of the up-heavement cease, than the heat decreases; the fused mass hardens or solidifies; the rocks, which had been subjected to the influence of heat, become more consolidated; and the hollow created

‘ —which is at the antipodal base in the depth of the ocean—is
 ‘ instantly filled with a dense volume of water, which nothing
 ‘ but a counter volcanic movement can displace. Thus the
 ‘ mountains, being so firmly based, cannot re-sink without the
 ‘ express exertion of that power which gave them birth.

‘ “It may be necessary, however, to guard against the pos-
 ‘ sibility of any objection being raised to this view, on the
 ‘ plea that the elevation of one position of the surface, and
 ‘ depression of another, would, if equal in their respective
 ‘ amounts, merely neutralize each other, and so preserve the origi-
 ‘ nal depth of water unchanged.”—*Pp.* 128-129. After again
 referring to the diagram, the author proceeds:—“To those, who
 ‘ have paid due attention to the subject, the truth of this line
 ‘ of reasoning must, we should imagine, be fully apparent;
 ‘ for it is a well-ascertained fact in geology, that the volcanic
 ‘ and plutonic rocks traverse the whole of the strata from
 ‘ unknown internal depths, to some height even above the
 ‘ superficial strata: these igneous products proceed from the
 ‘ central regions of the earth, and could their dykes and
 ‘ columns be laid open by a section, they would appear rising
 ‘ up in lengthened masses like gigantic trees, throwing out their
 ‘ branches in every direction towards the surface. It is easy
 ‘ to perceive therefore, that the antipodal depression, conse-
 ‘ quent on the escape of this matter from the centre, will
 ‘ contain more water than the matter ejected at the surface
 ‘ has displaced, for not only is the igneous mass protruded at
 ‘ the surface, but it extends from that surface downwards, to
 ‘ an unknown distance; while, therefore, the centre has poured
 ‘ forth this enormous mass, *the elevated portion only* has displaced
 ‘ the water, and, consequently, the depression will contain, not
 ‘ only that which has been so displaced, but likewise a quantity
 ‘ equal in volume to the column which proceeds from the centre
 ‘ to the surface. Granting, therefore, the accuracy of the views
 ‘ here contended for, we have still to show by what natural
 ‘ laws the land was made to emerge from out of the waters.”—
Pp. 130-131.

Here we think the author has been misled by his own diagram. Does he mean that an enormous mass of plutonic and volcanic matter can be protruded into the superficial crust of the earth without causing displacement and elevation? We suppose that he does not. On the contrary, here and elsewhere, the train of argument always is that the intrusion of igneous matter from the action of subterrene fires causes up-heavement and shattering of strata. The column, which proceeds from the centre to the surface, must, before reaching the surface, displace

something upon the author's hypothesis of prior sedimentary deposition; that something displaced must be up-heaved; more or less (whatever the quantity of injected igneous rocks) the surface sedimentary strata must be affected; and any change of level, from a mountain range to a ledge of sea-covered reef, taking place in these formations, alters the bed of the original ocean, and displaces water. The depression, according to the writer's theory, cannot at least contain exactly as much as is displaced at the surface by the combined operation of injected igneous rock and up-heaved strata.

The only part of the theory, which appears to us new, is the assumption, without proof, that depressions *must be antipodal*. Here again we have failed to discover any reason for the assigned phenomenon, except the author's diagram, which seems to us to have induced error in more ways than one. It has long been known and stated, that it was possible to divide the globe into two hemispheres, the one containing nearly all the land, and the other nearly the entire ocean; and various views have been propounded respecting the elevation of the main mountain ranges of the earth, their general directions in the Old and in the New World, and the phenomena, which were likely to accompany the rapid or the slow up-heavement of such masses. But, with reference to the pressure of the atmosphere on the globe of the earth, and the tidal oscillations to which its surface is exposed, as also the perturbations due to the varying actions of the masses of the sun and moon, men had not traced any inevitable connection between the rise of Plutonic or volcanic masses in one hemisphere, and corresponding depressions at the antipodal point of the diameter of the earth—that diameter being about 8,000 miles. This is a conclusion, which may, upon the face of such a diagram as that given by the author, wear a greater air of reason, than when a more correct notion of the magnitude of the masses on the earth's surface, with respect to its own size and diameter, is steadily kept in sight. We will again borrow the clear language and lucid illustration of Sir J. Herschel:—"The highest mountain hardly exceeds five miles in perpendicular elevation: this is only one 1,600th part of the earth's diameter; consequently, on a globe of sixteen inches in diameter, such a mountain would be represented by a protuberance of no more than one-hundredth part of an inch, which is about the thickness of ordinary drawing-paper. Now, as there is no entire continent, or even any very extensive tract of land, known, whose general elevation above the sea is any thing like half this quantity, it follows, that if we would construct a correct model of our earth, with its seas,

‘ continents, and mountains, on a globe sixteen inches in diameter, the whole of the land, with the exception of a few prominent points and ridges, must be comprised on it within the thickness of thin writing-paper; and the highest hills would be represented by the smallest visible grains of sand.

“The deepest mine existing, does not penetrate half-a-mile below the surface: a scratch or pin-hole duly representing it, on the surface of such a globe as our model, would be imperceptible without a magnifier.

“The greatest depth of sea, probably, does not very much exceed the greatest elevation of the continents; and would of course, be represented by an excavation, in about the same proportion, into the substance of the globe: so that the ocean comes to be conceived as a mere film of liquid, such as, on our model, would be left by a brush dipped in colour, and drawn over those parts intended to represent the sea: only, in so conceiving it, we must bear in mind that the resemblance extends no farther than to proportion in point of quantity. The mechanical laws, which would regulate the distribution and movements of such a film and its adhesion to the surface, are altogether different from those, which govern the phenomena of the sea.”

We are far from considering the solidity of our planet to be so satisfactorily and indubitably decided, as the writer of the *Chronology of Creation* does. Ours is a surface knowledge of the globe, as the above admirable illustration will have shown to our readers; and we can experiment upon the laws of compression of solid bodies only within very confined limits—and those on the surface of the earth. What do we know of the laws of compression through the 4,000 miles to the earth's centre? If we calculate according to the *known* laws of compression, we obtain somewhat astounding results, even for the densities of air and water, let alone rock, after traversing a mere fraction of the 4,000 miles. Whether such extreme condensation of material substances is at any point met and held in equilibrium by the increased elasticity, consequent on the very high temperature of the central ignition, is matter of pure hypothesis; but the solidity, or the cavernous structure, of our planet is very far indeed from being a settled question. Philosophers have, therefore, naturally been in no hurry to connect mountain chains with antipodal depressions by a movement throughout the whole diameter—that is, by a movement of 8,000 miles of matter, of the conditions of which they were necessarily ignorant.

Humboldt comprises the multifarious phenomena connected with plutonic and volcanic action in one conception—the reaction of the interior of our planet against the crust and superficies.

In dwelling upon the features of this constant antagonism, and entering upon a very interesting general description of Plutonic and volcanic exhibitions of force, it is clear that he entertains little or no doubt of the existence of very extensive cavernous conformations, along (what may be termed) the lines of conflict between the crust and the interior. Speaking of the gradual up-heavement of whole continents, so far from basing them on solid matter, his words are, “*wie der Berghetten auf langen Spathen*,” i. e., ‘like the mountain chains upon (or over) long chasms;’ and, after noting the rapidity of earthquake oscillations and subterrene thunder, as transmitted through the solid strata of the earth, and as independent of the chemical composition of the rocks forming the strata of mountain regions, or of those which are the sub-strata of alluvial plains, he attributes the modification, which the earthquake wave has been observed to undergo on reaching mountain ranges, to their *mechanical* structure. He says, “Where the latter (the earthquake wave) ‘courses regularly along a coast, or at the foot and in the direction of a mountain chain, occasionally is observed, and that for centuries, an interruption at a certain point. The undulation proceeds onwards in the depths; but, at these points, it is never felt at the surface. The Peruvians say of these unmoved superior strata, *that they form a bridge*. Since mountain chains appear up-heaved over chasms, so, the sides of these vaults may favour the undulation, when parallel to the chain; but sometimes (mountain) chains cut across the earthquake wave perpendicularly.” He then proceeds to give instances: but it is unnecessary to prolong the quotation, as our object was only to warn our readers against dogmatically asserted assumptions, and to show them that the man, who, more than any living, has made the phenomena of volcanic agency his study, and whose acquaintance with the mountain ranges of the Old and New World is more extensive than that of any other scientific traveller, holds language not at all consentaneous with that of the author, whose work is under consideration.

We cannot set aside the views of Humboldt lightly, nor can we those of Herschel, where he says—“Astronomically speaking, ‘the fact of this divisibility of the globe into an oceanic and a terrestrial hemisphere is important, as demonstrative of a want of absolute equality in the density of the solid material of the two hemispheres. Considering the whole mass of land and water, as in a state of *equilibrium*, it is evident that the half which protrudes, must of necessity be *buoyant*; not of course, that we mean to assert it to be lighter than *water*, but, as compared with the whole globe, in a *less degree heavier* than that fluid. We leave to geologists to draw from these premises

‘ their own conclusions (and we think them obvious enough)
 ‘ as to the internal constitution of the globe, and the immediate
 ‘ nature of the forces, which sustain its continents at their actual
 ‘ elevation; but in any future investigations, which may have
 ‘ for their object to explain the local deviations of the intensity
 ‘ of gravity, from what the hypothesis of an exact elliptic figure
 ‘ would require, this, as a general fact, ought not to be lost
 ‘ sight of.” We wish that Sir J. Herschel had condescended
 to expand his suggestion, and, in his own clear lucid language,
 had explained more at length the conclusions at which he points:
 —but we think his meaning sufficiently indicated to admit, with-
 out presumption on our parts, of his observations being consid-
 ered to accord generally with those of Humboldt. The two
 start indeed from very different points, but they arrive by their
 several routes at one and the same inference—a cavernous con-
 formation under the crust of the earth.

We leave Kirby and the writer of the *Vestiges of Creation*
 to the mercy of our author, as well as Penn and other Mosai-
 cal geologists, from some of whom however Captain Hutton
 makes interesting excerpts, and applies them with inge-
 nuity to the development and support of his own views. Our
 article has already extended to such a length, that we will not
 attempt to trace these views further, than to say that on the
 whole we think the author’s attempt to reconcile the Hexaem-
 eron Mosaicum with the present state of geological science, the
 best that it has been our fortune to peruse. Our readers will
 have seen that we think it faulty; that we do not consider the
 writer successful in establishing some of the hypotheses, on which
 his system is based; and that we think him hasty and confident in
 many assumptions, on which he pronounces very dogmatically.
 But there is much worth reading in the book; facts are grouped
 under new aspects; and, if the author is not very satisfactory
 in constructing his own edifice, he demolishes the airy structures
 of others much more efficaciously.

Josephus remarks upon the triple character of the writ-
 ings of Moses, the enigmatical and the typical being two,
 that *ὅσα δ’ ἐξ ἐνθείας λεγέσθαι συνεφέρει, ταῦτα ρητῶς ἐμφανίζοντας*,—“where
 straight-forward speech was useful, those things he manifested
 clearly.” The distinction is just, and, as might be expected, no-
 where more apparent, than when the Decalogue, the word
 and hand-writing of God, is compared with the law, which,
 though the word of God, was essentially typical; whilst
 the promise “it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt
 bruise his heel” was deeply enigmatical. Yet, even in the
 Decalogue, the word of God condescends to language
 suited to man’s understanding, and speaks of the great

and infinite one, in whom is all power, and by whose will all things exist, as a jealous God. Jealous of man? No; no one in his senses so comprehends it, though the meaning is as clear and palpable as language could make it, and any one, attempting to render it more intelligible, runs imminent risk of stultifying himself, if not his readers. What then were the six days, the Hexaemeron, of the Lord, and his Sabbath? To a creature like man, whose foot is upon a sphere, which revolves round its axis once in twenty-four hours, there are, under existing circumstances, night and day; but to the Creator, from whom have emanated the ordinances of Heaven and its starry hosts, what are His day or night? and time—how does He measure it? Yet if it be His purpose to convey to man, with a practical view to man's welfare, a notion of the Creator's active creative agency, during periods of the eternity passed, and of comparative rest from that creative agency, how could this be done in language suitable to man's comprehension and having reference to man's measure of time, and to his capacity, and that of other organic beings, his servants, for continuous hard labour? Thoroughly precise and clear in its specific application, there is no reason why the law for the observance of the Sabbath may not have combined, like other portions of the Levitical Law, the utmost precision of terminology with an enigmatical and typical base and sense. The injunction to man is clear; its beneficial operation indubitable, both bodily and spiritually; and the terminology express as to man; but, as regards the Creator, it may be symbolical. To borrow a mathematical illustration, the Hexaemeron may be a time formula, suited to man; but the development of which may transcend not only his intellect, but that of far higher orders of beings. We do not say that this is so; but that for any proof to the contrary, it may be so. We *know* that, "He hath made every thing beautiful in his time; also He hath set the world in their heart, so that no man can find out the work, that God maketh from the beginning to the end."

Now this is always the aim of the geologist: but whether they speculate like Plato on the overwhelmed Atlantis—like Montaigne on "*l'impression que ma riviere de Dordogne faict de mon temps*"—or like modern geologists on every thing in the range of science—Faust's words ring upon the ear ominously:—

Da steh' ich nun, ich armer Thor!
Und bin so klug, als wie zuvor;

* * * * *

Und sche, dass wir nichts wissen können!
Das will mir schier das Herz verbrennen.

ART. VI.—*A Year on the Punjaub Frontier*; by Major Herbert Edwardes, C. B. 2 vols. London. Bentley.

THE appearance of this work has been looked for with no ordinary anxiety, both in India and in England. In the latter country, it was known by the public at large only that the gallant author could fight; here it was known that he could wield a pen as effectively as he could wield a sword. In England, it was enough for all purposes, that Major Edwardes had been accepted as a hero, and endorsed as a lion; and there was no need of any literary reputation to secure for his book an immediate and an extensive currency. A man, who has been feasted and flattered—who has been addressed by public corporations and invited to preside at public dinners—who has had the lion's share of a Blue-Book, and been the subject of leading articles in the leading journals of Great Britain—and all, when scarcely thirty years of age—cannot rush into print without securing for himself an extensive circle of readers. If Major Edwardes's literary capacity had been on a par with Tom Cribb's, the whole edition of his book would still have been subscribed for by the "Trade" before the day of publication. It is on the faith of his performances in the field, not in the closet, that the English public have been eager to read his book. But in India we know something more about the man. We know that he had established for himself no mean reputation as a public writer before he had done anything to obtain for himself, by his achievements in the field, a niche in the temple of history. We knew him first as a writer; and now are prepared to welcome him again in the character which first won our regards. Whatever else may be expected from Herbert Edwardes, no one will expect from him a dull book. He has long been known amongst us, as a sparkling vivacious writer; and the present work, the first of a sustained character which he has yet offered to the public, will not belie the general estimate of his talents.

Still it must be acknowledged that the book, as a whole, is not altogether so good a book, as with our knowledge of the author's capacity, we felt entitled to expect from him. The fact is that it has been written under unfavourable circumstances. There are marks of haste stamped unmistakeably on every chapter. It seems to have been written under an urgent necessity to keep the press supplied with copy, and amidst numerous social distractions, fatal to sustained literary effort. Indeed, when we consider what have been the environments of the gallant author during his sojourn in England, it is a marvel how

he has contrived to get through so much literary work and to get through it so well. And, after all, the roughness of the workmanship is not ill suited to the kind of work. It is in keeping with the subject. A more polished and elaborate performance would not have harmonized so well with the rugged country and the rude people of Bunnú and the irregular action of the Múltáni campaign. There is an off-hand, rough-and-ready style about the book, which well reflects Edwardes's career. It does not smell of the lamp, any more than his actions smell of the order-book. There is no rule or method about it. There is no feeble dread of "responsibility." He has not written with the fear of the critic before his eyes, any more than he acted with the fear of the Commander-in-chief before them. The book is simply a narrative of personal adventure. It does not aspire to the dignity of history; nor does it pretend to be a grave topographical and statistical account of the Punjabi frontier. The first volume is devoted to an account of the settlement of Bunnú; the second to a record of the more stirring scenes of the Múltáni out-break, and the subsequent campaign. There is more novelty in the former, if there be more excitement in the latter. Edwardes has told the story of his Múltáni adventures, and in a very striking manner too, in the Blue-Book; and seeing that he cannot improve upon the accounts, written on the spot, he has quoted largely from the published papers. This increases the historical value of the book; and, perhaps, in the eyes of a large majority of its readers, will not diminish its attractions. Edwardes's Blue-Book letters are anything but heavy reading; and, to the greater number of English readers, are what Hazlitt called "as good as manuscript." We, however, who are pretty well acquainted with the contents of all the indigo-covered folios, which illustrate the recent history of India, should have liked a little less of the Blue-Book and a little more novel matter.

We do not intend, in this place, to enter upon any discussion relative to the services of Major Edwardes. It appears to us that there is a disposition, in some quarters, to under-rate those services, and to impute to a gallant and successful soldier certain defects of character foreign to the real nature of the man. They who know Edwardes best—we ourselves are not of the number—are the most eager to declare their high sense of the genuine nobility of the successful young soldier. His heroism, they say, is not on the surface. He has not the mere guinea-stamp upon him; but is gold to the very core. We do not pretend to decide the question; nor do we desire to do so in this article. In candour, indeed, it must be acknowledged that we have *time*

only to give, in the crudest possible manner, some account of Major Edwardes's book. Our Review will be in the hands of our readers, before the volumes on which it is based; and we need not, therefore, offer any apology for quoting largely from the *Year on the Punjaub Frontier*, and connecting our extracts with a very slender thread of original discourse. It is our wish that Major Edwardes should speak for himself. We purpose to obtrude ourselves as little as possible upon our readers—merely passing the contents of the two volumes in review order before them.

Difficulties and dangers he had many to encounter; one of the first of the former was what Iago calls a “raging tooth.” A hero, who is proof against such a calamity, is a hero indeed. An enemy of this kind it is as difficult to fly from as it is to beat. Edwardes attacked him manfully enough; but he was too much for the political assistant and his ally. Two or three years afterwards he can afford to laugh at the encounter; but it was no laughing matter at the time. *Hæc meminisse juvat*. It is pleasant enough in the recital:—

“1st Dec.—Halt. Dreadful toothache. Cortlandt and native doctor had three pulls. Broke two pieces off. Tooth where it was. Ditto the pain. Petitions all day.”

I remember it as if it were yesterday. A distracting tooth, at the opening of a campaign, was not to be quietly endured; and I expressed a regret that there was no dentist in the wilds of Eastern Afghanistan! The General was a man of resources; he had seen a case of dentist's instruments going cheap at an auction, the last time he was in the civilized world, and bought them in case of accidents. The time had now arrived to turn this investment of capital to account. The General himself (and here he drew out an enormous pair of forceps!) would draw my tooth with great pleasure.

“Do you think you could?”

“I'll try.”

“Very well. Let me get into this chair, and take hold of the arms. Now I'll give you three pulls, and no more. Go on!”

(An awful struggle, with a sensation of my head being twisted off like a duck's, ending with a sharp snap, and a sigh from the General.)

“Is it out?”

“No. It's only a bit.”

“Proceed with pull two.”

(Struggle repeated; same result. Another “bit,” but no tooth. The General, in despair, lays down the tongs).

“I won't try any more, for fear I should break your jaw; but there is a native doctor in one of my regiments, who is very clever.”

“Have him in. You have a right to one more pull.”

(The situation of the native at this crisis was truly pitiable. On the one side, his whole soul revolted from the impropriety of being cleverer than the General, his master. On the other, an “Assistant-Resident” was no subject for trifling. The blessed Prophet alone knew whether he might not hang the doctor, if he did not pull the tooth out without a pang! Invoking the Imaums, he raised the forceps, looked imploringly in my face, seized the tooth at a respectful distance, and—villain of villains!—shook it

at arm's length, as though it had been the nose of his first wife. The "Assistant-Resident" jumps from his chair with the forceps between his teeth, and —*Exit* the native doctor from the tent like a flash of lightning.)—*Vol. I. pp. 45-46.*

The next passage we have marked is of another kind. Major Edwardes holds a graphic pen, and describes both scenery and costume with considerable effect. Here is a picture of a Viziri Paradise:—

Let me now describe "The Wells" themselves, for neither before, or (nor) since, have I ever seen anything like them.

Between the eastern cultivated lands of Bunnú and the hills of the Khuttuks lies a wide, undulating waste, called the "Thull," or desert. It is not exactly a desert, because it furnishes vast herds with pasture every winter; but it is a wilderness to any but the savage, taught by long experience to direct his path over it by the peaks of the surrounding mountains. Towards Bunnú it is all sand, which nearer the hills gets hardened by a layer of gravel and loose stones washed down by the annual floods. Both the sand and the stony ground only require rain to make them yield abundant crops; but rain seldom visits either, and the tract consequently is in general only dotted over with scrubby vegetation and the prickly bushes of the camel-thorn.

Even this is a paradise to the Viziri tribes, who, expelled from their own stony and pine-clad mountains by the snow, yearly set before them their flocks of broad-tailed sheep and goats, and strings of woolly camels and curved-eared horses, and migrate to the sheltered plains of Bunnú. Here they stretch their black blankets or reed mats on the bare earth, over two sticks set up like the letter 'I', the four sides dragging on the ground, or fastened with a stone, if the wind gets high. Under this miserable shelter huddle men, women, and children, afraid neither of the rain's cold, nor of the sun's hot beams, and in happy ignorance of better things. From the corner of the tent the shaggy muzzle of a hill sheep-dog peeps out, and watches over the tethered donkey and sick goat left at home with the women, while the flocks are out at graze. Tall and stately as a pine, the daughter of the mountains stands at the tent-door in her indigo-dyed petticoat and hood, smiling on the gambols of her naked brats, or else sits down and rubs out corn for her lord, who is a-field. The men, stout, fierce, and fearless of man or beast, and clad in shaggy cloaks of brown camel's hair, drive out the herds to feed, and, with long juzail in hand and burning match, lie full-length along the ground, and listen for strange foot-falls on the horizon. Should an enemy approach, the discharge of a single matchlock would be heard over the whole plain, and summon thousands of the tribe to the point where danger threatened or plunder allured. Such were the people whose Gipsy-like encampments strewed the Thull at the time I speak of.—*Vol. I. pp. 53—54.*

We may hang up beside this a general sketch of the Bunnúchis:—

The Bunnúchis, or, as they generally style themselves Bunnúwals, are bad specimens of Afghans.* Could worse be said of any human

* In a former note I have recorded my humble admiration of Mr. Elphinstone's "Account of Caubul." I regret, however to be obliged to except his very high estimate of the Afghan character, in which I think I should be supported by every political officer on the North-west frontier, and almost every military officer who served in Afghanistan. Nothing that I have met with is finer than their *physique*, or worse than their *morale*.

race? They have all the vices of Puthans rankly luxuriant, the virtues stunted. Except in Sindh, I have never seen such a degraded people. Although forming a distinct race in themselves, easily recognizable at first sight from any other tribe along the Indus, they are not of pure descent from any common stock, and able, like the neighbouring people, to trace their lineage back to the founder of the family; but are descended from many different Afghan tribes, representing the ebb and flow of might, right, possession, and spoliation, in a corner of the Kabúl empire, whose remoteness and fertility offered to outlaws and vagabonds a secure asylum against both law and labour. The introduction of Indian cultivators from the Punjab, and the settlement of numerous low Hindus in the valley, from sheer love of money, and the hope of peacefully plundering by trade their ignorant Muhammadan masters, have contributed, by intermarriage, slave-dealing, and vice, to complete the mongrel character of the Bunnú people. Every stature, from that of the weak Indian to that of the tall Dúraní; every complexion, from the ebony of Bengal to the rosy cheek of Kabúl; every dress, from the linen garments of the south to the heavy goat-skin of the eternal snows, is to be seen promiscuously among them, reduced only to a harmonious whole by the neutral tint of universal dirt.

Let the reader take this people, and arm them to the teeth; then, throwing them down into the beautiful country I have described, bid them scramble for its fat meads and fertilizing waters, its fruits and flowers—and he will have a good idea of the state of landed property, and laws of tenure, as I found them in 1847. Such, indeed, was the total confusion of right, that, by way of gaining for this community a new point of departure, and starting fair on an era of law and order, Colonel Lawrence, as I shall presently show, was obliged to declare that five years' possession should be considered a good title.—*Vol. I. pp. 71—73.*

We have a better opinion of the Afghans than our author, in spite of the atrocities they have committed. It would be unjust to estimate the national character, in accordance with what we saw of the people during our occupation of their country. We saw them under the most unfavourable circumstances—circumstances but too surely calculated to call forth the flavour of all their worst qualities without extracting the aroma of the good. There was no possibility, under such circumstances of irritation and exasperation, of our seeing the sunnier side of the Afghan character. We might as well expect to extract a fine flavour of docility and fidelity from the dog, by tying a tin kettle to his tail, or goring him with the horns of a bull. If we have seen the Afghans vindictive, treacherous, cruel—what wonder? What better lessons did we teach them? If the "bloody instructions" which we taught "returned to plague the inventor," who can marvel? It is always so written in the book of life. As we make people, so we find them. They, who have seen the Afghans at times, when there has been nothing to rouse into action the bitternesses and asperities of their nature, have given them credit for the possession of qualities, which go far to counterbalance the evil characteristics, which, in seasons of intense national excitement and under extraordinary provocation, have been brought out with such forbidding prominence.

Having seen now what sort of people are the Bunnúchis, it were worth while to understand what sort of a country is Bunnú. It appears to be a country bustling all over with forts. Major Edwardes's account of his first acquaintance with the place (on paper) is very amusing:—

A highly intelligent native, named Agha Abbas, of Shiraz, who was employed by the late Major R. Leech to make a tour through parts of the Punjab and Afghanistan, in the year 1837, reported that there were "full four hundred, if not five hundred, forts and villages in the district." (A fort and a village in their language mean the same thing. There was not an open village in the country.) Ten years later, I sent a spy before me into Bunnú to draw me a rough map of it. He returned with a sheet of paper, completely covered over with little squares and lozenges, and a name written in each, with no space between.

"Why, Nizam-úd-din," I said, "what is this?"

"That," he replied triumphantly, "why that's Bunnú!"

"And what are all these squares?"

"Oh! those are the forts."

A pleasing prospect for the individual to whom the subjugation of Bunnú had been confided.

Subsequently, in making a revenue assessment, two hundred and seventy-eight forts were actually registered in the body of Bunnú alone, without counting those in the outside lands of the Miris, or those of the Viziri interlopers on the border.

So that I have always considered that Agha Abbas's lowest estimate, four hundred, was a correct one of the forts of Bunnú.—*Vol. I. pp. 73-74.*

In place of all these little forts, it occurred to the political officers in the Punjab, that it would be desirable to build one large one. It was easier to talk about this than to accomplish it. Edwardes very soon discovered that a King's College education had not fitted him particularly well to play the part of a military engineer. But, nothing daunted, he set to work to trace out the design of a grand new fortress to be called Dhulipguruh, after the Maharajah. His virgin efforts in this direction would probably have astounded a Bordwine or a Straith; but, somehow or other, the new fort was not only designed but constructed. Edwardes's own account of the matter is worth quoting:—

It may easily be conceived how much I now felt the want of a military education, and that practical knowledge of field fortification, which every cadet acquires (if he has got any sense, and wishes to be a soldier, and not a clothes-horse for red jackets) at either Addiscombe, or Sandhurst. I had not had these advantages: and the consequence was that, though holding the commission of Lieutenant in an army belonging to the most civilized nation of the nineteenth century, I was driven to imitate the system of fortification, which one of the most barbarous races of Asia may have inherited, for aught I know, from the dispersed architects of Babel. However, General Cortlandt and I put our heads together, and made the best we could of the matter. Sitting up in my tent one bitter cold night, with scale and compass, pen and paper, we planned and elevated, and built up, and knocked down, and dug imaginary ditches, and threw out flanking bastions, till, in our own

opinion, we made the place very little inferior to Gibraltar. The military reader will judge from the annexed plan, whether he would like to have the job of taking it.

The inner fort or citadel was to be one hundred yards square; its walls twenty feet high (including ramparts of six feet), and nine feet thick. It was to be surrounded with a deep, dry ditch. The outer fort, or cantonment, was to be eighty yards from the inner one, its walls ten feet high, and six feet thick, and the whole surrounded with another ditch about thirty feet deep. Both ditches could be filled with water from a canal close by. The citadel was to contain lines for one native regiment, a magazine, and a Commandant's house, which I intended to occupy, if I stayed that year in Bunnú. In the middle was to be a well. Four heavy guns were to mount the four inner bastions. The cantonment, or outer fort, was to contain lines for three more regiments of native infantry, one thousand cavalry, two troops of horse artillery, and eighty zumburuhs, or camel-swivels. The two troops of horse artillery would be distributed in the four outer bastions, three guns in each. One side of the outer-fort was to be given up to the cavalry and artillery horses, and camels of the zumburuhs.

The plan of putting the cantonment round the foot of the citadel, as an outer wall, was thought, by both General Cortlandt and myself, better than a separate inclosure at a distance; as, by our arrangement, the fort and cantonment became a mutual protection. As matters turned out, some months afterwards, it might have saved the life of the Commandant of the fort, had Colonel Lawrence's plan of separating the cantonment been abided by; but, in building a fort, even Vauban would not think it necessary to provide for such a contingency as the citadel being besieged by its own garrison! This, as the reader will see, was, ere long, the fate of Dhulipgurh.

Having thus projected our fort, we had next to consider how to build it. It was not likely that we should get many of the Bunnúchis to rivet their own chains; and, if we sent to the other side of the Indus for workmen, great delay would be occasioned. General Cortlandt informed me that Runjit Sing was in the habit of making the Sikh army build their own forts, and quoted the instances of Jurmud, Peshawur, Dund-Sahutti, Mozuffurabad, and Hazarah; but there was nothing they would not have done for their "great Maharajah." Golab Sing, and other powerful Sirdars, had also persuaded the armies they commanded to labour at fortifications; but they did it by making an *amusement* of it, not a *duty*, and by themselves carrying a few blocks of stone, as an example. The present seemed to me an occasion, when, whether it were an amusement or not, it was the imperative duty of the Sikh force to build the fort, which was to secure the interests of their sovereign, and their own personal safety; and accordingly, on the 21st of December, as entered above, in the Diary, "the different sides of the fort were this day portioned out to the regiments." &c. How this fared, the reader will soon see.—*Vol. I. pp. 163—166.*

Before the old year had expired, an attempt was made by a Ghazi on Edwardes's life; but the men only succeeded in killing an unhappy sentry. The event is thus recorded in the British officer's journal:—

December 27th.—Court-martial resumed, and the proceedings closed. In the middle of it, however, a disagreeable interruption occurred. A Bunnúchi, armed with a naked sword, tried to force his way into the council-tent, where I was sitting on the floor in the midst of the Sikh officers, and inflicted three severe wounds on the sentry at the door. The noise made us all look up; and, seeing what was the matter, I called out to

the sentry to bring down his bayonet and run the fellow through; whereupon he brought it to the "charge," and put the Bunnúchi to flight. He had not gone ten yards, however, before a sepoy of Bishen Singh's regiment caught him in his open arms as he went by, hugged him like a bear, tripped him up, and finally fell on him. The crowd of infuriated soldiers would have killed him instantly, had I not interfered upon impulse, though I rather regretted it on reflection. All the Bunnúchi Mullicks in camp were at once summoned, to see if they could recognize him; but nobody knew him. Every Mullick, who asked him what fort he belonged to, received for answer, "Your's!" At last he declared himself of a certain fort in the tuppeh of Alladad Khan, who was sent off instantly to make inquiry.

The sentry who was wounded at the tent-door died within two hours afterward. His skull was cut right through, and the blade had entered into his brain. I must see about his widow.—*Vol. I. pp. 184-185.*

Two days later Edwardes writes:—

December 29th.—General Cortlandt has put the Ghazi formally on trial in his court. His account of himself is as follows; several days ago he came into camp, and saw me sitting out under a *shumyanuh* (awning), surrounded by petitioners. The thought occurred to him that it would be easy to kill me; so he went home, and propounded the question to his religious adviser, "Whether any man killing a Feringhi would be a *shuhid*, or blessed martyr?" The Mullah replied, "Decidedly, and a very meritorious act it would be; but the Sahibs had a nasty habit of hanging criminals and exposing their bodies on the gallows—a custom, which disgusted and terrified respectable Muhammadans, and prevented them from becoming martyrs." The same priest put up an extraordinary prayer at the Musjid, appropriate to the calamity which had fallen upon Bunnú, in the arrival of the *Zalim Sahib-log* (tyrannical Englishmen), and implored the interference and help of God in this crisis. It is not strange, therefore, that the prisoner, a youth just full grown, and full of pride and strength, should have brooded over these matters till, as he says himself, "the fixed determination came into his heart, immediately after saying his noon-tide prayers, to go and kill the Sahib!" Taking down his sword, therefore, and putting on his best clothes, he set out; and, on the road, seeing another Mullah at prayers among some tombs, he threw him his old *paijannuhs* (loose trousers), exclaiming, "Take these in the name of God!" The Mullah replied, "*Kubul!*" (it is accepted). This some of the Pushtu interpreters understand to have meant in its vernacular usage, "May God prosper your undertaking!" Others understand it in its simple Persian sense, "Your offering is accepted." Approaching the camp after this costly religious sacrifice, he threw his scabbard into a field of sugar-cane, so as not to be in his way; and, knowing the prohibition against taking arms into our camp, he hid the naked sword under his clothes. He then entered the lines, and went to my tent; and, finding I was not there, followed to General Cortlandt's, where he saw us all sitting at the court-martial. From this time he continued to lurk about, and endeavoured to get in. At length growing impatient, he asked a Murwuti, "If the Sahib was likely to come out?" The Murwuti replied, "Not till the evening;" and he then made up his mind to force his way in by cutting down the sentry, and accordingly attacked him as before related.

Hence it is clear that the *pir* (religious instructor) was the instigator of the *morid's* (disciple) crime, and I have sent to arrest him. My own opinion is, that *Shihadut* and *Ghuzza* (both military martyrdom) are cases

in which it is both politic and just to consider the faith-exponent, as, *ipso facto, particeps criminis*. Martyr-mania might soon be stopped in Bunnú, if the priest had to pledge his disciple in the cup of beatification, which he holds out.—*Vol. I. pp. 195—197.*

We think so too; and if in Ireland, certain *pírs*, calling themselves Christians, were so treated, it is probable that their *moríds* would be less murderously disposed. It is pleasant to turn from this to something of a brighter kind:—

A thing occurred to-day, which I know not whether to ascribe to good feeling or fear. The Miri chiefs have sent deputies of their own, along with others from their enemies, the Bukky-kheyl Viziris, to say that, through my interference (on the 28th December), in breaking down the Viziri dam on the Tochi river, they have now sown all their lands, and, if I had no objection, the Viziris were welcome to a fair share of the water from this time. Both deputies said that the Miris and Viziris have now come to an amicable agreement; and, under the influence of fear (the Viziris of me, and the Miris of the Viziris), I trust they will get on in future without squabbling, and cultivate their opposite sides of the river without firing at each other across the stream.

These interferences were the bright spots of my wild and laborious life. The peace, that ensued, came home to so many, and the cultivation, it permitted, sprang up and flourished so rapidly under that genial sun, that one's good wishes seemed overheard by better angels, and carried out upon the spot, before charity grew cold. And, indeed, this is the great charm of civil employment in the East. The officer, who has a district under his charge, has power to better the condition of many thousands; and the social state of the people is so simple, that his personal influence affects it as rapidly as the changes of the air do the thermometer. In England the best men can scarcely hope to see their seed come up. Even charity is organized away out of the hands of individuals. A well-dressed secretary turns the handle of a mill, into which rich men throw guineas at one end, while poor men catch half-pence at the other. Sometimes the guineas come out in blankets and coals instead of half-pence, but the machinery is the same; and the giver and the receiver never see each other's faces, and feel sympathy and gratitude only in the abstract.—*Vol. I. pp. 216—218.*

These last remarks on the super-organization of English charity are very true in themselves, and very happily expressed. There is no country in which so much is given away—in which so much is done as in Great Britain, for the relief of the distressed and the reformation of the criminal; and yet, somehow or other, poverty and crime thrive and flourish rankly in spite of all that is done to suppress them. There is no keeping down these ill weeds by the surface application of charitable societies. The fact is, that there are too many societies, and too little charity. There is too little personality in the humanity of the present day. Men *give*; they do not *act*. They subscribe their guineas to this, or that, public institution; and think that they have done all that is required of them. But it is not the amount given, but the manner of giving, that really relieves and reforms. The charity of the day has too much of

system in it, and too little *heart*. The kindly word often does more than the ready hand to raise the wretched and to strike sunshine into the despairing breast. It is not enough to drop your money at the poor man's door, or to fling it into his pale face. Really to do good by giving, we must know those to whom we give; and above all, we must sympathize with them. Alms-giving without sympathy is of little worth. The money, that seems worked out from a machine, of the real nature of which the recipient knows nothing, is always thanklessly received. It is taken as a mere matter of course. It awakens no feeling of gratitude, no good feeling of any kind. It does not come from the heart, and therefore it does not touch the heart. It is a mere affair of secretaries and committees and subscription lists. In those lists are the names of many, doubtless, who give in the honest spirit of philanthropy; but what they give is filtered through a machine, and the heart is lost before it reaches the recipient. If people would do more for themselves, and leave less to be done by others—those others being salaried officials, who absorb no small portion of the funds subscribed for charitable purposes—it is not improbable that there would be less misery and less crime in the world.

The lights and shadows chase each other with rapidity over the pages of this book. We come now again upon another scene of attempted murder:—

After transacting *cutocherry* (office) business for an hour or two, I was sitting with Swahu Khan, Viziri, and his interpreter, talking over Bunnú affairs, when the cry arose that "Swords were going!" Swahu Khan, having no arms (according to camp rules), bolted out of the tent; while his "man Friday" began dancing about, wringing his hands, and ejaculating: "Oh, that I had now a sword! This is the evil of taking away men's proper tools!" Having ever since the first attempt of this kind kept a double-barrelled pistol on my table, I now cocked both barrels, and walked outside, for the row had grown quite deafening, and I thought there must be a dozen Ghazis at least; in which case, one person inside a tent fourteen feet square would stand but a poor chance. Scarcely had I got out at one door, than the Ghazi (for there proved to be only one) forced his way through the sentries and *chuprassis* (official messengers), and entered my tent at the other door. Hearing the rush, I turned round, and could see, through the screens of the tent, a Bunnúchi with a naked sword plunging after me like a mad bull. (The outside door of an Indian tent turns up, and is supported on props during the day, as a kind of porch to keep off the sun. It is very low, and I knew that the Ghazi must stoop as he came out, so here I took my stand.) His turban was knocked off in stooping at the door, and, when he stood up outside, he glared round for his victim, like a tiger who had missed his spring. Then his eyes met mine; and, seeing no resource, I fired one barrel into his breast. The shock nearly knocked him down, for there could not have been two feet between us. He staggered, but did not fall; and I was just thinking of firing the other barrel at his head, when a stream of soldiers

and camp-followers, with all kinds of weapons, rushed in and bore away the wretch some twenty yards towards a native's tent, into which, hacked and chopped in every direction, he contrived to crawl ; but was followed up, and was so mangled by the indignant crowd, before my people could interfere, that I wonder he survived a minute. He lingered, however, till night, in spite of the remedies which the native doctor, by my orders, applied to him. The rage of the soldiery was beyond description, and I had great difficulty in preventing his being carried off to be burnt alive. Even late in the evening a deputation came to say, that it was apparent the Ghazi could not live out the night, and “ had he not better be hanged at once, while he had any life in him ? ” I said : “ No ; let him die ; the example will be just as great, perhaps greater, if his body is exposed on the gallows afterwards.”

My tent, immediately after this startling occurrence, was besieged by the officers and soldiers—some half naked, just as they had rushed from the fort-works, when they heard my pistol ; and it was really quite sufficient compensation for the danger, to see the unfeigned anxiety of the men, and hear their loud greetings and congratulations. All discipline was lost in such a moment of strong feeling. Thirty swords at least, covered with blood, were held out among the crowd, and as many voices shouted : “ I hit the dog, *this way* ! ” “ I cut him, *that* ! ” And certainly they had not left much of him untouched ; though they had been too much in each other's way to deal very fatal blows. Then came all the officers and sirdars of the force, throwing down *nuzzurs*, and whirling money round my head—as is their custom on occasions of triumph or deliverance—and the sun set before I could get rid of the assembly. The worst part of the whole business is, that the Ghazi slashed one of my *syces* (grooms) most severely before he entered my tent, and I am afraid he is anything but out of danger. The poor fellow was cooking his dinner, and the cowardly rascal sliced him with his tulwar all down the back.—*Vol. I. pp. 241—244.*

Murder is considered but a small affair—mere child's play in that part of the world. Even lads, who in our effeminate country would be learning Virgil and playing cricket, boast of their half-dozen murders. Grown-up men count their performances in this direction by the score. Hear what Edwardes says about it :—

In the course of some other business, Ursula Khan, a fine young lad, sixteen years old, son of one of the Surauni Mullicks, came in to impart to me his own and his father's uneasiness about past murders. “ What,” he asked, “ is to be the law ? ” I asked him, jokingly, “ What does it signify to a lad like you ? how many men have you killed ? ” He replied, modestly, “ Oh ! I've only killed four, but father has killed eighty ! ” One gets accustomed to this state of society ; but in England, what monsters of cruelty would this father and son be considered ! Indeed, few people would like to be in the same room with them. Yet, *ceteris paribus*, in Bunnú they are rather respectable men.—*Vol. I. pp. 259-260.*

Taking our extracts, as we have marked them, in due succession, without regard to the matter of which they treat, we come now to a passage, which is worth pondering, regarding the character and resources of Golab Singh :—

For this reason, I think there cannot be anything more unfounded than the alarm so prevalent, both in India and England, about Golab Singh's

military resources. Those, who have had the best means of inquiring into them, estimate his guns under one hundred, his cavalry under two thousand, and his whole infantry, regulars and irregulars together, under twenty-five thousand. Of the guns the majority are of small calibre (two or three-pounders), suited only to hill warfare. It is doubtful whether he could bring half-a-dozen troops or batteries of six-pounders into the field. Such an army, ill-equipped, ill-clothed, and ill paid, need not be very terrible to the rulers of British India, who can afford to occupy their most recent conquest with nearly fifty thousand men.

The Indian newspapers are now teeming with Golab Singh's hospitality to English travellers in Cashmere. That singularly able man has evidently appreciated the English character, and is getting the legs of the public under his mahogany. The tide of opinion will perhaps now turn violently in his favour, and from being "the most dangerous enemy," he will become "the best friend" of the British Government. Truth, as usual, lies between the extremes. Golab Singh neither is, nor ever will be, a sincere friend of the British Government. What Asiatic Sovereign is? It is sufficient if they are consistent allies. Be they Hindus, or be they Muhammadans, their religion, which is their strongest sentiment, dreads and abominates Christianity. They are thus incapable of love; but they are not so of gratitude.

Golab Singh is probably as grateful as a very bad man can be, and divides the merit of his success in tolerably equal shares between our power and his own cunning. Old age and good fortune have dulled the once keen edge of his ambition, and he would be contented if he could be assured. He knows that he is known. He has the English papers read to him, and sees that he is an object of suspicion to all, and of ambitious hope to many. He dreads the British, because the British dread him; and stores his armoury, because he is threatened with a war "next cold weather." If ever, therefore, he becomes our actual enemy, it will either be, because he thinks us his, or because, in moments of difficulty, we desert ourselves, and cause him to be doubtful of the issue. A musket-barrel is said to be "proof," when it has been loaded to the muzzle, and fired off without bursting. Golab Singh has a right to claim "the Tower mark." We may suspect, nay, we may know, that he truckled with the Sikhs before the battle of Gujurat; but we know also that he did *not* go over. Take him therefore *quantum valeat*, he is a reed that must not be leant on—not a club, that we need fear.—*Vol. I. pp 277-278.*

The next extract which we have marked for quotation, we give with no common pleasure. It carries its own comment upon the face of it, and needs not a word from us:—

It is right that I should not suppress the next entry in my Diary, as it is very much to the credit of my friend, though very little to my own.

"*Sunday Morning, 13th February, 1848.*

"MY DEAR E.—Do you have service on a Sunday: or, if you do not, will you? We are four Christians here; and, where the blessing is promised to the two or three that gather together, surely it ought to be done.

"John Holmes always attended prayers at Peshawur, and was pleased to do so.

"I was asked by Mudut Khan, only a few days ago, whether the laws of our religion prescribed any regular worship? I am not for displaying the matter unnecessarily: but surely this is wrong. I could add plenty of arguments, but you can well imagine them. Only do not think that I wish to assume the Mentor, or that, if you have any repugnance to the arrange-

ment, I shall think you a worse man, or a worse Christian than myself or others; but I really think what I propose, to be the duty of every man. I know how much happiness it leads to.

"Yours very sincerely,

"R. G. TAYLOR."

If I knew that Colonel John Holmes was a Christian at all, I certainly was not aware that he had any feeling about Christian duties, or had been in the habit of attending divine service at the house of Major George Lawrance at Peshawur. I thought that General Cortlandt and myself were the solitary members of our Church in that wild region; and, if it never occurred to either him or me that it would be well to read together, I trust it was from no indifference to the Sabbath itself. Indeed the suspension of the fort works upon that day, though a matter of necessity, and perhaps life and death, sufficiently proclaimed its sacred character in our eyes to both Hindus and Muhammadans.

And now that Taylor proposed to me to claim Holmes as a Christian, and ask him to join our service, it startled me.

Colonel Holmes, or as he was commonly called by the Sikh soldiers, "John Holmes Sahib," was a half-caste, who had served in the Company's native army as a musician, but left it and carried his knowledge of European drill across the Sutlej to Lahore, where he speedily rose to be an officer, and was now the Colonel of a regiment of regular infantry. He could talk English, and did his military duty well. He also professed Christianity; but there was much excuse for any one not knowing this, as he lived like a Muhammadan, probably, "as his father before him;" for, in a petition for pension presented to Government after the Colonel's death, there were, if I rightly remember, set down in the catalogue of his surviving family, the extraordinary items of "three mothers and two wives!" This was quite consistent with the manners of the native soldiers among whom he lived, and was obnoxious to neither Muhammadan nor Hindu, so long as he passed for one or the other, or was known by both not to be a Christian. But, if we claimed him as a Christian, it could not fail to incur scandal, as the general principles and ordinances of Christianity are well known to all Asiatics, and with reference especially to marriage, are gladly supposed by them to be very indifferently observed.

Such at least was my feeling on the point; and I attempted to bring Taylor to the same opinion. But he was too good to be ashamed of anybody; and, though much better aware of Holmes's character than I was, and how little likely he was to reflect credit upon *us*, he still thought we might reflect some good on *him*. "What chance," he said, "is there of his becoming better, if you exclude him from your congregation? and how can we tell at what moment the hearing of the Truth may take effect upon him?" So that it was for the pure sake of doing religious good that Taylor battled; and I was so struck with the charity and generosity of the motive that I gave way; we had prayers in my tent, and Taylor was happy.—*Vol. I. pp. 297—300.*

We should have been sorry, indeed, if this entry had been suppressed. If nothing else in the story redounds to Edwardes's credit, his manner of telling it is highly creditable to him.

In the following we see one of many instances of native mis-rule, and the benefits of British interference put forth for the protection of the weak against the strong:—

Dewan Dowlut Raie, when he succeeded his father, Lukki Mull,

reluctantly remitted three thousand rupees; and the revenue of Kolachi remained at sixty-one thousand rupees a-year till the autumn of 1847, when I passed through Dera Ishmael Khan, on my way back to Lahore from the first Bunnú expedition, and found myself surrounded by petitioners, both against Guldad Khan and the Dewan.

Guldad, it appeared, had been obliged to pawn his jewels and private property to meet the demands of his master; and one of the chief accusations against him, was that of not repaying the sums he had thus borrowed to make up the revenue of the Crown!

Still louder, however, were the cries of the rate-payers. A perfect crowd of Gundapuris followed me across the river, and presented me the following petition:

"We, the Zemindars of Gundapur, humbly represent that Dewan Dowlut Raie has made Guldad Khan our master; and, as he is a tyrant, the country has been ruined in consequence. The hand of his exactions has over-reached the threshold of every Afghan and Hindu in Gundapur.

"It has now pleased God to bring a British officer among us, and with him justice and consideration for the poor; and we are grateful for the hope thus afforded us of mercy. We, pray you, in God's name, to relieve us of the intolerable burden of our present revenue, to abolish the contract, and settle a certain share of the produce of the soil for us to pay in future, so that we may all know what we have to pay. Take this tyrant, Guldad Khan, away from the government, and give us some one who will rule justly, that our country may not be depopulated.

"It is now some years since he took violent possession of lands belonging to many of the small farmers, which he continues to enjoy. Restore these to us; and make him give up also the unjust fines and forfeitures he has inflicted on us.

"It is only five days ago, since his brother set the soldiers on us, and wounded fourteen zemindars, for no cause whatever. Some of the wounded were too weak to come to complain; but others are here. Hear their petition, and do justice.

"For God's sake remove Guldad Khan, abolish the present revenue, and give us a new settlement according to the produce. Confer a just ruler on us, and deserve our eternal prayers."

The English reader of the above heart-stirring appeal will hope this was a solitary case, even under the government of the Sikhs; but it was impossible to set foot in any corner of the province misruled by Dewan Dowlut Raie, without being similarly assailed by the petitions of an oppressed people.

No sooner did Sir Henry Lawrence receive my report of the condition of the Kolachi country, than he moved the Durbar to interfere, and procured a reduction of the revenue to forty-eight thousand rupees. But the reduction came too late. The country was already ruined; the cultivation abandoned; the over-taxed shops deserted; and the great water-dams, on which the crops are entirely dependent, allowed to fall in pieces.—*Vol. I. pp. 467—470.*

We must pass a little out of the regular order of the passages we have marked for quotation to give the sequel of this:—

A great many of the Tukwarub people have fled in despair to Tak, to live under Shah Niwaz Khan and some to Murwat; "any place," they say, "is better than the Kolachi country." The last autumn revenue has not

yet been collected; the people unable to pay, and the Khan's sepoy's unable to make them. I have at once excused the cesses on ploughs, turbans and shops; and the poor fellows, seeing something done for them, have gone away to consult how to pay the rest. They have been persuaded also to repair their water-dams, on my guarantee that they shall not be broken any more.

While all this is going on, Guldad Khan has not even taken the trouble to meet me on his frontier, though he knows I am come to settle the revenue of his country, and that (things are in such a dreadful state) it is quite a toss-up whether he is turned out or not. One thing must be said on his behalf;—he was born without common sense. To help him, I appointed his sensible and good-natured cousin, Kalu Khan, to be his deputy; but it appears that Guldad, like Shakespeare's "great lubberly post master's boy," has been crying over the indignity. "Am I not the Prince then? Isn't Kolachi my country? You sha'n't put it in order." He will not even let Kalu Khan collect the revenue for him, though he does not know how to do it himself.

Shah Niwaz Khan of Tak arrived in camp, and gives a modest but satisfactory account of his country. His best report, however, is in the mouths of the common people of the districts round, who already compare him to his wise grandfather, Surwur Khan. He shows as much moderation in his prosperity, as he did fortitude in his troubles. I cannot say what a happiness it is to me to have had it in my power at once to restore him to his home, and to recover a whole people from ruin. It is, perhaps, the best thing I have done on this frontier: yet it was only a happy hit:—a thought that it would do—a recommendation to Lawrence—his order—and it was done! Talk of conjuring trees with singing birds out of a mere cherry-stone, why here is a populous country conjured up, in a waste, by the scratch of a pen. Happy Asia, where such things may alone be done! Sad Asia, whose princes so seldom do them!—*Vol. I. pp. 497—499.*

Returning now to the previous chapter, we take a passage, which is among the most interesting in the book. It gives us no little pleasure to aid the publicity of so gratifying a fact:—

A highly interesting circumstance connected with the Indian trade came under my notice. Ali Khan, Gundapuri, the uncle of the present chief, Guldad Khan, told me he could remember well, as a youth, being sent by his father and elder brother with a string of Kabúl horses, to the fair of Hurdwar on the Ganges. He also showed me a Pushtu version of the Bible, printed at Serampore, in 1818, which he said had been given him thirty years before, at Hurdwar, by an English gentleman, who told him to "take care of it, and neither fling it into the fire nor the river; but hoard it up against the day, when the British should be rulers of his country!" Ali Khan said little to anybody of his possessing this book, but put it carefully by in a linen cover, and produced it with great mystery, when I came to settle the revenue of his nephew's country, "thinking that the time predicted by the Englishman had arrived!" The only person, I believe, to whom he had shown the volume, was a Mullah, who read several passages in the Old Testament, and told Ali Khan "it was a true story, and was all about their own Muhammadan Prophets, Father Moses and Father great Noah."

I examined the book with interest. It was not printed in the Persian character, but the common Pushtu language of Afghanistan; and was the only specimen I had ever seen of Pushtu reduced to writing. The accomplishment of such a translation was a highly honourable proof of the zeal

and industry of the Serampore Mission ; and should these pages ever meet the eye of Mr. John Marshman of Serampore, whose own pen is consistently guided by a love of civil order and religious truth, he may probably be able to identify "the English gentleman," who, thirty-two years ago, on the Banks of the Ganges, at the frontier of British India, gave to a young Afghan chief, from beyond the distant Indus, a Bible in his own barbarous tongue, and foresaw the day when the followers of the "Son of David" should extend their dominion to the "Throne of Solomon."—*Vol. I. pp. 486—487.*

Before we close the first of these two interesting volumes, and accompany the gallant author to the neighbourhood of Múltán, we must show how very narrowly he escaped being cut off at the very commencement of his adventurous career. He was out on a foray against a recusant chief, and soon found himself, very poorly supported, in the very thick of a hornet's nest:—

I thought the best chance I had was to make my few fellows fight, whether they would or no : so I led them round to the rear of the Nassur Camp, and got them between it and the Hill, under a dropping fire of bullets, which did little or no harm ; then beckoning with my hand to the Nassurs, I told Kalu Khan to shout to them, in Pushtu, to surrender ;—a bare-faced proposition, to which the Nassurs replied only with a handsome volley of both bullets and abuse. "Come on," they cried "come on, you Feringhi dog, and don't stand talking about surrender!" In truth, it was no time, for the fire was getting thick ; so, seeing nothing else left, I drew my own sword, took a tight hold of a chain bridle, given me prophetically by Reynell Taylor, stuck the spurs into Zal, and, calling on all behind me to follow, plunged into the camp.

The attacking party always has such an advantage, that I am quite sure, if our men had followed up, few as they were, they might have either seized, or killed, Shahzad ; but it shames me to relate, that out of seventy or eighty, not fifteen charged, and scarcely a dozen reached the middle of the camp.

The dozen was composed of Muhummud Alim Khan (I think I see him now with his blue and gold shawl turban all knocked about his ears !) Kalu Khan, and Lumsden's Duffadar of guides ; each backed by a few faithful henchmen. The only officer *non-inventus* was the Sikh Russaldar. The *mêlée*, therefore, was much thicker in our neighbourhood than was at all pleasant, and how we ever got out of it is unaccountable ; but we did, after cutting our way from one end to the other of the Nassur camp. Somewhere about the middle of it, a tall ruffian, who, I was told afterwards, was Shahzad's brother, walked deliberately up to me with his juzail, and, sticking it into my stomach, so that the muzzle almost pushed me out of my saddle, fired ! The priming flashed in the pan, and, as he drew back the juzail, I cut him full over the head ; but I might as well have hit a cannon ball, the sword turned in my hand ; and the Nassur, without even re-settling his turban, commenced re-priming his juzail, an operation which I did not stay to see completed. Between 1845 and 1849 there was no lack of peril on the Punjab frontier, and I, like all the rest, had my share ; but I have always looked back to the moment, when that juzail missed fire, as the one of all my life when I looked death closest in the face.—*Vol. I. pp. 512—514.*

We now open the second volume ; and enter upon more stirring scenes. Edwardes was at Derah Futteh Khan, when tid-

ings reached his camp that Agnew and Anderson had been attacked and wounded at Múltán, and were in imminent peril. The author's account of the arrival of this stirring intelligence is one of the most graphic passages in the entire work :—

It was towards evening of April 22nd, 1848, at Derah Futteh Khan, on the Indus, that I was sitting in a tent full of Belúchi zemindars, who were either robbers, robbed, or witnesses to the robberies of their neighbours, taking evidence in the trial of Bhowani Singh, recounted in the last chapter.

Loud footsteps, as of some one running, were heard without, came nearer as we all looked up and listened, and at last stopped before the door. There was a whispering, a scraping off of shoes, and brushing off of dust from the wearer's feet, and then the *purdah* (curtain) at the door was lifted, and a *kossid* (running messenger), stripped to the waist and streaming with heat, entered and presented a letter-bag, whose crimson hue proclaimed the urgency of its contents. “ It was from the Sahib in Multan,” he said, “ to the Sahib in Bunnú ; but, as I was here, I might as well look at it.”

I took it up, and read the Persian superscription on the bag : “ To General Cortlandt, in Bunnú, or wherever else he may be.” It was apparently not for me, but it was for an officer under my orders, and the messenger said it was on important public service ; I had, therefore, a right to open it, if I thought it necessary. But there was something in the *kossid's* manner, which alike *compelled* me to open it, and forbade me either to question him before the crowd around me, or show any anxiety about it.

So I opened it as deliberately as I could, and found an English letter enclosed, directed to either General Cortlandt or myself. It was a copy, taken by a native clerk, of a public letter, addressed to Sir Frederick Currie by Mr. P. Vans Agnew, one of his Assistants on duty at Múltán, with a postscript in pencil written by Mr. Agnew, and addressed to us.

The following is a copy, and appended is a faithful fac-simile, which will be regarded with mournful interest, as the last tracings of a hand ever generous, ever brave, which held fast honour and public duty to the death :

“ *Múltán, 19th April, 1848.*

“ MY DEAR SIR FREDERICK,—You will be sorry to hear that, as Anderson and I were coming out of the fort gate, after having received charge of the fort by Dewan Múlráj, we were attacked by a couple of soldiers, who, taking us unawares, succeeded in wounding us both pretty sharply.

“ Anderson is worst off, poor fellow. He has a severe wound on the thigh, another on the shoulder,* one on the back of the neck, and one in the face.

“ I think it most necessary that a doctor should be sent down, though I hope not to need him myself.

“ I have a smart gash in the left shoulder, and another in the same arm. The whole Múltán † troops have mutinied, ‡ but we hope to get them round. They have turned our two companies out of the fort.

“ Yours, in haste,

(Signed)

“ P. A. VANS AGNEW.”

* Written “ shouldier” by the native, and corrected in pencil by Mr. Agnew.

† The word “ Múltán” is inserted in pencil by Mr. Agnew.

‡ Thus corrected in pencil by Mr. Agnew, the native having mistaken the original “ mutinied” for “ continued,” and further on “ round” for “ bound.”

POSTSCRIPT IN PENCIL.

" MY DEAR SIR,—You have been ordered* to send one regiment here. Pray let it march instantly, or, if gone, hasten it to top speed. If you can spare another, pray send it also. I am responsible for the measure. I am cut up a little, and on my back. Lieutenant Anderson is much worse. He has five sword wounds. I have two in my left arm from warding sabre cuts, and a poke in the ribs with a spear. I don't think Múlráj has anything to do with it. † I was riding with him when we were attacked. He rode off, but is now said to be in the hands of the soldiery.

" Khan Singh and his people all right,

" Yours, in haste,

" P. A. VANS AGNEW.

" 19th, two P. M.

" TO GENERAL CORTLANDT, OR

" LIEUTENANT EDWARDES,

" Bunnú."

During the perusal of the above letter, I felt that all eyes were on me ; for no one spoke, not a pen moved, and there was that kind of hush, which comes over an assembly under some indefinite feeling of alarm. I never remember in my life being more moved, or feeling more painfully the necessity of betraying no emotion. After lingering over the last few sentences as long as I could, I looked up at the kossid, and said : " Very good ! Sit down in that corner of the tent, and I'll attend to you as soon as I have done this trial." Then, turning to the gaping múnshis, I bade them " go on with the evidence ;" and the disappointed crowd once more bent their attention on the witnesses. But, from that moment I heard no more. My eyes indeed were fixed mechanically upon the speakers, but my thoughts were at Múltán with my wounded countrymen, revolving how I ought to act to assist them.

In about an hour I had arranged the ways and means in my own mind, and, that done, had no further reason for concealment. I saw clearly what to do : and the sooner it was done the better.—*Vol. II. pp. 1—8.*

The letter, which Edwardes wrote to the President at Lahore, announcing his intention to start at once for Múltán, is to be found in the Blue-Book. His letter to Mr. Vans Agnew is not

* By Sir F. Currie, before the mutiny, to form part of the garrison of Múltán, after Dewan Múlráj's retirement.

† This generous sentence is a complete answer to those, who have supposed that Mr. Agnew drove Múlráj into rebellion by the harshness of his behaviour. Had any thing passed between them to cause irritation, or give reasonable offence, Mr. Agnew would surely be the first to have remembered it. Indeed, a reference to the trials, which closed this causeless rebellion, will show that Mr. Agnew wrote to Múlráj himself, expressing a willingness to believe him innocent, if he would only prove it by coming to see him ; otherwise he must consider him guilty. It is still further certain that Múlráj, by Rung Ram's advice, started to go to Mr. Agnew, which he would not have done, had he had a quarrel with that lamented officer, and rebelled to avenge himself. In short little doubt now remains, that the first attack on Mr. Agnew was unauthorised, though done with the belief that it would be pleasing to Múlráj ; and that Múlráj's guilt of Mr. Agnew's blood commenced subsequently to this letter of Mr. Agnew's, when stimulated by the warlike temper of his soldiers, he swore them to adhere to him, if he rebelled, bound the bracelet of war upon his own arm, and ordered the fatal attack on the Edgah. The Commissioners, who tried Múlráj, took the very same view as Mr. Agnew, and acquitted the Dewan of the first assault upon the British officers, but found him guilty of their deaths.

embraced in that elaborate collection; but it is as well worth reading as anything in the stout folio:—

"Camp, Dera Futteh Khan, 22nd April, 1848.

"MY DEAR AGNEW,—Your letter of 19th April to General Cortlandt reached my camp at three P. M., this day; and I fortunately opened it to see if it was on public business.

"I need scarcely say that I have made arrangements for marching to your assistance at once.

"I have one infantry regiment, and four extra companies; two horse artillery guns; twenty zumburuhs; and between three and four hundred horse. This is a small force; but such as it is, you are welcome to it and *me*.

"Your position is one of imminent peril; but God will bring an honest man out of worse straits; so trust in Him; and keep up your pluck.

"There are at this moment only three boats at the ghât, and I have to collect others from the neighbouring ferries; but we shall manage, doubtless, to effect the passage in course of to-morrow, when the following route ought to bring us to Múltán on the 27th:—


"23rd, left bank of Indus.

"24th, Leiah.

"25th, Wells, half-way to Wander.

"26th, Wander.

"27th, Múltán.

"Rely on it, it shall not be my fault if we are a day later; but the very sound of our approach will be a check to your rascally enemies, and to *you*, as refreshing as the breeze which heralds the rising sun at morning. If you are pressed, pray bring away Anderson, and join . With all my heart I hope you are both safe at this moment!

"I have written on to Bunnú for Subhan Khan's regiment, and a troop of horse artillery.

"Write, write, write! and, with the sincerest wishes, believe me, in weal or woe,

"Yours, aye,

HERBERT EDWARDS.

"For P. A. VANS AGNEW, ESQ., C. S.

"Múltán."

Having started the young political assistant on his adventurous march to Múltán, it is only right that we should quote his own defence of the movement. It appears very strange and very hard, that such a movement should require any defence:—

I am aware that it has been said (and strangely enough by many, who desired nothing so much as a like opportunity of being useful, and who, had it fallen to their lot, would, I gladly believe, have used it honourably), that I interfered where I had no call of duty, levied soldiers to carry on a war for my own ambitious ends, and, with all the rash presumption of a subaltern—

"Rushed in where angels feared to tread."

Perfectly satisfied with the approbation of my Sovereign, my country, the Indian and British Governments, and both Houses of Parliament, I could well afford to be silent: but having now printed, *in extenso*, poor Agnew's appeal for help, as an essential part of this narrative, I will just make two remarks upon it in passing:—that those, I allude to, may in charity be supposed to have been ignorant of its existence; but, if not, I should have deserved even their contempt, had I been coward enough to disregard it.—*Vol. II. pp. 15-16.*

In Edwardes's letter, of May 3, 1848, to the Lahore Resident, given in the Blue-Book, the circumstances, under which he found it necessary to re-cross the Indus, are detailed; but the reader will not be sorry to have a more confidential report on the subject:—

I shall not readily forget these events. To retreat at all, at any time and under any circumstances, must be mortifying enough to a soldier. But the circumstances, under which I had to retreat, were these;—

I was the only man in the whole camp who wanted to retreat!

The Sikh soldiers, who were the majority, had, there is every reason to believe, sold me. My very price had been agreed upon; twelve thousand rupees to the regiment for joining the rebels in the battle, and twelve thousand more, if they brought over my head with them. It is needless, therefore, to add, that with twenty-four thousand rupees to lose on one side, and merely honour on the other, the Futteh Pultun to a man were for standing fast at Leiah. "What did I want to retreat for? Did I doubt their fidelity, or their courage? They would throw themselves into the town of Leiah; erect barricades; and hold the place to all eternity. As for Múlráj's troops, though they were twenty to one, they should be eaten up! Only place implicit confidence in *them*, and I should never repent it!" (Which was probably true; for they would not have given me time).

On the other hand, the faithful few, the artillery, the Purbiuh infantry, and newly-raised Puthans of the last week, were indignant at the bare notion of retreating; for it is a maxim of war among high-minded Asiatics, and especially Puthans, that "having advanced your right foot, it is honourable to bring the left up to it; but to draw the right back to the left is a disgrace." But, I asked, suppose the enemy is obviously too strong for you? "Then stand and die!" was the rash, but chivalrous response.

So there I stood alone among my soldiers—some traitors, some true men—but all urging me to prove a fool, all fearing I might prove a coward.

I esteem it not the least of my little victories, that I stuck that day to my own opinion. There was not a shadow of doubt in my mind, as to the course which ought to be pursued; and I resolved accordingly to pursue it. For I again repeat a sentiment, which I have before expressed in these volumes, that he, who has to act upon his own responsibility, is a slave, if he does not act also on his own judgment.

Turning therefore to all the officers, false and true, I said, "It is my deliberate opinion that this force is incapable of resisting such an one, as the rebels have sent against us, either in the open field or in an entrenched position. To attempt it would be to sacrifice many lives in vain; and I consider it, therefore, my duty to retreat. As to military maxims every country has its own; and among my countrymen (who are not considered very bad soldiers!) it is reckoned very bad generalship to fight, unless there is a reasonable chance of victory. Let us therefore retreat, and reinforce ourselves. A long war is before us; and the day will soon come, when I shall call on you all to prove the valour, of which you now make such display. We shall then see who is brave, and who is not."

Next day the retreat was made, but with reluctance; and the following colloquy between some Sikh soldiers of the rear-guard was overheard by my own servants:

"What shall we do with this Sahib of ours?"

"Oh! kill him of course—what else?"

"D'ye think so? Well I vote we *don't* kill him."

"What then? You wouldn't let him off?"

"No!" (with concentrated malignity,) I'd *make a Sikh of him!*"

"What for?"

"Why, when he was a regular Sikh, and had taken the *pahul*,* and read the *Grunth*, I'd then make him carry bricks and mortar in a wicker basket on his head, as he made us do at Bunnú, building that fort of Dhulipgurh. I should just like to see how he'd like it!"

And that night of May 2nd, when we lay down on the bank of the Indus, in a half-moon, with our backs to the river—shall I ever forget it? There was a mutual distrust between the faithful and unfaithful parties of the soldiery. Not a word had been spoken, no duty refused, no symptom of open mutiny; and yet both sides knew each other, avoided each other, and were getting angry with each other. To make the best of it, I put the two guns in the centre, with the faithful Purbiuhs right and left, and lay down behind them. This secured the artillery, and divided the Sikh regiment into wings, right and left of the Purbiuhs. The new Pathan levies, and other horsemen, were thrown out as a piquet to Leiah.

Wearily and sleeplessly passed the night; the piquet having ascertained the proximity of the enemy, fell back from Leiah; and, when morning dawned, there must be no delay in re-crossing to our own side of the Indus.

Then arose the question, "Who was to go over first?" I found myself at the school-boy puzzle of the Fox and the Geese, and the ferryman.

If the faithless went over first, they would keep the boats on the other side, and leave the faithful to be cut up by the enemy; if the faithful went over first, the faithless might join the enemy unopposed, and carry one thousand disciplined soldiers into the ranks of rebellion.*

At last, I settled it in this way. The artillery and cavalry were sent over first in two voyages; and, when the boats returned the third time, I appointed one to every company of infantry, faithful and unfaithful, at intervals along the bank; and told all to step in to their respective boats at the first sound of a bugle, and at the second to push off and proceed.

This was done, but not without considerable excitement, which was now becoming irrepressible, as the enemy was known to be within a few miles; and, when at last two Purbiuh and Sikh soldiers drew their swords on each other, and the rest of their comrades were beginning to run together to the point, I thought all our pains were about to be thrown away at the last moment; but, on my seizing both the combatants by the collar, and thrusting them into my own boat, and then ordering the bugler to sound for embarkation, the crowd broke sulkily up again, and got on board. Again the bugle rang out over the Indus; to my irrepressible joy every boat pushed off, and we crossed that broad river in almost as perfect a military formation, as a regiment in open column of companies, taking ground to its left at a review.

Once on the right bank, I felt a match for the traitors; and, as soon as all had disembarked, I called up the grey-headed adjutant of the Purbiuhs, and put the boats under the charge of him and his men. "Take them," I said, "out of the main stream two miles up the branch, that leads to Derah Futteh Khan; anchor them at the back of the island, and defend them with your lives, against any one, who attempts to take them from you."—*Vol. II. pp. 62—69.*

* The "*Pahul*" is the initiation into the pale of the Sikh religion, and consists chiefly, I believe, in pledging attachment to its ordinances in a draught of water, which has been mystically stirred up with a sword, or other weapon of steel or iron.

We must pass over, however reluctantly, much interesting matter relative to the conduct and character of Múlráj, and follow Edwardes down to the battle-field of Kineyrí. It is the 18th of June. The troops of Múlráj and the army of Bahwul Khan have first come into collision. Edwardes, with his Puthan levies, is hurrying up to the scene of action. He sniffs the battle in the distance :—

About a hundred yards from the left bank, I was roused from a "brown study," not unnatural amid plans so doubtful in their issue, and so heavy in their responsibility, by a burst of artillery within a mile or two of the shore. A second cannonade replied, was answered, and replied again : and two tall opposite columns of white smoke rose out of the jungle, higher and higher at every discharge, as if each strove to get above its adversary, then broke and pursued each other in thick clouds over the fair and peaceful sky.

Gazing at this unmistakeable symbol of the fight below, I could scarcely forbear smiling at the different speculations of my companions in the boat. 'The servants, men of peace, declared and hoped it was only "a salute," fired by the Daúd-pútras in honour of the allies who had joined them ; but the horsemen knit their brows, and devoutly cried "Al-lah ! Al-lah !" at every shot, with an emphasis like pain on the last syllable. They quite felt there was a fight going on.

For my own part, I felt so too ; and, as I stepped on shore and buckled the strap of my cap under my chin, I remember thinking that no Englishman could be beaten on the 18th of June.

Nor am I ashamed to remember that I bethought me of a still happier omen, and a far more powerful aid—the goodness of my cause, and the God who defends the right. A young lieutenant, who had seen but one campaign—alone, and without any of the means and appliances of such war, as I had been apprenticed to—I was about to take command, in the midst of a battle, not only of one force, whose courage I had never tried, but of another, which I had never seen ; and to engage a third, of which the numbers were uncertain, with the knowledge that defeat would immeasurably extend the rebellion which I had undertaken to suppress, and embarrass the Government which I had volunteered to serve. Yet, in that great extreme, I doubted only for a moment—one of those long moments, to which some angel seems to hold a microscope and show millions of things within it. It came and went between the stirrup and the saddle. It brought with it difficulties, dangers, responsibilities, and possible consequences terrible to face ; but it left none behind. I knew that I was fighting for the right. I asked God to help me do my duty, and I rode on, certain that He would do it.—*Vol. II. pp. 381-382.*

On arriving at the scene of action, Edwardes was saluted with the pleasant intelligence that the Daúd-pútra army was disorganized, and the General in a state of fatuity :—

It was at this moment that, led by Pir Muhammad, I arrived upon the field, a plain covered with jungle, amongst which loaded camels were passing to the rear out of range of the enemy's guns, and detachments of wild-looking warriors, with red hair and beards, were taking up a line of posts. Suddenly, a European stepped out of the crowd, and advanced to me in a hurried manner, wiping his forehead, and exclaiming : " Oh, Sir, our

army is disorganized!"—a pleasing salutation on arriving at a field of battle! He then told me his name was Macpherson, and that he commanded one of the Nawab's two regular regiments. I asked him where his General was? He laughed, and pointed to a large peepul-tree, round which a crowd was gathered. I galloped up, and, looking over the shoulders of the people, saw a little old man, in dirty clothes and with nothing but a skull-cap on his head, sitting under the tree, with a rosary in his hands, the beads of which he was rapidly telling, and muttering, in a peevish, helpless manner, "*Uthumdulillah! Uthumdulillah!*" (God be praised! God be praised!)—apparently quite abstracted from the scene around him, and utterly unconscious that six-pounder balls were going through the branches, that officers were imploring him for orders, and that eight or nine thousand rebels were waiting to destroy an army of which he was the General.

He had to be shaken by his people before he could comprehend that I had arrived; and, as he rose and tottered forward, looking vacantly in my face, I saw that excitement* had completed the imbecility of his years, and that I might as well talk to a post. Turning, therefore, to the many brave and experienced officers of his staff, and to Pír Ibrahim Khan, who now came up, I learnt the general nature of their position, and then struck out a plan for the day. "Nothing," I said, "can be done with an army so disorganized as this, or with guns such as Pír Ibrahim describes yours to be. The enemy has taken up a strong position, and will probably prefer being attacked. It is not likely that he will attack us, until he thinks we don't mean to attack him. We have therefore got the day before us. I will write to General Cortlandt on the other side of the river to send us over some guns that are better than the enemy's; and not a move must be made till they come. In the meanwhile, occupy yourselves with recovering the order of your force; make the whole lie down in line in the jungle; keep them as much under cover as possible, and let your artillery play away, as hard as they can, on the enemy's guns. Above all, stand fast, and be patient."—*Vol. II. pp. 385-386.*

It was not, however, very easy to enforce this order to stand fast and be patient. The Puthan levies were eager for the affray; and, the fire of the rebel army having been drawn upon them, their eagerness became almost irrepressible. In this conjuncture, he tried the effects of a charge of horse: but, having no cavalry at his command, he was obliged to muster a select body of chiefs and officers, all who had horses to mount. The service was finely performed, and is here graphically described:—

If the wild Puthan levies had been difficult to restrain before, they were now perfectly mad, as the shot tore through their ranks and ploughed up the ground on which they lay; and, when presently the fire ceased, and bodies of horses were again seen stealing up towards our front, in numbers that set our ten miserable zumburuhs at defiance, I saw that none but the most desperate expedient could stave off the battle any longer.

Imploring the infantry to lie still yet a little longer, I ordered Foujdar

* I say excitement, and not fear; because I have been assured that in former years he possessed the one good quality of courage.

Khan, and all the chiefs and officers who had horses, to mount, and, forming themselves into a compact body, charge down on the rebel cavalry, and endeavour to drive them back upon the foot. "Put off the fight," I whispered to Foujdar, "or not a man of us will leave this field."

Gladly did those brave men get the word to do a deed so desperate; but with set teeth, I watched them mount, and wondered how many of my choicest officers would come back.

Spreading their hands to heaven, the noble band solemnly repeated the creed of their religion, as though it were their last act on earth; then passed their hands over their beards with the haughtiness of martyrs, and, drawing their swords, dashed out of the jungle into the ranks of the enemy's horse, who, taken wholly by surprise, turned round and fled, pursued by Foujdar and his companions to within a few hundred yards of the rebel line, which halted to receive its panic-stricken friends.

In executing this brilliant service, Foujdar Khan received two severe wounds, and few, who returned, came back untouched. Many fell.

The purpose, however, was completely answered; for though the enemy quickly rallied, and advanced again in wrath, and I had just made up my mind that there was nothing now left but a charge of our whole line, unsupported by a single gun, of which there could have been but one result—our total annihilation;—at that moment of moments might be heard the bugle note of artillery in the rear. "Hush!" cried every voice; whilst each ear was strained to catch that friendly sound once more. Again it sounds—again—and there is no mistake. The guns have come at last; thank God!
Vol. II. pp. 391—393.

And now, that the guns have arrived, let us see what service they rendered:—

There was scant time for taking breath, for the enemy was close at hand; so, bidding the guns come with me, the two new regiments to follow the guns, and the whole irregular line to advance steadily in the rear, under command of Foujdar Khan, I led the artillery through the trees on to the cultivated plain beyond. There we first saw the enemy's line.

Directly in my front, Múlráj's regular troops were pushing their way in some confusion over fields of sugar; and, through an interval of space caused by a few wells and houses, some horse artillery guns were emerging on the plain.

Round went our guns, and round went theirs; and, in an instant, both were discharged into each other. It was a complete surprise; for the rebels believed truly, that all the guns, we had in the morning, had left the field with the Daúd-pútras; and of the arrival of the others they were ignorant. Down sank their whole line among the long stalks of the sugar; and, as we afterwards learnt from a Gúrkha prisoner, the fatal word was passed that "the Sahib had got across the river with all his army from Dera Ghazi Khan, and led them into an ambush." To and fro rode their astonished and vacillating Colonels; and, while the guns maintained the battle, the intelligence was sent by swift horsemen to the rebel General, Rung Ram, who, seated on an elephant, looked safely down upon the fight from the hills around the village of Nunar.

Meanwhile the Suruj Mukhi and Subhan Khan's regiments had come up, followed closely by the line; and I made the two former lie down on the left and right of the artillery, and the latter halt under cover of the trees.

The gunners were getting warm. "Grape! grape!" at length shouted the Commandant; "it's close enough for grape!" and the enemy thought so too, for the next round rushed over our heads like a flight of eagles. And there (for the first time, and the last, in my short experience of war.) did I see hostile artillery *firing grape into each other*. It was well for us that the enemy was taken by surprise; for they aimed high, and did little mischief. General Cortlandt's artillery were well trained and steady, and their aim was true. Two guns were quickly silenced, and the rest seemed slackening and firing wild. A happy charge might carry all. I gave the order to Subhan Khan's regiment to attack; and away they went—Subhan Khan himself, a stout heavy soldier, leading them on, and leaping over bushes like a boy. Before this regiment could reach the battery, an incident, characteristic of irregular troops, occurred. A cluster of half-a-dozen horsemen dashed out from the trees behind me, and, passing the regiment, threw themselves on the enemy's guns. Their leader received a ball full in his face, and fell over the "cannon's mouth." It was Shah Niwaz Khan of Esau-kheyl, whose family I had recalled from exile to rule over their own country. The regiment followed, and, carried at the point of the bayonet the only gun which awaited their assault. Another gun lay dismounted on the ground.

While this was doing, our guns poured grape into the cover where the rebel infantry were lying; and these, hearing their own artillery retire before Subhan Khan's charge, retreated hastily through the high crops, with which the fields were covered, but suffered heavily from the fire behind them, and formed again in great confusion, when they reached their guns.

Our whole force now advanced over the contested ground, the men shouting as they passed the captured guns. The enemy then rallied, and the artillery on both sides re-opened.

It was at this point of the battle that a small body of cavalry approached our battery from the left. I asked an orderly, if he knew who they were? He thought they were Foujdar Khan and the mounted chiefs of the Puthans; and I had just turned my horse to ride towards them with an order, when a single horseman advanced, and, taking a deliberate aim, discharged a matchlock at me, within fifty or sixty yards. The ball passed first through the sleeve of the brown holland blouse which I had on, then through my shirt, and out again on the other side through both, and must have been within an hair's breadth of my elbow. But the party paid dearly for their daring, for two guns were instantly laid on them, and horses and rider were soon rolling in the dust.

And now I gave the word for the whole line of wild Puthans to be let loose upon the enemy. One volley from our battery—and they plunged into the smoke-enveloped space between the armies with a yell, that had been gathering malice through hours of impatient suffering. The smoke cleared off: and the artillerymen of two more rebel guns were dying desperately at their posts, their line was in full retreat upon Nunar, and the plain was a mass of scattered skirmishes.—*Vol. II. pp. 395–398.*

With an extract or two, illustrative of the incidents of the battle of Suddosain, we must conclude this hasty review. In the following, Edwardes describes what he calls his equestrian vicissitudes:—

The equestrian vicissitudes, I underwent that day, are truly ludicrous to remember, though very serious matters at the moment. I commenced

the action on a big chesnut Arab, named Zal ; but, sulky at being so long without his dinner, he refused to leap a canal, which had brought the artillery to a halt, and fell with me right into the middle ; nor with all my pulling and hauling could I get him out, and I was obliged to leave him till the fight was over. General Cortlandt then got me a bay horse from an officer in his artillery ; but I had not gone two hundred yards, when over he came backwards, and bruised me dreadfully on the ground. A shot had grazed his nose. Fat Sadik Muhammad Khan, Badozye, who was my aide-de-camp all that day, next put me on a grey, belonging to one of his own followers ; and this beast I had fairly ridden to a stand-still, when up came one of my *syces* (native grooms) with a grey Cabul horse of my own, called Punch. " What are you doing here ? " I asked : for I had mounted Lake on this horse in the morning. " Lake Sahib has sent it with his compliments, as he hears you have lost Zal, and he has borrowed another horse for himself ! " So I finished the day upon Punch ; and, when the fight was over, I thanked Lake for the timely thought. Lake burst out laughing, and said : " I send the horse back ? Never. That villain of a syce walked off with it, and left me without any horse at all ! "—*Vol. II. pp. 456-457.*

In the next we have an account of the manner, in which Edwardes lost the use of his right hand :—

I was in the very act of writing, when a horseman rode in from the picket, and reported that Múlráj's army were crossing the bridge in the same order that they had done before, and were coming on around to give us battle. Astounded, but unable to disbelieve, I beat to arms, summoned the chief officers, ordered the line to be turned out at once, and was holding a hurried conference with Lake and Cortlandt in my tent, whilst all three of us were jumping into boots, or buckling on swords and pistols, when a second horseman from the picket entered. I had just loaded my pistols, and went on cramming them into my belt, while listening to the man's report. The hammer of one got entangled : but, without looking to see what was the matter, I seized the barrel in my right hand, and pulled the pistol into its place. A loud report, a short pang, and I had lost the use of my right hand for life ! The ball had passed through the palm, and lodged in the floor at my foot. But there was no time for regrets.

The line had turned out, and Lake rushed to the field to take my duty and his own. Nobly he would have done both ; but I must own it was a great relief to me to hear, that, as our line advanced, the enemy retreated again behind the city walls, and proved to have been only a party of cavalry sent out to reconnoitre our position. Had Múlráj given us battle that day, the result must have been more doubtful than it had ever been before. All Lake's attention and guidance were demanded by his own undisciplined Daúd-pútras. He had had no time to become acquainted with my men, or they with him ; and the accident, which had happened at such a critical moment to their customary leader, would have been an omen of certain defeat to their superstitious minds. Even as it was, the occurrence was unfortunate ; for while it prevented me from being surrounded by my officers, as I was wont to be all day, and confined me like a prisoner to my bed, in Múlráj's hall of audience it was a subject of loud rejoicing and congratulation. " At first I was reported dead, and Múlráj made a present to the messenger, who brought the news, burying me with the decent remark, that I was " a stout youth, and it was a pity I should be cut off so young ! " On hearing that I had only lost my hand, he probably took the present back again, and thrashed the messenger.

After this accident I was twelve days without a doctor, at least an European one. The native doctor of General Cortlandt's troops sewed up my hand with a packing needle, and thought he had done a fine thing; but the agony it caused me I never can forget; for, what with the laceration of the wound, the tightness of the stitches, and the intense heat of the sun, inflammation ensued, the hand swelled, the stitches grew tighter, and the pain greater, till at last I would have thanked either Lake or Cortlandt, if, instead of nursing me, they had drawn a sword, and chopped the limb clean off. One day too, a sympathizing friend in the Indian Navy came in to see me, and, intending to seat himself on my bed, sat down on my wounded hand, which was stretched out on my pillow by my side, and then asked me, “ How I did ?”—*Vol. II. pp. 460—463.*

The mention of Lieutenant Lake reminds us, that, in the earlier part of the volume, there is a graceful and well-merited tribute to the fine qualities of this young officer. We must turn back to extract it:—

Thus was Lieutenant Lake, in fact, constituted the Commander-in-Chief of the Daūd-pūtra army. How well he justified that unusual trust, to the mutual honour of his own Government and that of the troops he led, will appear abundantly in these pages; but this is the place for me to bear witness that he *did* “ co-operate admirably with me” throughout the war. He did more.

By his instructions from the Resident, he was not put under my command. At this time the Resident did not intend, perhaps, that I should ever cross the Chenab, and did not contemplate that Lieutenant Lake's force and mine would be united in one body. It seemed enough, therefore, to tell him “ to co-operate according to his own judgment and discretion.”

But events brought us irresistibly together. Before Lieutenant Lake could reach his army, I had crossed the Chenab, and saved the Daūd-pūtras from a disastrous defeat at Kineyri; and, finding me in the successful execution of my own plans, Lieutenant Lake at once put himself under my command, and, without one selfish thought, devoted his rare abilities and energy to second the operations of another. I felt the generosity of the action then; but I do more full justice to it now, when I look back calmly on those stormy times, and remember how impossible it was that two young heads should always think alike, however true their hearts kept time; yet never was there anything but unity of action in the field. Seldom, indeed, did we differ, even in the council tent; but, if we had two plans, Lake manfully exposed the weaknesses of mine; and, if I was not to be convinced (as I own I very seldom was), gave up his own better judgment, and made mine perfect by the heartiness of his assistance in giving it effect.

My peaceful readers, whose experience of “ heroes” has happily been confined within the limits of the “ Biographical Dictionary,” or the smooth historian's page, may think so well of soldier-nature, as to deem Lake's magnanimity and lack of jealousy a thing of course; but others, who have lived in camps, will know both its rarity and its value, and esteem it the most unfading of the laurels won by Edward Lake under the walls of Mūltān. “ Better is he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.”*

Lake joined Edwardes in bad health, but in high spirits. How invigorating and re-assuring to the latter it must have been, to receive tidings of the near approach of such a colleague, and that too, in so hearty a manner. After congratulating me on "the last victory," says Edwardes, he wrote, "don't fight any more battles, like a good fellow, till I join you. If there is any *immediate* prospect of work, I will not wait for my traps, and trust to you for board, bed and shelter;" closing with a P. S.—"Let me know if there is any *immediate* prospect of a fight, and I can join you in one night."

One more extract we must give. It is the dedicatory epistle. The book is thus gracefully and appropriately inscribed to Sir Henry Lawrence:—

MY DEAR LAWRENCE,—If I have been able to serve Government to any purpose, I owe it to your teaching and example; and as the only way I may ever have of proving myself grateful for your friendship, I inscribe your name upon these records of the days I least regret.

Believe me,

My dear Lawrence,

Ever affectionately your's,

HERBERT B. EDWARDES.

Richmond Hill, }
Jan., 1861.

With this we bring our extracts, and indeed our review, to a close. The author says, that he had three objects in view in writing his book. 1. To put on record a victory, which he remembers with more satisfaction than any he helped to gain before Múltán—the bloodless conquest of the wild valley of Bunnú. 2. To give his countrymen at home an insight into the actual life and labours of an Indian political officer. 3. To contribute his mite of local knowledge to the world's common stock. And all these objects he has accomplished in a manner very refreshing to the reader. "The book," he says, "is simply what it professes to be, the record of a busy year on an important frontier, in a country, and at a crisis, which have excited the national attention of Englishmen." A chapter it is in Indian history, which reflects lasting honour upon the national character.

- ART. VII.—1. *Chaitanya-Charitámrita*. By Krishna Dás. Calcutta. B. E. 1251.
2. *Chaitanya-Mangal*. By ~~Lockan~~ Dás. Calcutta. B. E. 1250.
3. *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*. By H. H. Wilson, L. L. D., F. R. S. From the "*Asiatic Researches*," Vols. XVI., XVII. Calcutta. 1846.

THE disclosures of Revelation apart, there is no country in the East—no country in the world, more interesting in a religious point of view than India. A consistent Hindu is the most religious being in existence. He gets up from his bed religiously, anoints his body religiously, washes religiously, dresses religiously, sits religiously, stands religiously, drinks religiously, eats religiously, sleeps religiously, learns religiously, remains ignorant religiously, and becomes irreligious religiously. Not an action he performs, not a step he takes, not a word he utters, not a breath he draws, but he does all agreeably to the institutes of his religion. In no other country has there been an exhibition of so many modifications of the religious feeling. Transcendental Theism in all its loftiness, absolute Pantheism with all its horrors, murky Mysticism with its multitudinous brood of morbid feelings, and Idolatry of the most grovelling species, have all had their high and palmy days in India. Amid the manifold modes of religious feeling which obtain in the world, it would be difficult to point to one that has not had its counterpart in this country.

It is not our object in this article (neither is it possible) to trace all the phases of religious ideas amongst the Hindus from the remotest antiquity to the present day. But, notwithstanding the infinitely diversified modifications of the Hindu faith, the religious history of India may be resolved into three great eras. These are the era of Buddhism; the era of Vaidic Pantheism; and the era of Puranic Polytheism. The researches of the French *savans*, of Wilson and Colonel Sykes, tend, perhaps, to establish the prevalence of Buddhism, anterior to the universal sway of Brahmanism. And the idealistic Monotheism and absolute Pantheism of the Vedanta gave way in their turn to the idolatry and polytheism of the Puranas.

The Hindus, as they exist in our days, have been divided, in a religious point of view, into three great sects, the *Saktas*, the *Saivas*, and the *Vaishnavas*. Whether this classification is sufficiently comprehensive, we shall not stop here to inquire;

suffice it to say, that it comprehends, if not the whole, at least the great majority, of the Hindus. Of the first two classes, we shall not any further remark at present, than that they profess themselves to be the worshippers of *Sakti*—the *εμπερυεια*, so to speak, of the Hindu Tritwa, and of Siva, the third person of the Hindu Triad.

A Vaishnava may be defined as a worshipper of Vishnu. This divinity, as the preserver and upholder of the three worlds, the patron of the heavenly powers, and the saviour of men, is the object of the Vaishnava's devout contemplations. The celebration of his mighty exploits constitutes by far the greater portion of the later theology of the Hindus. Though no hater of the rest of the gods, the devout Vaishnava believes that his *Ishta-Debtá*—his guardian divinity, the deity of his choice—is the supreme god, the fount of existence, and the abode of all excellencies. It was by his energy and at his bidding that Brahma created the universe. All things live, move, and have their being in him; and into the unfathomable abyss of his personality shall they eventually flow, as the final cause of all creation. It was he, who in olden times assumed the forms of the wondrous fish, the divine boar, the terrible man-lion, and the immoveable tortoise. It was he, who, taking the form of the heroic Rámá, crossed the ocean, and hurled destruction on the ten-headed king of the golden Lanka. It was he, who, assuming the shape of the wanton and merry-hearted Krishna, gambolled in the groves of Brindában, and won the hearts of the simple milk-maids. And, at the consummation of the present Kalpa, he is destined to come once more in the shape of the formidable Kálki. His club and *chakra*—the dreaded Sudarsan—are the terror of the gods. But, on the other hand, the bright-haired and lotus-eyed Vaikantha is the destroyer of sorrow, the husband of prosperity, and the patron of the muses. Such is the *Ishta-Debtá* of the Vaishnavas in general.

All Vaishnavas, however, do not hold the same doctrines, or observe the same customs. They may be divided into four principal *Sampradáyis*, or communities—the Sri Sampradáyí, the Madhwá Sampradáyí, the Rudra Sampradáyí, and the Sanaka Sampradáyí. These have been sub-divided into several sections. Wilson mentions the names of twenty, and we could enumerate more. Most of these sectaries are not found in Lower Bengal. We shall not, however, attempt to indicate the peculiar shades of difference, that distinguish these sects from one another. We shall confine our attention in this article to only one section of

the Vaishnavas, namely, the followers of Chaitanya, or the Vaishnavas of Bengal.

The founder of the modern Vaishnavas of Bengal is *Sri Krishna Chaitanya*. There have been fanatics in all ages of the world. Ecclesiastical history furnishes many examples of enthusiasts, who gave themselves out to be the lights of the world, and the guides of men's consciences. Men have been found in the middle of the nineteenth century, who proclaimed themselves to be the saviour of the world, and who, in confirmation of their impious ravings, showed to the gaping and credulous multitude the stigmata, the crucifixion marks of the dying Redeemer, in their own persons. After this we need not point to the enthusiasts and fanatics of heathenism. But though the palming of an imposition on the world be not a rare phenomenon, yet it is difficult to maintain it for a long time. To form a new community, to give it laws, and to exert a mighty influence on millions, are not events of every-day occurrence. Whatever may be the estimate we form of the moral character and honesty of the false prophet of Mecca, there can be but one opinion of his talents. To have prevailed upon the idolatrous Arabs to discard their *Kaaba*, to have published a system of religion different from all existing systems, to have converted to his opinions, by whatever means, a whole people, and to have become the founder of a sect, which now comprehends a third of the world's population—all this was the creation of no ordinary intellect. Though we hate his imposition, yet we cannot help admiring the intrepidity of his genius and the energy of his character. The founder of the Jesuits was also no ordinary man. To have trained up the hardy militia of the Apocalyptic Babylon, and to have given them an organization durable as brass, were not the achievements of ordinary abilities.

Chaitanya is the founder of a religious sect, which is said to be eight millions strong. There is scarcely a village in Bengal, in which is not to be found a follower of the Nadiyá mendicant. Of all the Hindu sects, it is at present the most energetic. It has its apostles, its evangelists, its teachers. It sends forth its preachers to win proselytes from the other Hindu sectaries. It seems to be increasing in wealth and influence. Various circumstances may be mentioned, which have contributed to the wide diffusion of the religious dogmas of Chaitanya;—their simplicity, their virtual agreement with existing religious ideas, the boundless credulity of the people, and the zeal of the first Vaishnavas. But, notwithstanding all these concurring circumstances, it must be confessed that Chaitanya had no small

degree of mental intrepidity. It would be preposterous to place him in the same rank with Muhammad or Loyola; but he may be advantageously compared to Apollonius of Tyana or Alexander of Abonoteichos.

We purpose to give a short account of the life of Chaitanya, as recorded in the two Bengali treatises, the names of which we have placed at the head of this article. But before we begin the narrative, we may say a word or two on the treatises themselves. The *Chaitanya-Mangal* of Lochan Dās, though a respectable authority among the Vaishnavas, is a mere compilation from works of larger size. It does not profess to be a regular biography of Chaitanya; it is but a compend of the leading incidents of his life. The *Chaitanya-Charitāmrita*, composed by Krishna Dās, is "the book" of the Bengal Vaishnavas. It is the Vaishnava's gospel. He bows down to it with the greatest reverence, and values it as the most precious treasure. Every intelligent follower of Chaitanya has got a copy of it. He reads it by day and by night, and frequently bedews it with the streams of tenderness that gush from his pious eyes. It professes to be an abridgment of a larger work in Sanskrita by Brindaban Dās; it contains, notwithstanding, upwards of seven hundred octavo pages of close type. It is divided into three sections—the *Adi Līlā*, the *Madhya Līlā*, and the *Anta Līlā*. The first section gives an account of the infancy and youth of the incarnate god; the second, of his assuming the monastic life and his various peregrinations; and the third, of the discourses he uttered, of the doings of some of his principal followers, of his intense meditations, and his ecstatic visions. It is written in Bengali, but profusely interlarded with Sanskrit quotations, chiefly from the *Sri Bhāgavat* and the *Bhāgavat Gītā*. The style is quite unique. Difficult Sanskrit stanzas alternate with the most vulgar gibberish spoken by fisherwomen. There is also a good sprinkling of the Hindustani and the Uriya. Its literary qualities are certainly not of the highest order. It is written in wretched taste. Tedious descriptions of the most trifling things fill whole pages. The recital of the various dishes in feasts, in honour of Chaitanya, sometimes takes up two mortal pages. It is written in poetry, that is, in jingling rhyme; for there is no real poetry—not a spark of it—from beginning to end.

In the town of *Srihatta* (Sylhet) in Bengal, there lived a Brahman of the name of *Upendra Misra*. He had seven sons, of whom *Jagannāth* was the eldest. Learned as *Jagannāth* was in the wisdom of the Brahmans, and impressed with a high idea of the merit consequent on daily ablutions in the sacred Ganga, he removed from *Srihatta*, and took up his abode

in the village of Naba-Dwipa (Nadiyá). This small village lies on the banks of the Bhágirathi, seventy miles distant from the metropolis of British India. Owing to the assiduity with which Sanskrit literature is cultivated in this place, it may not improperly be termed the Athens of Lower Bengal. Its school of logic is well known. Some time ago it was graced with many *tals*, or colleges, whither the ingenuous youth of the Bengali Brahmans resorted for instruction. In this village Jagannáth was happy in the company of his wife, *Sachi*, who had given birth to a son named *Viswarupa*. The prospect of another child gladdened the hearts of the happy pair; but the cup of human felicity is seldom without an infusion of bitterness. Distressing anxieties filled the mind of Jagannáth. Ten tedious months had rolled away, and Sachi was still expectant. Various circumstances had occurred to convince the parents that the child, whose birth was delayed, was to be no ordinary being. Adwait-ananda—a reputed sage of a neighbouring village—had paid divine homage to the unborn deity. An astrologer, skilled in the occult profundities of his science, had predicted that the child in the womb of Sachi was none other than the creator of the universe. Sachi herself had seen unspeakable sights in the heavens; while Jagannáth had dreamt that his house was encompassed with a surpassing halo. The people of Nadiyá, who had heard these marvellous reports, waited with anxiety for the birth of the wondrous child. At last the happy and long-wished-for day arrived. Chaitanya, who was full thirteen months in the womb, was ushered into the world in the month of Phalgun, in the year 1485 of the Christian era.* The advent of such an illustrious personage could not take place without the accompaniment of a marvellous occurrence. The moon suffered an eclipse. “The spotless moon of truth, which was to illumine the three worlds, having arisen in Nadiyá, the spotted moon of the heavens was devoured by Rahu.” Such is the reflection of the devout Krishna Dás—the author of the *Charitámrita*. The joy of the people was great. They flocked to have a sight of the infant divinity. There was one especially whose joy knew no bounds; it was Adwaita Ananda. He danced, wept, and laughed round the village to the infinite amusement of the spectators. But Nadiyá was not the only scene of festivity; the heavens were filled

* It is worth noting that the founder of the Bengal Vaishnavas was born two years after the birth of Luther—the great reformer of Christendom. It is interesting to observe in different parts of the world the contemporaneous march of truth and falsehood. To us, who are believers in the agency of invisible spirits, the coincidence seems far from accidental.

with gladness, and the Debtás shouted for joy. The countless deities of Vaikantha, and all the bright-robed dwellers of that happy paradise, the biographer gravely tells us, assuming the forms of men, visited the new-born babe and gave gifts to him. The first thing, that attracted the attention of the joyous parents, was the impression on the child of the thirty-two marks of the person of Nárāyan. They believed with joy that their child was the second person of the Hindu Triad—the deliverer and preserver of gods and men.

Chaitanya, in his childhood, was by no means a model of gentleness and modesty. The wild and boisterous pranks of his early days stand in ill keeping with the quiet and contemplative character of his after-life. His childhood has been fully described by Lochan Dás in the *Chaitanya-Mangal*. We cannot persuade ourselves, however, to transcribe a tenth of what the admiring disciple has recorded. We shall pass over the miracles ascribed to him in this early stage of his life—the translation of a dog, initiated into the mysteries of *Hari Námá*, into heaven—the prophecies he is said to have uttered—the petty acts of larceny he committed—and the *naiveté*, with which he asked his mother to give him the moon, that he might play with it. The precocity of his talents may be illustrated by the following anecdotes. One day, his mother having given him to eat fried paddy and sweetmeats, he deliberately began to eat clay in preference to them. On being questioned as to the reason of this strange conduct, the infant philosopher replied, that there was no difference between clay and the food given him, and that the latter was only a modification of the former! On another occasion he was observed to stand on an unclean place. His mother ordered him to wipe off the pollution, he had contracted, by bathing in the Bhágirathi, which he refused to do, adding as his reason, that all places were alike, and that purity or impurity could only be predicated of the soul. The wildness of his disposition may be illustrated by the following stories. Being endowed with a robust constitution, he was in the habit of beating all the boys of his age that came in his way. When the girls of the village went into the river to wash, he took away their dry clothes, which they had left on the bank, and did not restore them without getting presents from them. On one occasion he struck his mother so severely, that she fainted away, and was on the point of death, when he himself restored her by working a miracle. He habitually stole away from temples the offerings of the gods. The little rascal also had the impudence to make water on the rice-dish of an esteemed Pandit of Nadiyá.

Jagannáth Misra did not neglect to procure for his beloved *Nimái* (so was his child named) a learned teacher. He went through the usual course of grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. He was early remarked for the retentiveness of his memory. While *Nimái* was displaying the brilliancy of his talents in the colleges of his native village, his elder brother, to the great grief of the parents, assumed the life of an ascetic. Soon after *Nimái* was married to *Lakshmi*. About this time, old Jagannáth died, whose funeral obsequies his dutiful son celebrated with becoming solemnity. On the decease of his father, *Nimái* commenced life as a school-master. The fame of his learning attracted many pupils.

While carrying on the peaceful labours of a professor, he made a trip into the eastern parts of Bengal, and surprised the people by the variety and depth of his learning. A Brahman, who had waded through the whole of the Hindu Shástras without discovering the gem of true happiness, was, in a dream, recommended to the divine teaching of the Nadiyá Pandit. On his return home, he found that his beloved partner, the fair *Lakshmi*, had departed this life. By the solicitations of his mother, he married a second time; and his nuptials with the daughter of Sanátan were celebrated with great pomp. As *Nimái* was diligent in the observance of the Hindu ritual, he took a journey to Gaya, and offered cakes to the manes of his ancestors. From Gaya he was proceeding towards Mathurá, but was hindered by a voice from heaven.

Books exert vast influence on nations, peoples, and tongues. Who can estimate the amount of influence the Korán has exerted in forming the habits, the dispositions, and the minds of those millions, who are under the strong delusion of the false prophet? Who can calculate the infinity of good produced by that book of books—the Bible? In India, after the expulsion of Buddhism, when the star of Brahmanical authority was in the ascendant, the Vedas were the book of the age. To the Vedas succeeded the Puránas, which exert their baneful influence to this day. The Purána, which seems to have been “the book,” by way of eminence, in the days of Chaitanya, was the *Sri Bhágavat*. *Nimái* had read this book with deep attention. He became familiar with the striking incidents, that fill its thrilling pages. It filled his mind, moulded his soul, and tinctured his fancy. By incessant meditation on Krishna, he entertained unbounded affection for that divinity. He repeated, by day and by night, the name of his guardian deity, and, with high-wrought enthusiasm, celebrated his praises. It was after returning from Gaya that *Nimái*

commenced the reformer. During his travels he had found the "riches of Krishna's love," which he was resolved on publishing to the world. All great reformers are men of *one idea*. The human mind, owing to the limited range of its capacities, and of that passion, or enthusiasm, which is necessary to the completion of any undertaking, seems to be utterly unfitted for carrying on at the same time a variety of projects. The reformer of Nadiyá was pre-eminently a man of *one idea*. But this unity of idea may be carried to a morbid excess. When the whole mind, with all its powers and energies, is intensely devoted to the contemplation of an object which fills it, it is necessarily abstracted from all other objects. When this absence, or rather intense presence, of mind is carried to a faulty excess, the mind verges towards insanity. Hence the truth of the common saying, that "Genius is allied to madness." The difference between a maniac and a genius, psychologically considered, is that the former can control the mind and direct it at pleasure to other objects, while the latter has lost all power over the succession of his thoughts. That the Nadiyá saint, by incessant contemplation, rendered himself imbecile, will appear in the sequel. In the mean time we may remark, that this sort of morbid meditation on Krishna appears to have produced in him that state of the mind, which is aptly designated by the term enthusiasm. Immediately before commencing the great work of preaching the "love of Krishna," as he termed it, he fell into an enthusiastic fit of devotion. The intensity of his feelings sought expression in the movements of his body. He fell on the ground, rolled in the dust, wept, laughed, and danced. During this *Prem Práláp*, or "fit of love," which lasted for hours, he neither ate nor drank. When it was day, he would ask what part of the night it was, and, when it was night, he would ask what part of the day it was, while ever and anon he uttered the words—"Krishna! Krishna! Hari bal! Hari bal!"

His native village was the first scene of his labours. On his recovery from the *Prem Práláp*, he boldly proclaimed the name of Hari, or Krishna, as the only deliverer of mankind. Some of the respectable Brahmans of Nadiyá he easily gained over. The village of Nadiyá resounded with the *Hari Námá*. Gourhari (another name of Chaitanya), with his disciples, spent whole nights in singing the praises of Rádhá and Krishna; in discoursing on the amours of the milk-maids of Mathurá; in weeping, laughing, and dancing. In these nocturnal meetings, which often were dissolved at day-break, Gourhari, it is gravely stated, constantly transformed himself into the six-handed Vishnu. Other miracles were not wanting. We shall

mention only one. When encompassed by his admiring and adoring disciples, *Gorá Chánd* takes the stone of a mango and buries it in the earth. In a moment the seed germinates, becomes a large tree, bears ripe fruits, which "hang amiable" on the bended branches. To the infinite delight of the hungry Vaishnavas, they are ordered to pluck and eat. The nature of these nocturnal devotions may be judged from the following specimen. When assembled in a room, Gourhari, by miraculous agency, stripped all his disciples of their clothes, which so delighted the Bhaktas, that through excess of joy they danced in the room to the unspeakable delight of their gay lord. This devotional dance of naked Vaishnavas is related by Lochan Dás in the *Chaitanya-Mangal*.

Hitherto, the doctrines of Gourhari had been confined to his chosen disciples. The time of his public ministry was now come. "Go," said he to his disciples, in one of the nocturnal meetings described above; "go, and proclaim in every house in Nadiyá 'the name of Hari. Teach it to the old and young, the sinful 'Chandála as well as the righteous Brahmin; then will they 'with ease go across the river of death.'" For executing the commission of their master, the timid disciples were not yet prepared. They recounted the many dangers that awaited this bold step, the vehement opposition they would likely meet with, and in particular the virulent enmity, which two Brahmans, *Jagái* and *Mádhái*, had conceived against *Hari Námá*. Gourhari, nothing daunted by the representation of these difficulties, determined to go himself, accompanied with all his Bhaktas, into the streets, and fearlessly proclaim the name of Hari. Accordingly, on the following morning, he collected all his disciples, and at their head marched through the streets. Entranced by the music of the *Mridanga* and the *Karatál*, the Vaishnavas with uplifted hands sung the praises of Krishna. Says Lochan Dás—"Nadiyá became an ocean of gladness; the sound of *Hari Námá* reached the skies." The novelty of the spectacle attracted the notice of the whole village. Great was the sensation, tremendous the tumult. Regardless of the remarks of innumerable spectators, and in the teeth of all opposition, the Vaishnavas prosecuted their devotional music, vociferations, and dances. But *Jagái* and *Mádhái*, the mortal foes of *Hari Námá*, had not yet appeared in the field. Roused by the harsh dissonance of the *Karatál*, and the pious yells of the frantic *Gorás*, scarcely had the infidel brothers come out into the street, when they saw before them the Vaishnava procession. Their rage knew no bounds. Unfurnished with any offensive weapons, one of them took up a broken pitcher from an adjoining dung-hill, and flung it right

amongst the dancing religionists. Poor Nityánanda, whom Chaitanya loved as a brother, was severely wounded on the head. Fierce flashed the rolling eyes of the Arch-Vaishnava. In the fierceness of his anger, he commanded one of the heavenly powers to destroy the impious striker. While Sudársan was proceeding to effect this bloody commission, the gentle Nityánanda persuaded his enraged master to give place to wrath, and, instead of hurling destruction on the heads of the guilty wretches, to impart to them the riches of Hari Námá. Chaitanya complied with the request of the amiable sufferer. The furious order was revoked. The spirit of contrition was imparted to the infidel brothers. With bended knees and joined hands, they implored and obtained mercy of the incarnate deity, and thenceforward became his zealous followers. The fame of this miraculous conversion calmed all opposition, and spread a wholesome terror through the villages. From this time Nadiyá rang with the praises of Krishna. "The waters of faith," the pious biographer modestly remarks, "inundated the sacred city of Naba-Dwipá." By the untiring exertions of Chaitanya's disciples, all the inhabitants were initiated into the mysteries of *Hari Námá*. The village resounded day and night with the Mridanga, and Karatál—to the Vaishnavas more charming than an angel's song.

But the festivity of the joyous town was soon converted into mourning and lamentation. Regardless of the expostulations of his mother and wife, Chaitanya, now twenty-four years old, resolved on becoming an ascetic, set out early one morning for a neighbouring village, where resided a holy sage. There he was solemnly renounced the *Grihashta* life, was taught the formulæ of *Vairágism*, and, in addition to his former names of Nimai and Gourhari, received the new appellation—*Sri Krishna Chaitanya*. The news of Gourhari's *Sanyás* filled Nadiyá with overwhelming grief. The devoted Bhaktas wept rivers of tears. Sachi was inconsolable. Vishnu-Priá, the consort of the ascetic, swooned away at the melancholy news. Unable to suppress their intense feelings, the Vaishnavas ran from one part of the village to another. It seemed as if the demon of distraction had seized the residents of Nadiyá. But the deed had been done. The fine locks of hair, that once adorned the head of Gourhari, and which were the envy of the female sex, had been cut; the *Mantra* had been whispered into his ear; his name had been changed, and the pilgrim staff borne. The drooping spirits of the sorrow-stricken disciples, however, were cheered by the appearance of Chaitanya in the place of his nativity. Intimation of his intended

visit had been previously given. From an early hour of a certain day, the house of Adwaitānanda had been crowded to excess. They waited with breathless expectation. To their unspeakable delight, Chaitanya suddenly appeared. They received him with shouts of joy. Various were the methods, to which he resorted to animate the spirits of his followers and dissipate the intolerable grief of his fond mother. In the height of their joy in the possession of a present deity, the Vaishnavas sung, laughed, wept, and danced. But Chaitanya must part from them. The holy duties of a renouncer of the world and all its pleasures must be practised. Pilgrimages had to be performed; spots, redolent of the religious recollections of olden times, had to be visited. The still, small, but steady voice of duty made him deaf to the entreaties of his sorrowing disciples. The idea of deluging the arid wastes of India with the floods of Krishna's love took possession of his ardent mind.

After performing a variety of miracles, and assuring the agonizing Bhaktas of his continual presence with them, Chaitanya, accompanied by his attached friend, Nityānanda, departed towards Orissa. In his way, so deeply affected was he with the impiety of the people and their ignorance of Krishna, that he was almost inclined to drown himself for very grief. But the delightful sounds "Krishna! Krishna!" elicited from the mouth of a little boy, altered his resolution, and somewhat relieved his sorrowful heart. He reached *Nilāchal* (Cuttack), and took up his residence in the house of a learned Brahman. The chief object of his visit to Orissa was to see the far famed Jagannāth, "the lord of the world." The sight of the armless divinity filled him with ineffable delight. So overpowering were his spiritual sensations, that he fell down insensible on the ground. Every fresh visit similarly affected the Nadiyā fanatic. The people wondered at the fervency of his religious impressions and the ardency of his emotions. For hours together he sat before the *Nim*-built Jagannāth, and, through the eye of lively faith and intense devotion, discerned, in that ugly idol, rays of heavenly beauty and divine effulgence. It would be tedious to recite the conferences he held, the prodigies he performed, and the enthusiastic fits into which he fell, during his residence in the precincts of the temple of the "Moloch of the East." Suffice it to say that he made many proselytes, that the streets of *Nilāchal* resounded with *Hari Bal*, that divine honours were ascribed to him, and that the people hung on his lips with mute attention and intense admiration.

Bent on the accomplishment of the high object of his divine mission, Chaitanya determined to proceed southward as far as

Rāmisseram—the spot where Rāmā, having thrown a causeway across the straits, had passed over with his troops to the golden capital of the ten-headed Rāvana. The Vaishnavas of Nilāchal could scarcely reconcile themselves to the idea of losing, even for a time, the presence of the incarnate divinity; and it was with great difficulty that he was allowed to depart from amongst them. The words which he pronounced, when setting out on his evangelistic expedition, are too characteristic to be omitted; “Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! O Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! O Krishna; Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! O save me; Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! O deliver me; Rāmā Rāghav! Rāmā Rāghava! Rāmā Rāghava! O save me; Krishna Kesava! Krishna Kesava! Krishna Kesava! O deliver me!” Along the whole of his journey, Chaitanya incessantly repeated these words. The people of the countries, through which he passed, thronged round him. Chaitanya said “Hari Bal;” the people, that heard him, said “Hari Bal;” and others, that heard them, said also “Hari Bal.” “In this manner,” says Krishna Dās, “did the people of the south country (Deccan) become Vaishnavas.” And no wonder. No instructions had to be given, no doctrines taught, no ceremonies practised, no duties enjoined. Proselytism under these circumstances was the simplest thing under the sun. The man, that repeated the words “Hari Bal,” was reckoned a convert.

It is not our design, in this running sketch of Chaitanya's life, fully to describe the various incidents that occurred in his pilgrimage to the south. The leading stages of his journey can only be glanced at. On the banks of the Godavery he met with the king of the adjacent country, to whom he showed his divine form, and discoursed on the mystic love of Krishna and the Gopīs. On the banks of the Cavery he spent four months with a Brahman, who became his convert. As he proceeded southward, he visited all those places, which are celebrated in the Rāmayana. On the plains of Panchavati the recollections of olden times, embalmed in the immortal song of Vālmiki, rushed into his mind—the disfiguration of Surpanakhā, the murder of Marichi, the rape of Sita, and the inconsolable grief of the heroic Rāghava. On reaching his journey's end he recited the poem of Vālmiki. From Rāmisseram he returned by the same route, confirming the Bhaktas. Thus, after accumulating in his person the sanctities of all the holy places in the south, and proclaiming to thousands the marvellous efficacy of Hari Nāma, Chaitanya returned to Nilāchal.

The return of Chaitanya was celebrated with public rejoicings. The Vaishnavas of Bengal, to whom notice of his arrival had been sent, flocked to see the incarnate lord of the universe. The sacred city put on the appearance of festivity. Its walls echoed with the praises of Chaitanya and the music of the Mridanga. But the day of the grand Vaishnava demonstration was approaching. The festival of the Rath Jātrā drew near. Crowds of people poured in from all parts of India to witness the pompous celebration. The idol Jagannāth, riding on his proud car, was to make a procession through the sacred city. Vast was the concourse of men, women and children. Chaitanya with his followers, Bengalis and Uriyas, joined the crowd. At the sight of the idol he was convulsed with joy. With the view of taking a conspicuous part in the proceedings of the day, he divided his disciples into four large Sampradāyis, or bands, who were to celebrate the *Sankīrtan* on four sides of the magnificent car. To each band were attached two players on the Mridanga, a principal singer, and a chief dancer, besides a number of ordinary disciples. The sound of "Hari Bal" on all sides of the car attracted the curiosity of the vast multitude. The sound of the musical instruments, the violent dancing of the Vaishnavas, and their devotional screamings produced a great sensation.

But we have kept out of sight the hero of the day. Chaitanya had not joined any of the bands, yet was he present in them all. He was seen every where. He was observed singing and dancing with all the bands at the same time. But this was not all. The author of the *Charitāmrita* tells us, that he constantly transformed himself during these dances. He was in a tremendous dancing-fit. He perspired so profusely, that those who stood near were moistened. This was a high day of the Vaishnavas. Says Krishna Das—"The sound of the Kīrtan filled the three worlds." So captivating was the sound of the Vaishnava-maddening Mridanga, so graceful the evolutions of Chaitanya's body, and so mellifluous the song of the Bhaktas, that the car stopped in the middle of the road, and the lordly deity with steady eyes gazed at the pious show. The marvellous feats of the day were concluded by a miracle. The car of Jagannāth stood motionless. The innumerable multitudes had tried their united strength. The gigantic elephants of the Raja of Púrí had failed. The grief of the pilgrims at this catastrophe knew no bounds. Chaitanya came to their rescue. He pushed it by his head, and the car moved along. Soon as the wheels of the unwieldy chariot clattered along the ground, the multitudinous host shouted "Hari Bal." These

scenes were annually renewed when the Vaishnavas of Bengal came to Púrí at the Rath Játrá. The rest of the year was spent by Chaitanya in propagating his doctrines, in proselytizing, in confirming the faith of his followers, and the celebration of the Kirttan. His residence in Niláchal contributed not a little to infuse life into the worship of Jagannáth. The number of pilgrims increased every year, who returned to their houses laden with the treasures of Bhakti.

After spending four years in this manner, Chaitanya made a short tour to Bengal, visited his mother, and confirmed the faith of his drooping disciples. After returning to the sacred city he set out on a pilgrimage to Brindában. Leaving the main road, and entering into the jungles on the left of Cuttack, accompanied by his devoted disciple, Bala-Bhadra, he proceeded towards Mathurá. The marvels, which attended his journey, merit a somewhat more than cursory notice on account of their characteristic richness. The jungles, through which he passed, were full of savage men and doleful creatures. They were the haunts of tigers, leopards, wild elephants, and all sorts of ravenous beasts of prey. The habitations of human beings were few and far between. But these inconveniences and dangers did not damp the ardent zeal of the Vaishnava preacher. The name of Hari, which he ever and anon repeated, operated as a charm against the attacks of rapacious beasts. We must allow Krishna Dás to speak for himself. "Maháprabhu," says he, "leaving the common route, entered into the dense jungles 'on the left of Cuttack, with the name of Krishna in his mouth, at the sound of which tigers and elephants made way for him. The lord passed through herds of tigers, elephants, rhinoceroses, and wild boars. The simple Bala-Bhadra was astonished to see those furious beasts keep a respectful distance from the Mahá-prabhu. One day, as the lord was passing on, his foot chanced to strike a tiger, sleeping on the road. The lord said, 'Krishna! Krishna!' at the sound of which the tiger, rising up, danced for joy. On another occasion, as the lord was bathing in the river, a flock of intoxicated elephants came thither to drink water. The lord, throwing water at them, said, 'Repeat the name of Krishna'; on which all the elephants shouted 'Krishna! Krishna!' and, moved by faith and love, danced and sung: some of them fell to the ground, and others made a loud noise, to the great wonderment of the simple Bala-Bhadra. When the lord celebrated the praises of Krishna, flocks of deer attended him on both sides of the way to hear the delightful sound. The listening deer were joined by five or seven tigers, who all went

‘ along with the lord. The lord said to them, ‘ Say Krishna !
 ‘ Krishna !’ : and the deer and the tigers, with the name Krishna
 ‘ on their lips, danced with joy. To the surprise of Bala-Bhadra,
 ‘ and the amusement of the lord, the tigers and the deer em-
 ‘ braced and kissed each other. Peacocks and other birds hung
 ‘ on the lips of the lord, and, repeating the name of Krishna,
 ‘ danced with joy. The lord said ‘ Hari Bal ;’ and plants and
 ‘ trees swelled at the joyful sound. The vegetables and miner-
 ‘ als of the country of Rashi-khanda, hearing the name of Krish-
 ‘ na, became mad with love.”

When he went to the abodes of human beings, he was suppli-
 ed with all manner of provisions: milk, sugar, curd, and ghi—
 that nectar of the Hindus—they gave him in abundance. The
 people gladly received the Hari Námá, and became his converts.
 In this manner, preaching through the wilderness, he came to
 Benares. In Benares—the most sacred city in the world—the
 residence of Siva, a city isolated from the universe, shining like
 the setting sun, and taking away the sins of men, Chaitanya
 made many converts. Passing through Prayág (Allahabad), and,
 bathing in the Jumna, he came to the city of Mathurá. The
 sight of the birth-place of Krishna affected him in the highest
 degree. Overwhelmed with deep feeling, he fell to the ground
 and became insensible. On his recovery from this love-fit, with
 indescribable enthusiasm he sauntered about those places, where
 occurred the marvellous incidents recorded in the *Sri Bhágavat*.
 There was not one sacred spot in the circle of Mathurá, as it is
 called, which he left unvisited. The twelve groves, which still
 breathe of the amours of the Mathurá lover and his mistress
 Rádhá, he took especial delight in minutely inspecting. The
 inhabitants of Golok-Dhár found in him all the characteristics
 of their favourite deity. The cows of Mathurá recognized in
 him that wanton god that was born there; the birds of the
 twelve groves sat on his hands as he passed, and cheered him
 by their sweet melody; the peacocks vied with one another in
 displaying to their lord the splendour of their plumage; and
 the flowers fell off their stalks at his feet, and worshipped him.
 All nature became vocal with the praises of Chaitanya. But
 it is needless to say more; for, as writes Krishna Dás, “ ten
 “ millions of volumes will not suffice to describe only the trans-
 ‘ formations of Mahá-prabhu in the sacred city of Brindában.”

While returning to Orissa, he held conferences with his
 celebrated disciples, *Swarupa* and *Sanátán*, at Allahabad and
 Benares. It was at this time that he displayed his skill
 in the Sanskrita by affixing no less than sixty-one meanings
 to a single stanza of the *Sri Bhágavat*. After passing through

Bengal, where he comforted his sorrowing Bhaktas, he returned to Niláchal, from whence he was destined never to depart. The twelve years, that he spent at Niláchal, are void of incidents. His time was devoted to the instruction of his followers, the explication of the doctrines of the *Sri Bhágavat*, the receiving of visits and adorations from the Vaishnavas of Bengal, and the several exercises of Vaishnava devotion—laughing, weeping, singing, and dancing.

He now frequently fell into fits of insanity, miscalled devotion. His mind, which was early tinctured with no small degree of fanaticism, now displayed unmistakeable signs of imbecility, however they may be explained away by his admiring biographer. We have already seen that the *Sri Bhágavat* gave a colour and complexion to his mind. During his last residence at Niláchal, he gave himself up to intense meditation on the incidents recorded in the above-mentioned Purána. The adventures of Krishna were the objects of his day-dreams and night-visions. He saw Krishna every where. Every reservoir of water was to him the veritable Jumna, on whose mimic streams his guardian deity made merry excursions. He confounded the subjective feelings of his mind with the objective realities of the external world. In the company of his followers he often fancied that he was walking among the groves of Brindában, or bathing in the Jumna, or dancing with the shepherdesses and milk-maids of the Indian Arcadia. These fits of downright insanity are represented by Krishna Das as holy raptures and extatic visions. Under the influence of these fits, he drowned himself in the sea. This last incident of his life is recorded in the 18th section of the 3rd book of the *Charitá-mritá*. It is too long to be transcribed here; we shall therefore give a short abstract of it.

With a mind absorbed in meditation on the Lilás of the shepherd-god of Mathurá, he drew near the sea-shore with a view to sequestrate himself for a few hours from the bustle of the world. Looking intently on the hoarse-resounding main, he fancied it to be the Jumna, on whose crystal waters the Gopis of Brindában were swimming. Eager to join in the frolics of the highly-favoured maids, he jumped into the sea. Emaciated as his body was by constant vigils and fastings, it floated on the water, and fell into a fisherman's net hard by the shore. It was night. The fisherman, perfectly unaware of the circumstance, congratulated himself on the success of the day, as he felt the heaviness of the net.

- With all the strength he could command, he dragged the net to the shore; when, lo! instead of a large fish, a human corpse made

its appearance ! With all possible haste he drew it ashore, when the apparently lifeless corpse made a faint sound, which curdled the blood of the fear-stricken fisherman. He concluded it to be a Bhút. Distracted with fear, with trembling feet and an agitated frame, the fisherman was pacing along the sea-shore, when he was met by Swarupa and Rámánanda, who had been seeking from sun-set their divine master. The fisherman told his tale. On reaching the spot, they recognized in the fisherman's Bhút, the saviour of the universe. They laid the remains of their submerged lord on the sandy beach, and rent the air with the sounds of " Hari Bal." The music of Krishna's name, it is said, restored life to the dead. As the Vaishnavas pretend that soon after this Chaitanya made his disappearance from the stage of the world, and as Krishna Dás closes his biography with this incident, without telling us what became of him afterwards, there can be no doubt that Chaitanya did not survive his marine excursion. He was then about 43.

We have given a pretty full account of the Mahá-prahbu of the Vaishnavas; of his eminent disciples we cannot afford room for saying much. Of these the two most celebrated were Nityánanda and Adwaitánanda. Nityánanda, who is represented to have possessed a portion of the Divine nature, was born in a village near Nadiyá. He was one of Chaitanya's earliest followers, and bore to him the tenderest attachment. He accompanied him into Orissa, immediately after Chaitanya had assumed the life of an ascetic. He was subsequently installed primate of all Bengal, in the discharge of which office, he had Adwaitánanda for his assistant. Faithful to the instruction of his master, he annually led the Vaishnavas of Bengal to witness his marvellous feats at Niláchal. Unlike his lord he did not become an ascetic, but retained his secularity all his life. In the list of the disciples he holds the foremost place, and is, indeed, honoured with divine worship in company with his master. At Ambiká, fifty miles north of Calcutta, on the bank of the Bhágirathi, stands a temple dedicated to him and Chaitanya. It is graced with their images of the size of life, which are the objects of the adorations of the Vaishnavas. The descendants of Nityánanda, together with those of Adwaitánanda, are the acknowledged heads of the Vaishnavas.

Of Adwaitánanda little is known. He was an inhabitant of *Sántipur*, where he was teaching with distinguished success, when Chaitanya was born. We have already mentioned his prediction regarding the son of Sachi, and the homage he paid to the embryo-divinity. He became one of his ardent Bhaktas, and with Nityánanda ruled the Vaishnavas of Bengal.

Of the six leading Goshwámis, the eight Kavi-Rájas (noble bards), and the sixty-four Mahantas, who form the hierarchy of the Vaishnavas, it is needless to say much. Suffice it to say that they are represented as men whose equals the world never produced—men remarkable for the depth of their wisdom, the comprehensiveness of their learning, the simplicity of their faith, the austerity of their devotions, and the endless multitude of their good works. The names of the most famous were Rúpa, Sanátan, Sri Nibás, Hari Dás, Rámánanda and Raghu Náth Dás. Rupa and Sanátan—two brothers in the service of the Mussulman ruler of Bengal—attracted the notice of Chaitanya in the village of Rámkali. Charmed by the unusual glory of his person, the holiness of his life, the fervour of his faith, and the purity of his doctrines, they became his main disciples. By their solid learning, extensive influence, and vast wealth, they contributed not a little to adorn Vaishnavism in Upper Hindustan.

We have already spoken of Rámánanda, the king of Bidyánagar, on the banks of the Cavery. He resigned his numerous possessions, and removed to Niláchal, where he enjoyed the company of the Nadiyá mendicant. And what shall we say of Hari Dás, whose marvellous feats and austere devotions are described in the *Charitámrita* in the highest strains of eulogy? Retiring from the haunts of man, he repaired to a thicket, where he carried on his devotions, which consisted in repeating the name of Hari three hundred thousand times a day. The austerity of his devotions attracted the curiosity of the people, who ran in crowds and rendered him divine homage. But the Muhammadan Governor of the district could not endure the sight of a mortal honoured with divine worship. Baffled in all his expedients to divert the mind of the enthusiast from the Hari Námá, the infidel functionary hoped to entrap him by the blandishments of women. Accordingly, a harlot decked with all possible charms took her seat at the door of the humble cell of the devotee. Addressing Hari Dás, she said that she had a petition to present. The all but omniscient Vaishnava, aware, by the energy of his far-seeing faith, of the wicked device of the infidel ruler, requested her to wait till the end of his devotions. She waited, but to no good effect, for the devotions continued all night. The following night she again repaired to the hermitage, received the same answer, and was similarly disappointed. Night after night she visited Hari Dás, and night after night returned disappointed. The simple and austere disciple, blind to all female charms, pursued his avocation without any distraction of mind. But the harlot, enamoured of

the beauty of holiness, forsook her sinful courses, and betook herself to the Hari Námá. "Behold here," says the author of the *Charitámrita*, "the efficacy of the blessed Hari Námá."

The theology of the Vaishnavas of Bengal will not detain us long. The supreme object of adoration is Krishna. He is the fount of the divine essence. He is the *Param-átmá*—"the soul" by way of eminence, having no equal in the universe. With Spinoza, whose theological ravings were only modifications of Oriental pantheism, the Vaishnava maintains the existence of but one substance: that substance is Krishna. The earth, with all that inhabits it, is a modification of the Vaishnava's divinity. It has been justly affirmed that Hinduism in all its shapes is pantheistic. The Saktas, the Saivas, and the Vaishnavas are all pantheists. The universal diffusion of Pantheism in India is, we think, a clear proof of the high mental capabilities of its vast and diversified population. That, which was the fashionable creed of philosophers only in the high and palmy states of Athens and Rome, is the creed of the million in India. Ask the dullest husbandman that ever handled the plough, who it is that speaks and acts, when *he* speaks and acts, and he will unhesitatingly answer, "God." By the way we may remark how futile are the pretensions of the Neo-Vedantists of the city of palaces, who profess to derive a pure and simple theism from the Vedant. Like the Deists of Europe, who, deriving their notions of God, creation, Providence, and futurity from the Christian Scriptures, ascribed these discoveries to their lame natural theology, the members of the Calcutta Brahmá Sabhá, gathering their imperfect theology and mutilated morality from European sources, pretend to draw them from the dry wells of the Vedanta and the Upanisháds. But that their pretended demonstrations are "baseless as the fabric of a vision" could be abundantly shown were this the place to do so.

In common, therefore, with all Híndu sectaries, the Vaishnavas are essentially pantheistic. But the great peculiarity, in the theology of the Vaishnavas of Bengal, is the identification of Krishna with the mendicant of Nadiyá. When the Vaishnavas dwell on the divine attributes of the warrior-god of Mathurá, and invest him with all perfections, the other sectaries have not much to object, for agreeably to the accommodating, compromising spirit of all false religions, all gods are viewed in the same light. But when they attempt to identify the divine lover of Rádhá with the fanatic of Nadiyá, they are reckoned heretics. The Vaishnavas, accordingly, in all their

religious books, lay great stress upon this point. They fill the pages of their sacred books with cart-loads of quotations from the *Sri Bhágavat* and the *Bhágavat Gítá*. But they have signally failed. They have not been able to find one pretended prophecy within the entire range of Hindu sacred literature, one line prophesying the incarnation of Chaitanya. They endeavour to make out that Chaitanya is the *Purna Brahm* of the Hindu Shástras; that he is the source of all the incarnations; and that all the multitudinous gods of the Hindu Pantheon have derived their being from him. They believe that the brightest display of the divine nature has been made only twice, since the commencement of the present Kalpa, viz., in the Dwápara Yuga in the person of Krishna, and in the Kali Yuga, about three hundred years ago, in the person of Chaitanya. Divine essence, they say, is susceptible of division. Krishna and Chaitanya possessed the full quantity of the essence, the other gods possessed only a part. Brahmá, Sivá, and the rest of the gods were only *Ansás*, or parts of the Param-átmá. The *Ansás* again were divided into *Annansás*, or part of parts; and these latter into still more minute sub-divisions. Nityánanda and Adwaitánanda, though inferior to Krishna or Chaitanya, held the same rank in the heraldry of the gods, as Brahmá and Sivá; for they too were *Ansás* of the ocean of divine essence.

But the greatest peculiarity in the theology of the Gauriya Vaishnavas is the doctrine of *Bhakti*, or faith. This is a new element in Hinduism: it is wanting in the Vedanta and all ancient Hindu scriptures. The method of deliverance which the Vedant points out, consists in the *knowledge* of God. The knowledge of God is the great purifier of the human mind. It frees man from all carnal impurities, delivers him from every taint of sin, annihilates the passions, and fits him for absorption into the unfathomable abyss of Brahm's essence. It only has the efficacy of emancipating the spirit of man from the gross impediments of material pollutions. The ritual of a later date introduced endless and unmeaning ceremonies and rites, ablutions and fastings, all which are said to have the efficacy of procuring endless felicity. The Vaishnava does not deny that these were heaven-ordained methods of attaining supreme happiness. Knowledge, incessant meditation, austerities, good works, are no doubt recommended in the Shástras. But in this age of rampant vice, rife carnality, and wide-spread ignorance, they are difficult of attainment. In ages of purity and innocence and primitive simplicity, they, unquestionably, were the only means whereby to attain to Mukti. But the dispensation

of knowledge and of works has ceased ; and the new dispensation of Bhakti or faith is begun. Sinners have now only to believe in Krishna, to repose all confidence in Chaitanya. Great virtues are ascribed to the principle of Bhakti. "The efficacy of good works, austerities and knowledge, is nothing compared with that of Bhakti." "Without Bhakti there can be no deliverance, (Mukti.)" "Bhakti is more efficacious than all the works, meditation and knowledge, recommended in the old Shástras." Vaishnavism, like every other species of fanaticism, discards *knowledge*. Blind Bhakti, or faith without the basis of knowledge, is of itself sufficient to procure endless felicity. Krishna Dás, on the alleged authority of the *Gita*, puts it down as an infallible doctrine, that Bhakti without knowledge procures final liberation. Faith is the root of all practical religion ; where this is wanting, religion is wanting. The bare existence of Bhakti, whatever be the object of this blind and implicit faith, is alone essential to salvation. In perfect consistency with their atheistic notions, the Vaishnavas maintain that any thing whatever, a water-pot, a plant, a log of wood, believed by the devotee to be Krishna or Chaitanya, becomes to him such, and ensures to him happiness in the realms of Vaikantha. This simple tenet of the religion of Chaitanya is eminently calculated to make it popular. While Vedantism requires in its followers a degree of knowledge and abstraction, to which the generality of the people are incapable of attaining ; and while popular Hinduism prescribes a round of rites and ceremonies which cannot be performed without trouble and expense, the system of Chaitanya lays stress only upon a mental affection, to which knowledge is by no means essential.

The analysis of Bhakti is given at large in the *Charitámrita*. There are five stages of it, the *Sánta*, the *Dásya*, the *Sákhya*, the *Bátsalya*, and the *Mádhurja*. *Sánta*, or quietism, is the lowest state of Bhakti. It indicates no warmth, no fervour of heart ; it is a sort of cold intellectual faith, at the greatest remove from enthusiasm. Though inferior in merit to the rest, it is nevertheless efficacious in procuring future happiness ; it consists in a calm, collected and unimpassioned contemplation of the supreme deity. Bhakti in this simple state was practised by many of the holy sages of antiquity.

Dásya, or servitude, is a higher stage, and implies greater devotion. The heart is more animated, the mind more active, and the affections warmer. Actuated by this faith, the devout Vaishnava swears eternal servitude to his god, dedicates to his service all his powers and energies, and acknowledges him to

be his only lord and master. The relation, which obtains between Krishna and his votary, when under the influence of this faith, is not so much the relation of a master to a servant, as that of a lord to his purchased slave.

Sákhya, or friendship, is the third degree of Bhakti. Influenced by this faith, the votary no longer regards Chaitanya as his lord and master, for the promotion of whose glory he was created, but as his personal acquaintance, his companion and friend. Believing his own soul to be a part of the Param-átmá, he throws aside the badges of servitude, and recognizes in the divinity his friend and associate. The phraseology of reverential fear is laid aside, and the language, applicable only to human friends, takes its place in the breathings of devotion.

Bátsalya, or filial affection, is a still higher degree of faith. It implies such an affection in the votary for Krishna, as obtains between parents and children. It is something different from that devotional frame of mind, which recognizes in God the father of the human race. It is a sort of appropriating faith, under the influence of which a believer is entitled to say to his maker, "Thou art *my* father."

It were well if this last were the highest species of Bhakti. But where reason ends, fanaticism begins. A still higher degree of faith is *Mádhurya*, or sweetness, which is the efflorescence of Bhakti. It implies an enthusiastic fondness for, and passionate attachment to, Krishna—an unusually tender affection for the supreme deity. As described in the *Charitámrita*, and expounded by learned Vaishnavas, it seems to be little different from that violent and passionate love, which attaches a lover towards his mistress. Indeed the archetype of this high and mystical faith is plainly set forth to be the wild and delirious passion, which the milk-maids of Brindában entertained for their divine paramour. It is represented to be highly mystical and allegorical. But however mystical it is to the devout Vaishnava, we confess we perceive here the clearest indications of licentiousness. We are well aware of the nature of the connection that united the Gopis of Brindában to their lord, and when this connection is made the type of the highest sort of faith, its meaning cannot any longer be hidden from us. The quintessence of *Mádhurya* faith was enjoyed by Rádhá, the fairest and best beloved of the milk-maids. It is impossible, indeed, to read without feelings of horror the disgusting and licentious manner, in which the union of Rádhá and Krishna is detailed in the sacred books of the Vaishnavas.

It is certainly curious to trace the apparent similarity that exists between the Bhakti, as described above, and the nature of Christian faith, as set forth in the only true revelation. We may recognize the *Sánta* in that gentle opening of the heart, which is unaccompanied with strong convictions of sin, manifested to the outward senses; the *Dásya* in the language of the humbled disciple, "Lord what wilt thou have me to do?" the *Sákhya* in that spirit of humble boldness, in which a Christian feels that his lord is his greatest friend, and brother born for adversity; the *Bátsalya* in that spirit of adoption which cries "Abba, father;" and the *Mádhurya* in the mystical union of Christ with the Church. It is interesting and curious also to mark that while Luther on the European continent was reviving the old, but then forgotten, doctrine of justification by faith alone, the founder of the Vaishnavas in Bengal was expounding its false show in the doctrine of the Bhakti.

The heaven of the Vaishnavas is *Vaihantha*. Here, freed from the illusory influences of *Abidya*, and exalted above the region of the *Avatárs*, the Vaishnavas expect a sea of felicity. The identification of the divinity and his votary is a dogma of the followers of Chaitanya. Agreeably to this tenet, they represent that their highest felicity is their deification in Paradise. Possessed of the attributes of divinity, omnipotence, omniscience, and immutability, they will be transformed into gods, and reign for ever in the realms of *Swarga*.

The Vaishnavas are idolators. In common with other Hindu sects they maintain that it is impossible for spirit, as such, to become the object of our contemplation. In order to worship it, we must at least in our minds make an image of it. Agreeably to this principle, they make images of Krishna and Chaitanya. The images of Krishna are more numerous than those of Chaitanya. The former is worshipped in the various forms of Gopal, Gopinath, Madan Mohan, &c. The Madan Mohan, originally of Vishnupur, in the zillah of Bankura, but now of Calcutta, and the Gopinath of Agradwipá, in the zillah of Krishnaghur, are the most celebrated in all Bengal. But public temples are not the only residences of the idols. Every Vaishnava family is provided with some one or other of these idols. In general they are worshipped twice every day; once in the fore-noon, and again immediately after sun-set.

The religious duties, or *Sádhanas*, of Vaishnavas are sixty-four in number. It would be useless and uninteresting even to name these duties: we shall advert to some of the leading ones. That which is reckoned to be of the greatest importance, and

occupies the foremost place in the list of the *Sádhanas*, is the *Guru Pádásraya*. In common with all Hindu sects, it is the invariable custom of the Vaishnavas to receive from some accredited spiritual teacher certain religious formulæ, embodying, in a few words, generally one or two of their leading sectarial notions. These sectarial formulæ are called *Mantras*; on the due repetition of which the future felicity of the devotee in the world of the immortals is made to hang. The teachers, that perform this important initiatory rite, are called *Gúrús*. The *Gúrús* of the Vaishnavas are the *Gosains*, the descendants of Nityá-nanda and Adwaitánanda. They give no instructions to their disciples. They whisper only two or three words at the most into the ear of the *Sishya*. "*Kling Krishna*," "*Kling Rádhá*," "*Ring Dhung*," are specimens of Vaishnava *Mantras*.

The meaning of these words is not expounded; no exhortations to moral purity are given; no instructions of any kind imparted. In a solitary room, with closed doors and in a low voice, the *Mantra* is poured by the *Gúrú* into the ear of the *Sishya*, and the strictest silence is enjoined. It must not be revealed to any other mortal on pain of the loss of everlasting happiness. He is forbidden to drink water or taste food, without repeating the *Mantra* mentally at least one hundred and eight times. After the initiation, the *Gúrú* is presented with money, clothes, and other valuables according to the *Sishya*'s ability. This is all that a *Gúrú* ever does. But what is the nature of the obligation on the part of the initiated disciple? The following texts are taken from standard authorities. "The *Mantra* is 'manifest in the *Gúrú*, and the *Gúrú* is Hari himself.' 'First, 'the *Gúrú* is to be worshipped, and then I am to be worshipped,' says Krishna. 'The *Gúrú* is always to be worshipped: 'he is most excellent from being one with the *Mantra*. Hari 'is pleased, when the *Gúrú* is pleased; millions of acts of 'homage else will fail of being accepted.' 'When Hari is in 'anger, the *Gúrú* is our protector; when the *Gúrú* is in 'anger, we have none.' By such audacious and impudent falsehoods have the *Gosains* arrogated to themselves a power, if possible, more than omnipotent, and an authority more than divine. Awful is the reverence paid by the disciple to his *Gúrú*. He is looked upon as a god in human shape.

The visits of the *Gúrú* to his disciple are by no means "few and far between:" he favours him with a visit whenever he is in want of money. Unlike ordinary visitors, he comes with great *eclát*. A herald with the *Trisula* in one hand, and a trumpet in the other, on entering the out-skirts of a village,

breathes into the "sounding alchemy," and, by its well-known voice, gives notice to the inhabitants of an approaching Gosain. The Vaishnavas rush out of their houses to welcome him, whose wrath is as dreadful as the flaming fire. A short and fat squab of a Gosain, riding on a white palfrey, attended by a band of musicians and a motley group of *Nerás* and *Neris*, makes his appearance. The disciple, whose *Gúrú* the fat gentleman happens to be, accosting his lordship with becoming reverence, prostrates himself on the ground. His *Gúrú*-ship, dismounting from his horse, pronounces a benediction over the prostrate Sishya, by the appropriate act of touching his head with his foot. When the procession reaches the threshold of the house, the wife or mother of the Sishya, as the case may be, after proper salutations, takes hold of his lordship's legs, washes them in a vessel of water, and wipes them with her hair. The water containing the washings of his feet, dignified by the name of the *holy nectar*, is devoutly drunk by the whole family. Men, women, and children diligently employ themselves in serving the well-favoured preceptor. His body is anointed with the best oil the family can procure, and bathed in the best water the tanks of the village afford. Ablutions and morning worship over, his lordship sits to his dinner, composed of all the delicacies, such as they are, which the family can command. A quantity, more than he can consume, is set before him, that the Bhaktas may have the privilege of eating the leavings of his plate. He fares in this lordly manner two or three days; on the expiration of which, after fleecing the Bhaktas of as much as he can, he joyfully returns home, chuckling, no doubt, over the gullibility of the simpletons he has been visiting.

This is no Utopian picture; it may be witnessed any day in all the considerable villages of Lower Bengal. This servile adoration of the *Gúrú* is the most degrading element in the faith of the Vaishnavas. To such reverence, all but divine, the *Gúrú* has a perpetual and inalienable right: no moral turpitude, of how deep a dye so ever, can deprive him of it. Worst of all, this veneration is hereditary. To the successor of a deceased Goshwami the same reverence is paid. The *Gúrú Pádásra* is a melancholy proof of the utter prostration of humanity under the despotic sway of a most galling superstition, and of the audacious height to which imposture has reached. Degrading as were the superstitions of ancient Greece and Rome, there was nothing in them at all equal to it. Intolerable and overbearing as was the priest-craft of the church of Rome, during the dark ages, it devised nothing so base and disgusting

as the Gúrá Pádásraya of the Gosains. It has been said that the original founders of Vaishnavism ought to be absolved from the guilt of devising this vile rite. Profound as was the reverence which they enjoined upon every Bhakta to pay to his Gúrá, it fell far short of the all but divine adoration rendered to him in our days. We are glad to perceive, however, that with the introduction of knowledge, liberal sentiments, and Christian truth into the community, the authority of the Gúrá has been considerably shaken. An important schism has already taken place amongst the Vaishnavas. The *Spashta Dásyahs*, maintaining all the tenets and doctrines of Chaitanya, have openly repudiated the Gosains. A few years more, and Gúrá-craft will be numbered with the things that were. The two castes amongst the Hindus, who are most servilely attached to their Gúrá, are the bankers and the weavers. But even amongst them we perceive the infusion of liberal sentiments. Many of them have begun to treat their Gúrá coldly; and we know of cases in which they were without ceremony driven from the house, on the discovery of gross immorality practised under the veil of religion.

The second, *Súdhana*, we shall mention, is what is called the *Námá Kirt'tan*. This is a very simple matter. It consists in the mere repetition of some of the names of Krishna. The formula of the *Námá Kirt'tan*, prevalent in this part of Bengal, is as follows: "*Hari Krishna, Hari Krishna, Krishna, Krishna! Hari, Hari, Hari Rám! Hari Rám, Rám, Rám! Hari, Hari!*" The *Hari Námás* are counted by beads of the sacred *Tulasi* plant. The rosaries are of different lengths. We have seen a rosary consisting of one hundred thousand beads. But the common rosary consists of one hundred and eight beads. The piety of a Vaishnava is generally estimated by the number of times the rosary is gone round. No real Vaishnava, under whatever circumstances, drinks water, or tastes food, without making at least one revolution of the sacred *Málá*, the name by which the rosary is designated. It is an object of adoration, and is generally enclosed in an envelope of silk, neatly and tastefully made. In every village of Bengal, the Grihastha Vaishnavas are seen, after the morning ablutions, and at nights, duly counting their rosaries. While walking in the streets, their fingers are observed rolling over the *Tulasi* beads, and their lips in motion. The *Námá Kirt'tan*, however, is performed in silence. No audible voice is heard: the fingers and the lips are only observed to be in the utmost activity. Experienced Vaishnavas—veterans in the service of the *Námá Kirt'tan*—can manage

very often to serve God and Mammon at the same time. They may be seen listening to a conversation and taking their part in it, and at the same time engaged in counting their beads.

Marvellous efficacy is ascribed to this Sádhana. It is the only thing *necessary* in this age of sin and vice for the attainment of future felicity. The neglect of the rest of the Sádhanas can amply be atoned for by a diligent performance of *Hari Námá*. This is pre-eminently the duty of the Káli Yuga.

The Sádhana of *San-kirt'tan* is different from the *Námá Kirt'tan*. The latter is performed by an individual Vaishnava by himself; the former in the company of other Vaishnavas. The *Námá Kirt'tan* is celebrated inaudibly for the most part, without the accompaniment of music. The *Sankirt'tan*, on the other hand, is celebrated vociferously, accompanied with musical concerts, such as they are. The one may be regarded as personal and private devotion; the other social and public. Specimens of the *Sankirt'tan* have already been offered to the reader. The enthusiastic dancing and singing, and devotional vociferations of the Nadiyá saint and his fanatical followers round the car of the great Jagannáth of Niláchal, are examples of what is meant by the *Sankirt'tan*. It is by no means unusual amongst the Vaishnavas. On occasions of the great Vaishnava festivals, such as the Rádhá Ashtámi, or the Nandatsab, the Rath, or the Rás Jatra, processions of the followers of Chaitanya are to be met with in innumerable villages in Bengal, who by their pious shrieks rend the skies. The enthusiasm they manifest is worthy of a better cause. The flow of religious sensibilities and the play of the feelings are worthy of note; while the streams of tenderness rushing from their eyes bespeak the warmth of their passions and the sincerity of their professions. We have often accompanied these devotional bands, and witnessed evidences of the fanaticism of the devotees. Their minds intently fixed on the sole object of worship, with up-lifted hands and brazen throats, they celebrate the praises of Hari. They sing, they weep, they laugh, they dance. Much, if not the whole, however, is mere animal excitement. And here let us remark once for all, that the devotion of the Vaishnava consists greatly in frames of the body, and sensations of the nervous system. A Bhakta of an emaciated frame of body and a weak voice, has very slender chance of attaining to religious notoriety. A Herculean frame of body and a Stentorian voice generally gain the day. We cannot help contrasting the deep solemnity, the peaceful tranquillity, the calm repose, that pervade a place of Christian worship, with the

noisy uproar, the discordant music, and the incessant screams that attend the public celebration of the San-kirt'tan.

The next Sádhana, that merits attention, is the *Mahatsab*, literally, *great joy*. On the death of a Gosain, or a notorious Mahanta, or Vaishnava of celebrity, the Bhaktas meet together, perform the San-kirt'tan, and crown the celebrations by a grand religious feast. This feast is called the *Mahatsab*. In a properly conducted Mahatsab, eight *Málsás*, or plates, are offered to the gods and sages of the Vaishnavas; three *Málsás* to the three *Prabhús*, Chaitanya, Nityánanda, and Adwaitánanda; eight *Málsás* to the eight *Kavi Rájás*; six *Málsás* to the six Gosains, and sixty-four *Málsás* to the sixty-four Mahants. One great peculiarity of these feasts is that no distinctions of castes are observed: indeed, the principles of caste, as such, are repudiated by the system of Vaishnavism, as we shall see in the sequel. Another peculiarity is the eating of the *Prasád*. After the rice and the several dishes are cooked, they are heaped up together in a corner of the kitchen. The head Gosain, or Mahanta, as the case may be, takes a small quantity from this heap, eats it, and mixes it with the rest. The whole then becomes *Prasád*, which is greedily devoured by the hungry Vaishnavas, with great Bhakti. The eating of the *Prasád* is said to be accompanied with great merit. But this is not all. The eating of the *Adhramrita* is accompanied with the largest quantum of merit, or *phal*. Now what may our readers suppose this mysterious Adhramrita to be? It is nothing else than the leavings in the plate of the Gosain, or Mahanta, after he has satisfied his hunger. This food, highly delicious to the sanctified palate of the humble Bhakta, and dignified with the names of the Maha-Prasád and Adhramrita, falls not to the share of the vulgar herd of common Vaishnavas. It is partaken of only by those who stand high in the favour of the Gosain, or the Mahanta, and who have made considerable attainments in devotion. This certainly, like the servile veneration of the Gúru, is a disgusting feature of the religion of Chaitanya. We may remark that these feasts are sometimes celebrated on other occasions than those of the decease of any remarkable Vaishnava. An annual Mahatsab is celebrated in the grandest style at *Agardwipá*, a noted sanctuary of the Vaishnavas in Bengal.

It is unnecessary to pursue any further the religious duties of the Vaishnavas. We shall barely mention a few more of the sixty-four Sádhanas.

Some of them are mere moral duties, such as avoiding detraction and calumny; subjugation of the passions of anger, lust,

fear, and grief, &c. Others are ludicrous, such as the adoration of the cow, Tulasi plant, and banian tree; non-indulgence in reading many books; dancing, singing, and prostration.

To one in particular, called *Bhágavata-Sraban*, or the hearing of the Sri Bhágavata repeated, a great deal of religious merit is attached. Not unlike the wandering minstrels of by-gone ages, the troubadours of Provence, the Minne-singers of Germany, and the Improvisatori of Italy, there are reciters in India, dignified with the appellation of *Kathaks*, who make it their business to recite large portions of the Sri Bhágavat, or any other religious poem. Seated on an elevated platform, with the sacred volume before him, his person adorned with a garland of flowers, with a clear voice and melodious tone, the orator recites and expounds to the enraptured multitude, that hang on his lips, some episode from the Sri Bhágavat. This periodical recitation of the principal religious books is a strong incidental cause of the perpetuation of Hinduism.

Another is *Mathura-bás*, or a residence in the city of Mathurá. To a Vaishnava no other city in the world has greater attractions than that in which his lord and master was born. He therefore regards residence in it as a sojourning in the blissful realms of Vaikantha itself. To this Sádhana the highest merit is attached. "Of all the Sádhanas," says the author of the *Charitámrita*, "the most efficacious are the following; the company of pious Vaishnavas; Námá Kirt'tan; the hearing of Bhágavat; residence in Mathurá; and the adoration of the Sir Murth."

After dwelling at some length on the "credenda et agenda" of the theology of the Vaishnavas, we shall conclude this article with a few remarks on their social characteristics, and general habits and manner.

A Vaishnava is known by his peculiar *Tiloka*, which consists of two perpendicular lines of white ochre, that, descending from the forehead, meet in a point near the root of the nose, and are continued in one line to its extremity; by his *neck-lace*, consisting of Tulasi beads; and by his *Japa-málá*, or rosary, commonly of one hundred and eight beads. Not unlike the Pharisees of old, his breast, temples and arms are stamped with the names of Rádhá and Krishna. But the modern Vaishnava has beaten the old Pharisee hollow. The latter used only phylacteries, on which some memorable sentences of the law were inscribed, but the former often uses a piece of cloth, every inch of which is stamped with the names of his favourite deity. The Vaishnava also has his peculiar way of cropping the

hair. When he cuts his hair short, he leaves a slender lock in the crown, which hangs dangling towards the back, and which he sanctifies by the name of *Chaitanya-sikha*. Thus accoutred, he is an object of universal gaze. He is, indeed, a city set on a hill. Wherever he goes, he is known by his unique dress, while the words, which incessantly escape his lips, *Gour-bala*, *Rádhá*, *Krishna*, &c., mark at once his faith and his creed. The Vairági, or the ascetic Vaishnava, has, in addition, a basket, or pot, or a dried pumpkin shell, in which to collect alms. He never condescends to ask alms, but, standing at the doors of private houses, he repeats "*Glory to Rádhá Krishná*"—the usual formula of mendicity. The regular Vaishnavas, as contra-distinguished from the *secular* Vaishnavas, take the vow of poverty. They profess to acquire no property, but live upon alms. Some of them live congregated together in something like monastic establishments, called *Akrás*, or *Maths*. A *Math* consists of a temple, a residence for the *Mahanta*, or abbot of the establishment, and huts for the accommodation of the resident and travelling Vaishnavas. The gleanings of daily mendicity are the means of their support. They have, of course, a sort of community of goods. But regular and well-conducted *Akrás* are not found in Lower Bengal. We have seen several *Akrás* of the Bengal Vaishnavas: but they are miserable and wretched establishments, compared with those of Upper India.

The laws of the Vaishnavas, (we mean the Vairági Vaishnavas) regarding marriage are very loose. The institution of regular and legalized marriage does not exist among them; they live in a sort of promiscuous concubinage. Though dignified with the name of Vairági, or *passionless*, many of them are monsters of vice. By the payment of the paltry sum of one Rupee and four annas, a Vaishnava is joined, we shall not say, in marriage, but concubinage, to a female of that persuasion. But should he be inclined to repudiate his mistress, it can be done with the greatest facility by the payment of the same sum again to a Gosain. We need not say that this pernicious custom is the fruitful mother of a thousand immoralities. Indeed it is doubtful whether a set of more immoral men, than the lowest sort of the Vairagis, is to be found in all Bengal. We will not outrage the feelings of the reader by detailing the atrocities of the *Nerás* and *Neris*, a species of male and female Vaishnava vagrants. They are justly reckoned by the mass of the Hindu population as monsters of iniquity and the pests of society.

The natural tendency of Vaishnavism is to break down the fetters of caste. Chaitanya repudiated this baneful institution, inasmuch as he is said to have converted five Muhammadans to his faith. Though a Brahman, he freely mixed with all the castes, and bestowed the treasures of Bhakti upon any one, that chose to receive them. Agreeably to the spirit of their faith and the practice of their master, the Vaishnavas receive all castes into their communion. The *Hari Námá* is given to the Brahman as well as the Chandála. The Vairágis, though originally of different castes, eat together, and look upon each other as brethren. A Brahman Vairági, *as such*, is not more honoured than a Vairági of one of the low castes. Muhammadans have been received into the community of the Vaishnavas; but such cases have rarely happened. Amongst the secular Vaishnavas, however, the distinctions of caste are observed with the greatest rigidity. Though believers in the divinity of Chaitanya, and in all his doctrines, though full of respect and reverence for the Vairágis of all castes whatsoever, they observe amongst each other the rules of caste with the greatest pertinacity. That system, indeed, is too deep-rooted to be eradicated by the efforts of any Hindu sect.

We may remark here, that in opposition to the universal practice of all the Hindus, the Vaishnavas feel no scruple in burying, instead of burning, their dead. This is true only of the Vairági-Vaishnavas. Neither is it to be fancied that all the Vairágis are buried. Far from it; the major part of them are burned like the rest of the Hindus; while the remains of a celebrated Vairági or Mahanta may occasionally be seen to be interred.

Before concluding this imperfect sketch of the Vaishnavas of Bengal, a slight notice of the two heresies, that have risen amongst them may not be unacceptable to the reader. These heretics pass under the names of the *Spashtha Dáyakas* and the *Kartá-Bhajas*. The chief peculiarity of the former is the repudiation of that servile veneration, which is rendered by all the other Vaishnavas to the Gúrá. A mystical association of the male and female devotees, not unlike that which obtained among the Belgic and German Beghards in Europe, is another of their characteristic features.

The Kartá-Bhajas, so called from their devotion to the one Kartá, or Creator, are the reputed followers of one *Oule Chád*, a fanatic of no mean order. Professor Wilson, on the authority we presume of Mr. Ward, makes Rám Saran Pál the founder of the sect. But this gentleman was only one

of the twenty-two disciples of *Oule Chand*, the original founder of the sect. The stronghold of Kartá-Bhajism is Ghoshpára, opposite Tribeni, on the banks of the Bhágirathi, thirty miles north of Calcutta. The whole of their practical religion is comprised in the following precept of the founder :—

“Gúrú Dhara, Satya Bala, Sanga Chala.”

i. e. “Attach yourself to a Gúrú, follow him, and speak the truth.” Discarding the Gosains, the Gúrús of the orthodox Vaishnavas, they attach themselves to the Páls of Ghoshpára, to the chief man amongst whom they render a homage almost divine. Miracles are not infrequent amongst them. The Kartá cures all manner of diseases without the application of medicine. They send forth evangelists and deaconesses to make proselytes of the other sectaries.

The system of Chaitanya is an important innovation on Hinduism. It is interesting to contemplate, as an index of the march of religious ideas. It contains the germs of certain great religious truths. There is a tendency in it to universal diffusion. This is an important idea in religion. It was lost sight of by the ancient religionists of India. Like the esoteric and exoteric doctrines of the Greek philosophers, the Hindus had, and still have, one religion for the lettered few, and another for the ignorant many. The *Gyán Kanda* contains the theology of intellectual men, and the *Karma Kanda* that of the illiterate multitude. The transcendental theosophy of the priestly class is quite different from the mythical religion of the people. This want of a fellowship in religious interest between men of culture and the unthinking multitude is repudiated by Chaitanya. His system encourages no monopoly of religious knowledge. It places the same doctrines before learned and unlearned men. It has no mysteries, into which all its votaries may not be initiated. Its simplicity is another important peculiarity. This too is a move in the right direction. Unlike the metaphysical abstractions, refined subtleties, and hair-splitting distinctions of the Vedanta, all which pre-eminently unfit it to be the religion of a whole nation, the doctrines of Chaitanya are simple and level to the comprehension of the meanest capacity. Unlike too the multitudinous rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Hindu rituals, it proclaims the omnipotence of one principle, and the vast efficacy of one religious duty. In insisting on Bhakti, as a *sine quâ non* of personal religion, it has made a faint approximation to faith, that prolific principle of the Christian revelation. It has brought a new

element in the natural history, so to speak, of religious feeling. In opposition to the cold, intellectual and abstract idea of religion, which the Vedanta proposes, and the totally external view, which the popular superstition gives of it, Chaitanya lays much stress on the affections and sensibilities as constituting a great part of religion. We say not that the aspect, in which the system under review regards religion, is not external; for that much of it is so, in a very gross sense, will be evident from what we have already written. But yet it is delightful to observe that the heart, with its affections and feelings, has not been entirely thrown aside. We regard the system of Chaitanya as an interesting development of the religious consciousness of India. It is a sign of the times, and an index of the march of liberal ideas in religion. It contains the germs (and only the germs) of great religious principles, which were unknown to, or lost sight of, by the ancients, and which have had their full development in the pages of the only true revelation vouchsafed to man. Christianity, of all systems of religion, is the best fitted to become the universal religion of the world. It teaches the universal depravity of the whole human race, and consequently proposes the same remedy to all. It presents the same divine truth—the truth that sanctifies—to the free and the bond, the learned and the unlearned, the mighty and the ignoble. It is adapted to all countries. It is a plant whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. And by what divine simplicity is it pervaded! Although it has heights inaccessible and depths unfathomable by the mightiest intellect, yet its cardinal doctrines are such as “a way-faring man, though a fool, need not err therein.”

ART. VIII.—*The Englishman, Bengal Hurkaru, Morning Chronicle, Citizen, Friend of India, Eastern Star, Delhi Gazette, Mofussilite, Lahore Chronicle, and Agra Messenger.* 1850.

THE publication of the first number of this *Review* for the present year reminds us of the engagement we made to offer our readers a brief notice of the transactions of each succeeding year, more especially at this Presidency, drawn from the local chronicles enumerated above, and from all other sources of information, to which we might obtain access. In our review of the previous year, we had occasion to record the decisive victory of Guzerat, which terminated the second war in the Punjáb, and which was followed, as a necessary consequence, by the incorporation of the remainder of Runjít Sing's kingdom on both sides the Indus with our own territories. We have now the pleasure of stating that, with the exception of an insignificant outbreak of the mountaineers of Kohat, who cannot brook our interference with their wild independence, the whole of the Punjáb has continued during the past year in a state of profound peace. That year may therefore be considered as the first season of repose from military operations and political anxieties, which we have obtained since we crossed the Indus, at the beginning of 1839. During the ten years, which have elapsed between the passage of that river on the 14th of February, 1839, and the battle of Guzerat on the 21st of February, 1849, we have, it is true, enjoyed intervals of freedom from actual warfare; but we have never been at liberty to contemplate the reduction of our war establishment. The temporary lull of warfare was disturbed by perpetual anxieties regarding the future; and we were still constrained to hold ourselves in readiness to meet and repress the hostility of the remaining independent princes of India, who had large armies at their command. This period will, therefore, be marked in our Indian annals as the ten years of war, by which the process of consolidating our power in India was completed. The transactions, by which it was successively marked, are so evidently linked with each other, that they may be regarded as belonging to the same series of events, which have resulted in the final extinction of the native powers of Hindustan, and the establishment of our power on a firm basis. Every military movement, after our expedition into Affghanistan may be traced, directly or indirectly, to the influence which our disastrous retreat exercised on the minds of the independent sovereigns of

India, and on our own views of policy. The entire annihilation of so large a British army by the Affghans produced the effect of giving fresh heart and encouragement to the princes who were still possessed of military power and resources, and of reviving the apparently forlorn hope of being able to expel us from the country. At the same time, the disasters and disgrace of that period appear to have created, in the minds of our own rulers, an idea of the necessity of repressing, by efforts of extraordinary vigour and severity, any indication of presumption and assurance, which might be manifested by the native powers. We seemed to feel that we had the 'prestige' of our invincibility to restore, and that the slightest opposition, which could be traced to the lower estimate of our power created by our expulsion from Affghanistan, must be met by immediate and decisive action. We had become sensitive of the smallest resistance: and those proceedings on the part of Native princes, which might have been before passed over without notice, assumed a degree of importance from the delicacy and difficulty of our position. To this cause may be attributed, in a great measure, the wars with Scinde and Gwalior. It is not improbable, that neither the Amírs of Scinde nor the Ministers at Gwalior would have ventured to encounter us in the field, if the Affghans had not taught them that our power might be successfully assailed. It is also quite possible, that, under other circumstances, we could have afforded to overlook any indisposition on their part to yield instant compliance with our wishes.

The Punjáb wars are still more closely linked, as cause and effect, with the annihilation of our army in the passes of Affghanistan. Lord Hardinge left Calcutta in October 1845, with the firmest resolution *not* to go to war with the Sikhs: and, when he was reminded of this circumstance after the four battles of the Sutlege, he was enabled to say with strict truth, that he had not deviated from his resolution; and that it was the Sikhs, who went to war with him, not he with the Sikhs. The wanton invasion of our territories by the army of the Khalsa was the natural result of our former disasters, which had inspired the Sikhs with an overweening confidence in their own strength and resources, and a corresponding contempt for our prowess. The reasoning of the Punjáb soldiery was very simple, and to their own minds perfectly conclusive. The Affghans had recently chased the English from their territories with ignominy and slaughter; but the troops of Runjít Sing had before that period humbled the Affghans, and wrested Peshawur from them; the Sikh troops must therefore be more than a match for the English. We thus trace the three wars we have waged within

the Indus to our expedition beyond it : and, however unadvisable that expedition may have been, it has thus been the means, directly or indirectly, of forcing on those measures, which have resulted in the complete consolidation of our power. We have extinguished the three independent military organizations, which existed within the Indus when we crossed that river in 1839. We have captured the formidable artillery, consisting of more than a thousand pieces of cannon, which these independent princes possessed, and reduced their countries to the same state of subordination, as Bengal and Behar. Not a shot can now be fired from Peshawur to Cape Comorin without our permission. Colonel Clive, after the re-capture of Calcutta and the humiliation of the Nawab in 1757, uttered the memorable expression, "We cannot pause here;" and the course of events has fully verified his prophecy. In that year, we placed a Nawab of our own on the musnud of Mārshedabad. Before a century has elapsed, we have placed a king of our making on the throne of Cashmere : and that remote valley, hitherto known only to our poets, has become the summer resort of our officers. In the intermediate period, we have succeeded in subduing every independent prince : and those, who retain any degree of power, are indebted for it to our consideration and forbearance. We have been ninety-two years, reckoning from the battle of Plassey to that of Guzerat, in establishing our absolute and undisputed supremacy throughout the Mogul empire : and the year, we are now reviewing, is the first in which we are enabled to contemplate the consolidation of our authority.

The present is, therefore, the most appropriate time for looking back, and counting the cost of the ten years' war, which has rendered us supreme throughout India. The question is one of interest, if not of importance. We have therefore endeavoured to form the most accurate estimate of the expenditure occasioned by our four expeditions to Affghanistan, Scinde, Gwalior and the Punjáb. For this purpose we have consulted the financial statements, annually prepared at the India House, and printed by order of Parliament. We have taken the expense of our military establishment during the four years of peace, which preceded the ten years' war : and the average of these peaceful years we assume as the expenditure, which would in all probability have been incurred in the military department, from 1838-39 to 1848-49, if we had not crossed the Indus and planted ourselves at Kabul. The average of this expenditure (for the four years) is, in round numbers, a little above eight crores of rupees, or Eight millions sterling. If the same scale of expenditure had been continued from 1838-39 to 1848-49, the

total expense of the war department would have been eighty-eight crores and a half of rupees : but the expenditure has actually amounted to 108 crores and a half of rupees. The difference is twenty crores, or Twenty millions sterling : and we are therefore fully borne out in assuming this sum as the cost of our campaigns during this period. It may be necessary to state, that we have included in this account, not only the entire charge of the military department and of extraordinary war charges at each Presidency, but the charges incurred in England, which, either strictly or apparently, belonged to this department.

It remains now to consider from what sources this expenditure has been obtained. When the hostility of the frontier tribes at the Cape recently constrained the British authorities to take the field, the campaign entailed an expenditure of more than a million sterling on the British Exchequer, for which the people of England were called to provide. Whatever may be the moral character of the wars in which we have been engaged during the last ten years, and whatever the political value of the territories which have thereby been added to our Indian empire, we have at least this satisfactory consideration, that England has been burdened with no portion of the expense. It has been met, partly from the resources of the country itself, and partly from loans borrowed on the security of Indian revenue. On turning to the published accounts, we find that the Indian debt, which stood at Rs. 32,26,65,000 on the 30th of April, 1838, had risen to Rs. 45,95,76,000 on the 30th of April, 1848, the latest date to which we have any statement. The debt has thus been augmented by a little less than Thirteen millions and a half ; and, if we add—at a hazard—two millions more for the year 1848-49, we shall find the increase of our debt during this period to have amounted to about Fifteen millions and a half sterling. The remaining Four millions and a half of the war expenditure have evidently been supplied from the revenues of the country. Our Indian national debt has thus been swelled to Forty-eight millions, which does not exceed two years of gross income. The permanent burden thereby imposed on the resources of the country, for the interest of these loans, is £760,000 a year. Considering, however, the consolidation of our power, which has thus been achieved, the removal of all cause of anxiety from the ambition or folly of native chiefs, and the thorough hold we have hereby acquired of the country—these permanent advantages cannot be said to have been too dearly bought by this additional charge on our revenues. There is moreover one peculiar feature in the public

debt of India; that, as it is owing chiefly to natives of influence in all parts of the country, it gives them the strongest interest in the permanence of our power.

That the extension of the empire has contributed to its strength in no ordinary degree, will not at this time of day be disputed by any, but those who refuse to allow experience its due weight in correcting their own foregone conclusions. Throughout the whole period of the growth of the empire, some of the most illustrious of Indian statesmen have been found to deprecate the expansion of our territories, as the greatest calamity which could befall us, and the inevitable fore-runner of our downfall. One of the wisest and most intelligent officers, by whom the Government of India has ever been administered, Mr. Charles Grant, thus wrote in 1792: "This probable necessity of extending our conquests is one of the disadvantages attending our dominion in Hindustan; for the wider it spreads, the more vulnerable we become. It was the unwieldiness of the Mogul empire, that accelerated its fall." Similar sentiments have been promulgated, at every stage of our progress, by men of large reputation for wisdom and fore-thought: and there was at the time every reason to put confidence in their correctness. It was indeed impossible to ascertain their fallacy, till we had reached the termination of our conquests and extinguished every opponent. It is only at the present time, when we have reached this consummation, that we are enabled, from our own more enlarged experience, to discover the utter unsoundness of these opinions. It was not the unwieldiness of the Mogul empire, or of any other dynasty in India, which occasioned its downfall, but the utter want of capacity in the purple-born princes, who succeeded the iron warriors by whom these empires were founded. As soon as the throne came to be filled by one, who had been nurtured in the lap of oriental effeminacy, the sceptre departed from his House. Had every Mogul emperor possessed the talent and vigour of Akbar, the Mogul empire would scarcely have been dissolved. The unity of the Marhatta power of Sevaji was broken up within a short period of his death; and Runjit Sing had not been dead four years, before the kingdom, created by his genius, became the prey of the wildest anarchy. There is no such element of weakness and dissolution in the British empire in the East. Its earliest were its weakest days. With the progress of improvement in our native land, under the eye of Parliament, and the control of public opinion, and the vigilance of the public press, the administration of India has gradually become more pure, healthy and vigorous; and there is infinitely more

administrative energy in it now, when it embraces the whole of India, than when we possessed only Bengal and Behar. There is a constant infusion of fresh Anglo-Saxon blood into the veins of the administration, which maintains the robustness of its constitution, and imparts to it the highest moral and political vigour. The English Government in India, say the natives, is always strong, because it is always young.

The opinion, which the Duke of Wellington (then General Wellesley) delivered in 1800, has also been frequently quoted against the extension of our territories. In a letter to Sir Thomas Munro, he wrote:—

In my opinion, the extension of our territory and influence has been greater than our means. Besides, we have added to the number and the description of our enemies, by depriving of employment those, who heretofore found it in the service of Tippu and the Nizam. Whenever we spread ourselves, particularly if we aggrandize ourselves at the expense of the Mah-rattas, we increase this evil. We throw out of employment and of means of subsistence all, who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies, or have plundered the country. These people become additional enemies; at the same time that, by the extension of our territory, our means of supporting our Government and of defending ourselves are proportionably decreased.

But our means are at present more than equal to the extension, which our territories have acquired. Our military resources and the organization and efficiency of our military power have been improved to a degree, of which the Duke could then have had no idea. As far as “means” are concerned, we are much more competent to maintain our supremacy throughout the whole of India, than we were to meet the various exigencies of our position in 1800. The Duke wrote correctly and wisely according to the circumstances of the times, when, after the conquest of Mysore, there still remained five independent and powerful princes in India, supported by large and well-equipped armies, and ready to take advantage of any event, which might afford them the prospect of expelling us. During the last half-century all these powers have been reduced to such a state of absolute subordination to our will, and have been so completely stripped of all political influence and military power, that their existence from year to year depends on our moderation and forbearance. We have become the sole and absolute rulers of the country, and all our political anxieties have ceased. We have now experience of the fact, that it is far easier to manage the whole of India, when we have no enemy left, than to govern any considerable portion of it, when surrounded by jealous princes and powerful armies. The strength of our empire has increased with

its size; and we are now enabled to administer a country, 2,000 miles in length, and 1,800 in breadth, with greater ease and fewer anxieties and embarrassments, than when we had only two provinces to look after. We are, moreover, in the age of steam and electricity—two mighty agencies, by which the unity and the vigour of a central Government may be maintained with matchless ease at its distant extremities. It is in a great measure by the aid of these modern instruments of Government, that the Republic of North America presents the phenomenon of a union of the most remote states by the feeble bond of republican institutions: and, great indeed would be our shame, if, with the same powerful means at our command, we are unable to keep our Indian empire from being dismembered.

The finances of India have furnished a prolific topic of discussion to the influential press of London and our local journals. The last accounts, presented to Parliament, exhibited a deficit of more than Two millions and a quarter sterling. This announcement naturally became a source of disquietude—more especially as the deficiency was greater than it had been at any former period, and appeared to be gradually increasing. Those, who looked only at the surface, were led to conclude, that the finances of the country were irretrievably disorganized, and that the Government of India was rapidly approaching the crisis of bankruptcy. As the termination of the Charter was at hand, it was surmised that Parliament would not only be constrained to place the administration in other hands, but to assess the people of England to relieve the finances of India. But it only required a close and diligent examination of the various items to perceive, that all these gloomy anticipations were altogether out of place; that the deficiency arose from peculiar and transient circumstances, and must necessarily disappear, as soon as they passed away. It was manifest on the face of the accounts, that three-fourths of this deficit, or £1,600,000, arose from the extraordinary expenses of the last campaign in the Punjáb, which was terminated by the victory of Guzerat; and that it would not appear in the accounts in the next year. The balance of the deficiency, about £660,000, must be considered as the additional charge for the interest of loans contracted during the last war, which are, of course, of a more permanent character, and can only be met, either by retrenchments, or by an improvement in the resources of Government—for the next twenty-three years. At the end of that period—that is to say, in the auspicious year 1874—that most extraordinary and unjust arrangement, by which the revenues of India were (in 1833) saddled for forty years with the

payment of the dividends on East India Stock, will terminate by effluxion of time; and the interest on our increased debt in India, if not provided for before, will be made up by the lapse of the dividend funds. For the present, however, this demand must be made good, either by a diminution of expenditure, or by the increase of our receipts. Some of our establishments may be susceptible of economical reductions—though we have but one sinecure at this Presidency, the Quarter Master Generalship of Queen's troops, an office kept up solely as a piece of Horse Guards' patronage. But our chief expectation must rest on the augmentation of the public revenue: and there is every reason to believe, that the Court of Directors will soon be able to present a far more satisfactory balance sheet; and that, if there be no surplus of income exhibited in a year or two, it will arise simply from the large and liberal expenditure of Government on objects of national importance and utility—canals, railways, and electric telegraphs.

In reference to the annual revenue of Bengal proper, we are enabled to refer to the statements published annually by order of the Deputy Governor of Bengal in the *Official Gazette*. No corresponding statement of the revenues of the North West Provinces is published by the Government of Agra, which, though pre-eminently liberal in the communication of statistical information, has not hitherto thought it advisable to put the public in possession of such a return of its revenues, made up by its own Accountant. We feel confident that this omission has arisen entirely from inadvertence, and that when the subject has been brought distinctly to the notice of the Lieutenant-Governor, we shall speedily be furnished with these statements, in that invaluable repertory of facts, "The official correspondence of the North West Provinces." The annual statement of the receipts and disbursements of the provinces of Bengal and Behar, published in the *Official Gazette*, to which we have alluded, informs us that, including about six lakhs of rupees from the eastern settlements, the sum collected in the last official year was Rs. 10,72,58,000; while the expenditure required for the local administration was Rs. 3,58,48,000, leaving about 714 lakhs, or a little above Seven millions sterling, for the interest of the debt, the military establishments, and the home charges. This is the largest revenue, which these provinces have ever yielded in any year, since they came into our possession. The highest amount, which the revenue of these Subahs ever attained, even under the rack-rent system of Mir Cossim, from 1760 to 1763, was about Two millions and a half sterling. We obtained the Dewanny in 1765; but,

during the seven years, which succeeded that event, the revenues of Bengal were left a prey to native depredation—while the servants of the Company devoted their attention exclusively to their private trade, and were often able to realize an income of £10,000 a year, while enjoying an official salary of only Rs. 200 a month. When Warren Hastings assumed charge of the Government in 1772, he found the finances of the province a complete chaos. He applied his magnificent talents to the reformation of abuses, and the creation of a system of finance: and he pursued his plans with such undaunted resolution, amidst the most formidable obstacles, that he was enabled to inform his Honourable Masters, on quitting the Government in 1784, that the revenues of the province had been augmented to Five millions and a half sterling. Of the revenues of the North West Provinces, we have no return later than that of 1848-49, published by order of Parliament on the 25th of June last. From it we learn that the gross collections under the Government of Agra amounted to Rs. 5,83,17,000. Putting these two sums together, we have a revenue of Rs. 16,55,75,000, or Sixteen millions and a half, derived from two divisions of the Presidency of Fort William.

This income is more than Four millions in excess of that, which was obtained from these provinces at the commencement of the present Charter. It may not be deemed uninteresting to the reader, if we enable him to trace the various items to which this increase is to be referred. We have, therefore, placed in juxta-position, the details of the revenue in the two divisions of the Presidency at these two periods:—

Bengal Presidency.

	1835-36.	1849-50.
Mint,	3,20,000	4,20,000
Post Office,	5,66,000	4,92,000
Miscellaneous General,	3,42,000	2,88,000
Stamps,	18,95,000	22,52,000
Judicial,	3,62,000	10,48,000
Land Revenue,	2,97,96,000	3,71,95,000
Abkari and Sayer,	21,07,000	37,61,000
Miscellaneous, .....	.....	56,000
Miscellaneous in the Revenue Department	6,72,000	.....
Customs, including town and transit duties,	31,12,000*
Customs, without town and transit duties, .....	.....	88,43,000
Opium,	1,68,96,000	3,77,57,000
Salt,	1,65,56,000	1,35,28,000
Marine,	5,04,000	8,47,000
Eastern Settlements,	11,74,000	6,80,000

Miscellaneous Civil Receipts,...	3,42,000
Interests,.....	3,51,000	96,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total...	7,49,95,000	10,72,58,000
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If we turn the Sicca Rupees of 1835-36 into the new coinage of Company's Rupees, in which the revenues of 1848-49 are represented, we shall have a revenue of Eight millions sterling in the former, against the Ten millions and three quarters of the later, period.

North West Provinces.

	1834-35.*	1848-49.
Post Office collections .....	.....	7,95,000
Stamp duties,	9,34,000	14,80,000
Judicial Fees and Fines,	1,50,000	2,15,000
Miscellaneous Civil Receipts, ...	.....	26,000
Land Revenue,	3,83,13,000	4,72,80,000
Sayer and Abkari,	16,61,000	27,50,000
Miscellaneous Revenue Receipts,	2,04,000	1,06,000
Customs,	47,68,000	11,65,000
Receipts from Salt duties, .....	.....	45,00,000
Interest on arrears of revenue,	48,000	.....
Land and Sayer revenues in the Ceded Saugor and Nerbudda territories,	28,59,000	.....
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	Sa. Rs.	Co.'s Rs.
	4,89,37,000	5,83,17,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Although it is no part of our design to review the financial position of the other Presidencies, we shall not be considered as going far beyond the scope of this article, if we take the present opportunity of correcting a very important error, which has hitherto been committed, in estimating the revenues of the British Empire in the East. From the peculiar form, which has been adopted for many years at the India House in making up the financial statements presented to Parliament, it has been supposed that the revenue, obtained from all the provinces of India and administered by the East India Company, did not exceed Twenty millions sterling. But this is altogether a fallacious view of the case. On casting up the receipts from the four Presidencies and the Punjab, it will be found that the gross revenue of the British Empire in India at the present time amounts to more than *Twenty-seven millions and a half sterling*. In the following schedule, we have put down the latest authentic return of receipts from each province which

* We have taken the accounts of this year for comparison, because those of the next year are less particular and clear.

was available, and the reader may receive it with the most implicit confidence:—

	<i>Rupees.</i>
Bengal Presidency, 1849-50	10,72,58,000
North West Provinces, 1848-49	5,83,17,000
Madras Presidency, <i>idem</i>	5,15,14,000
Bombay Presidency, <i>idem</i>	3,94,14,000
Punjab, old and new territory, 1849-50.....	2,03,81,000

Grand Total, Rs.... 27,68,84,000

The three great items, which constitute the main stay of our revenues in India, are—the Land-rent, the Salt, and the Opium. During the year under review, the revenue derived from the article of salt in the Bengal Provinces exhibits little difference from that of the preceding year; the receipts were Rs. 1,35,28,000, and the expense of manufacturing it, Rs. 32,73,000, leaving a nett profit on the salt manufactured by Government, of Rs. 1,02,45,000, or about One million sterling. Since the year 1846-47, the manufacture of salt in Bengal has been materially reduced, and with it the revenue derived from this source. The following statement will exhibit the difference:—

	<i>Outlay.</i>	<i>Return.</i>	<i>Profit.</i>	
1846-47.....	41,58,000	1,64,40,000	1,22,82,000	Rs.
1849-50.....	32,73,000	1,35,28,000	1,02,55,000	„

But this has been in some measure compensated by the increase of imports, more especially from England, and the consequent increase of the import duties. The excise duty on salt manufactured for Government in Bengal, is fixed at two rupees eight annas the maund; and this sum, added to the expense of manufacturing it, constitutes the price at which it is sold to the community. In order to afford a fair competition to the merchant, and to place his imported salt on terms of equality with the Government salt, a corresponding amount of customs duty is imposed on salt imported into Calcutta, from whatever port, and under whatever flag. Under this arrangement, foreign salt—that is, salt imported by sea—has to compete only with the actual cost of salt manufactured in the country. The following table will shew the quantity of salt imported from all countries, and also from England, in the last six years and a half:—

	<i>Imported from all countries.</i>		<i>From England.</i>
1844-45.....	9,70,595 Maunds.		791 Maunds.
1845-46.....	15,81,986 „		5,02,616 „
1846-47.....	14,86,744 „		3,52,835 „
1847-48.....	16,16,084 „		7,52,998 „
1848-49.....	16,26,706 „		4,59,803 „
1849-50.....	21,26,848 „		6,24,673 „
Six months of 1850-51.....	14,55,007 „		6,72,092 „

It will thus be seen that the importation of English salt in the first six months of 1850-51, that is, from May to October, 1850, exceeded the imports of the entire preceding year.

This increase of imports has not only supplied the market with a superior article at a cheaper rate, but it has silenced the clamours of those who were interested in the salt works in England. They had been led to suppose that it was the monopoly of the manufacture of domestic salt, retained by Government in its own hands, which extinguished their prospect of obtaining a market for their salt in India, and were thus led to place themselves in direct hostility to the East India Company, and to prepare for a vigorous campaign against the monopoly at the close of the present Charter. They have now discovered their mistake. They have found that whatever obstacle existed to the freedom and extension of their salt imports, really lay in their inability to land their own salt in Calcutta as cheap as it could be manufactured in this country. They have now succeeded in sending salt which is able to compete in price with the indigenous salt; and, in proportion as the import of salt from England has increased, the outcry against the monopoly has died out. The question of an excise duty on manufactured salt, and of customs duty on that which is imported—both being equal—is now felt to be a financial, and not a commercial, question. The retention of the monopoly of manufacture in the hands of Government, moreover, is rather beneficial than the reverse to the interests of the importers. The salt, thus made, is chargeable with all the expensive machinery which the State maintains, and which serves to enhance the cost of the article with which they have to compete. If the manufacture of salt on behalf of the State was abolished, and every man was at liberty to manufacture whatever quantity he chose for sale, throughout a line of sea-coast extending many hundred miles along the Bay of Bengal, the indigenous salt would be sold at a price far lower than that, at which it would be profitable to introduce salt from England. At the same time it is proper to mention that the natives will not use Liverpool salt, if they know it to be such; nor will they eat any white, clean looking salt, lest it should be from Liverpool. Strange to say, that salt has to undergo a certain process of adulteration, by mixture with mud and black solar evaporation salt, before it becomes fit for the Bengal market.

It may not be uninteresting to the reader, to bring before him into one point of view, the whole of the revenue derived from the single article of salt, throughout all the territories over which Leadenhall Street and Cannon Row rule—Scinde except-

ed. The following abstract is drawn from the latest return at each of the Presidencies, which we have been able to obtain. After deducting all the expense of manufacturing the article, the nett income derived from it is found to exceed Two millions and a half sterling. Thus:—

Bengal : profit on manufactured Salt.....	Rs. 1,02,55,000
Duty on imported Salt, deducting the cost of collection	„ 44,86,000
North West Provinces.....	„ 44,00,000
Madras	„ 37,69,000
Bombay	„ 22,33,000
The Punjab	„ 11,00,000
	<hr/>
	Rs. 2,62,43,000

Assuming the population of British India, including the Punjab, at eighty millions, we find the sum, contributed to the State by every man, woman and child, for the salt consumed in a twelve month, to be about five annas, or *seven pence half penny*.

This revenue is extracted from our own subjects. The profits of the opium are drawn from those of the Emperor of China : and the financier will be happy, and the benevolent will lament, to hear that the returns have been larger in the past year, than in any preceding one, since the manufacture of the drug was made to contribute to the revenue. The cost of manufacturing it is put down in the official statement at Rs. 98,28,000 ; the returns from the sales at Rs. 3,77,59,000—leaving a clear profit of Rs. 2,79,31,000. The amount received, during the same period at the Bombay Presidency, for the passes granted for the exportation of Malwa opium, were Rs. 71,50,000 on 17,875 chests, making in the whole Rs. 3,50,81,000. The Government here were convinced that a larger produce would be beneficial to the revenue, and (in 1845) proposed a series of measures to the Court of Directors intended to encourage the cultivation of the poppy. The Court refused to sanction them, thinking the Government wrong, and being of opinion that the produce ought not to be increased. Meanwhile, the cultivation increased of itself, without the application of any stimulus, until, in 1848, the annual supply reached 35,000 chests, when the Government became alarmed and prohibited further extension. But it has since been found that even this increase does not lead to a proportionate fall in price, but on the contrary has greatly augmented the revenue. The prohibition has, therefore, now been taken off. Next year, the ryots of the central provinces will be allowed to grow as much poppy as they please ; but they will only receive from the Government three rupees

eight annas a seer, instead of three rupees ten annas, or three rupees twelve annas, as they have hitherto done. This reduction on the cost will produce a saving to Government of about Rs. 3,00,000 a year.

The External Trade of the Presidency during the period under review has reached a degree of expansion, which it never attained before, since these provinces came under British authority. The Imports amounted to Six crores and a half of rupees, the Exports to a fraction under Eleven crores—a crore of rupees being equivalent to a million sterling. Of the imports about two millions and three quarters sterling, consisted of Piece Goods, Twist and Yarn from England. Of the entire imports of the year, amounting to Six millions and a half sterling, Four millions were received from England.

The increase of our Imports and Exports, since the Government of this country was relieved of its commercial character, and its responsibilities were made exclusively political, will be found deserving of particular attention. The comparative statement stand thus:—

	<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>
1833-34.....	2,71,15,000	4,57,17,000
1849-50.....	6,49,71,000	10,93,27,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Increase, Rs.	3,78,56,000	Rs. 6,36,10,000

The last year has been rendered particularly memorable in the annals of British India by the commencement of two works, destined, we believe, to exercise the most important influence on its future welfare—the Rail Road and the Electric Telegraph. The Rail in India was first projected by Mr. Macdonald Stephenson, in the year 1844, when he addressed a Memorial on the subject to the Deputy Governor of Bengal, Mr. William Wilberforce Bird, pointing out the importance and the feasibility of the enterprize. Mr. Bird, in his official reply, stated his conviction of the great blessing which the establishment of Rails would confer on India, gave the undertaking the cordial approbation of Government, and engaged to promote it to the full extent of his power. When India is covered with a net work of Rails, a future age will turn with interest to the record of this first effort to introduce them into this country. With the assurance afforded by the Deputy Governor, Mr. Stephenson proceeded to England, to organize a Company for the prosecution of the work. The Court of Directors received the proposals with that caution, with which every thing novel is regarded in Leadenhall Street, waiting for the development of circumstances and the impulse of events,

before they ventured to pledge the patronage of Government, or the revenues of India, to its support. While they were looking at the project with great caution, sixty thousand Sikh soldiery burst the boundary of the Sutlege, and poured a stream of invasion on our provinces; and thus a new object of absorbing interest arose, to cast the Rail into the shade. But through the untiring efforts of Mr. Stephenson, the project was gradually making way in influential circles, and acquiring that position as an object of public importance, which would render it indispensable for the Indian authorities at Home to come to some decision on the subject. It was perceived at an early stage of the question that the capital for the undertaking must be furnished from England, and that, without a guarantee of a sufficient dividend from the Indian Government, no capitalist would invest his money in the undertaking. The leading principles, on which the Rail was to be extended to India, became at length matured, and embraced the following provisions; that the work should be conducted by a chartered Company, under the controul of the officers of Government in India; that the Government should provide the land, and also pay interest at the rate of four—subsequently increased to five—per cent. on the capital subscribed; and that the State should be at liberty to take over the whole enterprize, and to replace all the capital, if it was not found to answer in the hands of the East India Railway Company. While these negotiations were pending, a mercantile crisis arose in England, and the value of money was raised to eight per cent.; it became necessary, therefore, to fold up the project for a more auspicious season. Mr. Stephenson watched with much anxiety the return of prosperity, and the repletion of the commercial arteries with capital: and, after five years of alternate hopes and fears, and exertions and disappointments, he had the happiness to see the East India Railway Company incorporated, and a contract entered into between it and the East India Company, on the 14th of August, 1849. The Court of Directors had originally offered to guarantee the employment of Three millions sterling on the Rail. It was subsequently cut down to One million, for an experimental line. But when the question came to be examined on the spot, it was found that so limited a sum as One million would not be sufficient for the completion of any line in any direction, from which any return could be expected; and that, if the extension of the Rail was to depend on the pecuniary success of the first portion of it, it would be more advisable to abandon the enterprize at once. The limited and conditional arrangement regarding the one million sterling, which had been

adopted by the Home authorities, became equally distasteful to the members of Government and to the public in India, and gave birth to loud complaints. When the remonstrances of the Indian community and the press reached England, Mr. Wilson, the Secretary to the Board of Controul, to whom the department of the Rail had been almost exclusively entrusted, declared, in his place in Parliament, and through the columns of his journal, the *Economist*, that the views of the Indian Government at Home had been misunderstood; that the experimental line was only another name for the First Section of the Rail; and that there was no intention of stopping at the one million.

The contract was signed on the 15th of August, 1849; but the detailed instructions, which were to accompany it, were not completed at the India Board before the middle of November. The Board and the Court were, however, anxious, that the time, which had thus been lost in London, should be made up by superior diligence in India: and they inserted the most positive injunctions in their despatch, that no time whatever should be lost in giving possession of the ground to the Railway staff. To give additional emphasis to this order, it was not only inserted at the beginning of the despatch, but repeated in the closing sentence. When this communication was opened by Lord Dalhousie in Calcutta, in the first week of March, the Railway staff had not arrived. When the staff arrived, Lord Dalhousie had gone up for the season to Simlah, more than a thousand miles distant. Ten days of personal conference between the Railway officers and the head of the Government would have saved us many months of delay and disappointment. To obtain immediate possession of the ground, it was necessary to pass a new Act: but the preparation of the draft was delayed for five months, and was not promulgated before the 1st of September, when two months more were allowed for the consideration of it. When, however, the time fixed for passing it arrived—that is to say, the 1st of November, which was also the commencement of the season for field operations—it was found that, from some unexplained cause, the Act was not ready for enactment; and it did not actually become law before the 25th of December. Even after it had passed, another month was allowed to slip away before the first foot of ground was made over to the Railway establishment. The result of these various delays, which are so characteristic of all Indian measures, has been the irreparable loss of the present season: but, if they produce the salutary effect of preventing similar procrastination in future, they may not be without

a countervailing advantage. Considerable allowance must be made for the novelty of the undertaking, and the peculiar circumstances of the Government. Hitherto every public operation in India had been carried on with slow and measured steps; the work of months has usually been extended over the surface of years. The public authorities were not prepared for the vigorous commencement of an undertaking, in which the work of years was to be crowded into months. It took them in a great measure by surprize; and hence it was by no means astonishing that an undertaking, in which the value of time was counted by hours, should have been retarded in a country, in which time had never been accounted of any value whatever. We have not, therefore, made much more progress during the last fourteen or fifteen months, than to learn how future progress may be accelerated.

We have stated that the Indian authorities at Home sanctioned the expenditure of One million sterling on the first section of the Rail, leaving it to the Government of India to determine the direction of the line and the application of the capital. It was, therefore, proposed by the Railway Directors in India to employ it in the construction of a line from Howrah, opposite Calcutta, to the Burdwan Collieries, a distance of about a hundred and thirty miles; and the proposal met the cordial approbation of the Governor-General. Contracts have been made for the first forty miles of this line to the village of Pandúah; and, at the time of our present writing, about five thousand men are employed in raising the embankments. It is to be hoped, that the whole of the line, between that point and the Ranígunge Colliery, will be surveyed, and that the plans will be sanctioned, before the beginning of November next; so that operations may commence with vigour at the setting in of the ensuing cold weather.

As it regards the continuation of the line to Allahabad and onwards through the Doab to Delhi, we are now enabled to bring down our report of progress to the end of March of the present year; and to state that Major Kennedy, who succeeded Mr. Simms as the Consulting Engineer of Government in September last, does not consider it advisable to carry the Rail, as was originally proposed, in a direct line from the Collieries to Mirzapore through the hills of Behar, a distance of three hundred miles; partly, because that hilly region, and more especially the Dunwah pass, present the most formidable engineering difficulties, and partly because the Soane, which is found to be only three quarters of a mile broad at its junction with the Ganges, is two miles and a half wide at the point at which it must be crossed on the di-

rect route—not to mention that this long line of territory is almost without inhabitants, and that no return whatever could be expected till the Rail had actually reached Mirzapore. Major Kennedy has, therefore, proposed to turn it off from some place near Búdbúd, a few miles west of Burdwan, and run it in a northerly direction to Rajmahal; and to carry it from thence along the right bank of the river to Patna, Mirzapore and Allahabad. It remains for the Court of Directors and the Board of Controul to prove the sincerity of their wishes to extend the Rail throughout this Presidency, by giving their immediate sanction to this second section of the line, and the proportionate augmentation of the capital of the Company.

Towards the close of the year 1849, Government appears for the first time to have contemplated the establishment of communications in India by means of the Electric Telegraph; and Dr. W. B. O'Shaughnessy, who had been engaged for many years in similar experiments, and had been successful in blowing up the wrecks of the *Equitable* and the *Sir Herbert Maddock*, was directed to prepare a report on the subject. His report has not as yet been made public by Government; but its contents have generally transpired. He is understood to have entered very minutely into the subject, and described with great ability the various difficulties, which were likely to be experienced in constructing the lines above ground, and under ground. The result of his examination was to recommend an experiment upon the subterranean plan. His report is also said to have treated of the establishment of telegraphic lines through India, which should extend from Calcutta to Agra, with branches to the most important stations on either side of this route, and from Agra—which was to be the great centre of communication—to Simla and Lahore, on the one hand, and to Bombay on the other. It was calculated that the entire distance, included in these various lines of communication, would be equal to about 2,500 miles. The expense of such an undertaking in a country, of which there was as yet no experience, and the peculiarities of which differed so essentially from those of England and America, it was impossible to calculate with any degree of accuracy. The most approximate estimate, which Dr. O'Shaughnessy was enabled to form, for a double set of lines, is understood to have been about 750 Rs. the mile, which is only one-half the cost of Electric Telegraphs in England, and about 30 per cent. more than the general expense of such undertakings in America; and it was calculated that the subsequent annual expense for repairs and establishment, through the whole length of the line, would amount, exclusive of inter-

est on the original outlay, to about 86,000 Rs. The importance of establishing such a line of communication through this extent of territory, both as regards the political and the military, the commercial and social interests of the country, it would be perfectly superfluous to dwell upon. The intelligence, brought from England by the steamer to Bombay twice a month, would thus be communicated within an hour to Agra and Lahore, to Simlah and Calcutta. Commercial advices would be conveyed three and four times a day to all the great marts of commerce. The Government of India would always be enabled to convey important political communications to London within a month; and orders from the seat of Government to the various military stations in the North West, where more than half the army is congregated, would be communicated with instant speed; while the Governor-General, though residing at Simlah, might hold intercourse, hour by hour, with the Supreme Council in Calcutta. Previously to the commencement of any extended operations, however, it was proposed to Government to sanction an experimental line from Calcutta to Huglí, that some experience might be obtained of the expense of the undertaking and of the local difficulties which India presented. Strange to say, the proposal for this short, simple, and inexpensive experiment encountered so serious an opposition from one of the most eminent officers of Government in Calcutta, whose opinion had been sought, as had well nigh proved fatal to the whole scheme; but it is generally understood, that either the Military Board, to whom Dr. O'Shaughnessy's report was addressed, or its liberal-minded secretary, Captain Scott, contrived to neutralize these sexagenarian objections, and prevailed on Government not to abandon so magnificent a plan without an experiment. Every officer, whose advice Government is required to seek, should be constrained to visit England once in ten years to bring himself abreast of the age.

The Government accordingly determined that an experimental line should be attempted, and that it should be carried, not from Calcutta to Huglí, but from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour, under Dr. O'Shaughnessy's superintendence. The deepest interest, as might have been expected, was felt by all classes in this great national work; and information regarding its progress was eagerly sought by the conductors of the press, and communicated from time to time to their constituents. From these successive records we learn that the work commenced on the 5th of November, and was completed as far as Diamond Harbour; but that Dr. O'Shaughnessy was obliged

to quit his labours on the 27th of January, to take charge of the Assay office at the Mint: and this circumstance has prevented the extension of the line beyond thirty-two miles and a half. The wire, used by him, was an iron rod, three-eighths of an inch in diameter, coated with two layers of cloth, saturated with pitch, and then laid in a bed of roofing tiles, in a melted composition of three parts of sand and one of rosin, which, when cool, becomes as solid as a stone, and is impervious to white-ants, or vermin, or the saline influence of the soil. Before the completion of the experiment, the stock of rosin in the market was reduced, and the price rose to such an extent as to constrain Dr. O'Shaughnessy to make the second section of his line with three layers of Madras cloth, saturated with pitch, and laid in the ground without cement. A considerable portion of the line to Diamond Harbour runs through a morass; and in many places the water was only kept out by baling. The line may therefore be considered not only subterranean, but subaqueous. As yet, the experiment has completely answered expectation, and messages have been signalled throughout with perfect ease; still, the undertaking is at present considered only in the light of an experiment, the result of which cannot be ascertained, with a view to ulterior operations, until it has been tested by a succession of thunder-storms, and by an entire rainy season. The greatest difficulty, which has been experienced, is in the instruction of a body of signallers. The class of native pupils was at once disbanded, on the death of one of them, at a little distance from Calcutta, from fever. They refused to leave town for an unhealthy locality, and it has been deemed necessary to place a class of European boys under tuition. Such is a brief narrative of the progress which has been made in this experiment, the full results of which will not be known till the commencement of the next cold season. If it should then be found that the wires have effectually withstood every disturbing and deteriorating influence, it is to be hoped that Government will not hesitate to sanction the outlay necessary for carrying out the whole of Dr. O'Shaughnessy's plan. Five years would be amply sufficient for the establishment of the entire line of 2,500 miles; which would connect Calcutta, Agra, Bombay, Simlah, and Lahore, and the various intermediate stations.

During the past year, a commission has been appointed to enquire into the present state of the Post Offices throughout India, with a view to an organic reformation. It arose out of the vehement, but just, complaints, which had been made for several years, regarding the utter inefficiency of the postal ar-

rangements at this Presidency. Thirteen years have now elapsed since a similar commission was appointed by Government in Calcutta to examine and to reform the working of the office. From their labours, the public derived some important advantages. Subsequently to that period, improvements, which appear almost incredible, had been introduced into the Post Office department in England, by one whose name will go down to posterity, as one of the greatest benefactors of the age. Under the impulse of Mr. Rowland Hill's genius, not only had the blessing of a uniform and cheap postage been conferred on England, but the machinery of the department had been brought to a degree of matchless perfection. As these improvements were successively announced in India, they only served to augment the discontent and irritation of the community, by the deplorable contrast which our postal arrangements presented to them. It appeared as if the progress of inefficiency and deterioration in this country was destined to keep pace with the progress of improvement in England; and the demand for investigation and reform became at length irresistible. It was the general desire of the public that a committee of inquiry should be appointed, consisting partly of official and partly of non-official men: but Lord Dalhousie, on his return from the Straits in March last, wisely determined to entrust the responsibility of these measures to a single individual; and he selected for this purpose one of the very ablest members of the Civil Service, Mr. Cecil Beadon, the secretary of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium. He was withdrawn from his post at that Board, and directed to enter upon the most extensive and searching investigation of the state of our postal arrangements throughout the country, to receive evidence regarding it from those who had any thing to communicate, and to digest a plan of reform suited to the present advanced state of the science of Post Office communications. Lord Dalhousie went a step farther, and wisely determined that these investigations and improvements should not be limited to a single Presidency, but embrace the whole of India; and he accordingly appointed another commissioner at Madras, and a third at Bombay, to the same duties. These gentlemen were directed to meet at Calcutta, after they had completed their local enquiries, and embody the result of their observations and their views in a single report. This report is at the present time nearly complete, and is about to be presented to the Governor-General. The nature of the reforms, which the commissioners are said to have recommended, cannot, of course, be accurately known to the public; but the general impression is, that they intend to

propose the establishment of a low and uniform rate of postage throughout India. If this should eventually turn out to be the case, and if it should receive the sanction of Government, this commission of Post Office enquiry will prove by far the most interesting act of Lord Dalhousie's government, and entitle him to the lasting gratitude of the country. The financial risk, which may be involved in this scheme, can scarcely exceed £50,000, the whole of which will probably be made up by the increase of correspondence. But, supposing the greater portion of this sum to be irretrievably sacrificed by the reform, still it forms so small a fraction of the entire revenue of the country, consisting, as it does, of more than Twenty-seven millions sterling, that this pecuniary consideration cannot for a moment be supposed to present any obstacle to the adoption of the plan. When a similar improvement was proposed by Mr. Rowland Hill in England, the Ministry did not shrink from risking an annual sum of a Million sterling out of an income only twice as great as that of India. It is to be hoped that Lord Dalhousie will be induced to sanction this measure at once, without waiting for a reference to the Board of Controul, or the Court of Directors. We believe that his lordship has sufficient political nerve for so bold and decisive a step; and we are confident that he will meet with such general support, both in England and in this country, as to obviate all apprehension of his incurring the displeasure of the Indian authorities at home. Indeed the popularity of this measure will bring so much additional strength to the Government of the East India Company at this important crisis, that, we believe, the only feeling which the Court of Directors are likely to entertain, if it should be at once sanctioned, will be that of regret at having lost the pleasure of participating in the grant of the boon.

At the period of our last review, the agitation in the European community regarding the 'so-called' Black Acts had reached its climax. Of the Acts, which were rather arbitrarily strung together under this designation, the most important was that which was designed to subject British settlers in India to the jurisdiction of the Company's Criminal Courts, in the same manner as they had been subjected to the Civil Courts thirteen years before. A large meeting was held in Calcutta, at which the conduct of Government in depriving British subjects of their sacred and inalienable rights, was denounced with the utmost indignation; and it was determined to memorialize the authorities at Home and the British Parliament against these atrocious measures. A subscription was opened to meet the expenses which might be incurred in resisting them; and the sum of

30,000 Rs. was soon put down on paper—no part of which, however, has yet been called for. Two other Acts, the drafts of which were simultaneously promulgated, were placed in the same category with the Act for subjecting Englishmen to the Criminal Courts, and represented as parts of a deep plan for depriving British subjects in India of their rights and privileges. One of these Acts provided, that whenever British subjects desired to be exempted, as such, from the jurisdiction of the Company's Courts, they should plead and prove this privilege of exemption. But if the former Act should pass, and the exemption should be taken away altogether, this Act will necessarily fall to the ground; it is, therefore, the least important of the three. The third Act, included in this category, was intended to provide for the greater security of officers, when acting in their judicial capacity. It provided that no Judge, Magistrate, Justice of the Peace, Collector, or other person, acting judicially, should be liable to be sued in any Court for any act done, or ordered to be done, by him in the discharge of his judicial duty, whether or not within the limits of his jurisdiction, provided, that he, at the time, in good faith believed himself to have jurisdiction to do, or order, the act complained of. It was based on the well-known Act of the 21st of George the Third. It was suggested to the Legislative Council by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Sir Lawrence Peel, and was drawn up in strict accordance with his views. It was passed on the 4th of April last year, without exciting any attention; and, though described as the most atrocious of the three, has now been in force for nearly a twelve-month without entailing any inconvenience on British subjects, or filling any of the judicial officers of the Company with a feeling of presumption. We, therefore, naturally conclude, that the main objection to the proposed legislation had reference to the obnoxious Act, which placed British subjects under the Criminal Courts of the Company.

One of the most vehement objections, brought against this Act, was the absence of any enlightened and consistent code of Criminal Law in India. Our Criminal Law is a patch-work of Muhammadan precepts, British regulations, and legal precedents. The basis of it is the Muhammadan code, which we found in force, when we took charge of the administration in 1772 and commenced the construction of our infant establishments. The British Government, at that time, had little, if any, knowledge of the country or of the people, or of their habits, laws, or institutions; and, being anxious to avoid all violent changes, determined to continue the laws, which were then current—more especially as all the Criminal Courts, from

the highest to the lowest, were presided over by Muhammadan Judges. The Muhammadan code, which we thus preserved, was, with some few exceptions, a more mild and equitable law, than that which was at the time administered in England—before our laws had been defecated by the benevolent labours of Romilly and Mackintosh. Whatever was found to be inconsistent with reason or humanity, or with the improved principles of the age in the Muhammadan law, was gradually modified by the British Government; and thus the edifice of our criminal law in India, though based on a Muhammadan foundation, has been so materially changed by the superstructure, we have subsequently erected on it, that no Muhammadan lawyer could identify it with that, which prevails under any pure Mussulman Government. Still, this motley collection of laws is not a code in accordance with the progress, the spirit, or the wants of the age. This objection was urged, not only by the remonstrants, but also by the Judges of the Supreme Court; and it was felt by Government to carry so much weight, that it was considered desirable to promulgate an entirely new Criminal Code for the guidance of the courts, before British subjects were made subject to their jurisdiction.

There was, at this time, a Criminal Code, slumbering on the shelf of the Legislative Council, which had been compiled by the Law Commission thirteen years before, and which, in compliment to the genius of its President, was usually designated the Macaulay code. Mr. Macaulay, while legislative member of Council in India, had given his closest attention to its construction: and it embodied all those improved and enlightened principles of criminal jurisprudence, which had been elaborated by the labours of the ablest jurists in Europe and America. It shared the unpopularity, which had been attached to Mr. Macaulay's name, and was unscrupulously and indiscriminately assailed by his opponents—and, with such success, that, for several years, it was never mentioned but with the utmost contempt. His opponents have now sunk into obscurity, while his reputation has been gradually increasing in brilliancy. The feelings of that period of irritation have died out; and the code has now been examined on its own merits, and discovered to be admirably adapted to the wants of India. It has been subjected to the revision of the first lawyers in India, both in the service of the Crown and the Company, and their comments, five times as bulky as the code itself, have been published by order of Parliament. Lord Dalhousie, determined, if possible, to render the labours of Mr. Macaulay and his coadjutors subservient to the benefit of the

country. He placed the code in the hands of the Legislative Council on his departure for the North West Provinces in April last, and requested that they would fix a day in each week for the special purpose of revising it for publication. This labour the Council has long since completed: and the code will, at no distant period, be submitted to the Governor-General, and transmitted to the public authorities in England; and, if ordinary diligence be used, India may yet have the honor of producing the first Criminal Code in the British empire.

The Act for the protection of judicial officers, to which we have alluded above, was enacted, as we have stated, on the motion of Sir Lawrence Peel, who suggested to the Council to provide in a distinct Act, that no Judge, Magistrate, Justice of the Peace, Collector acting judicially, or other person acting as a Judge, should be liable to be sued for any act done, or ordered to be done, by him in the character of a Judge, whether he acted without jurisdiction or not, provided that he *bonâ fide* believed himself at the time to possess the jurisdiction which he exercised. The draft of the Act was accordingly drawn up and promulgated in the Official Gazette, for the information of the public; and it was transmitted, at the same time, to the various public functionaries, whom the Legislative Council is in the habit of consulting, before it ventures to pass any enactment. As might have been expected, the Act was viewed in different lights by different minds, and gave rise to very conflicting opinions. As the question has excited particular attention in the European community in India, we have been led to think, that a synopsis of the arguments which were brought forward, both in favour of the enactment, and in opposition to it, would not be considered uninteresting. We have made considerable exertions to obtain it, and are now enabled to present our readers with the result of our researches. This abstract may also be useful in conveying to the public some idea of the mode, in which our Indian legislation is generally conducted, and in manifesting the great care which is used to obtain the opinions of the ablest functionaries in India, before any Act is placed on the statute book. We must, however, caution the reader against supposing that any of these opinions were advanced by way of reply to other and opposite opinions. They were simultaneously and individually sent in by those, who had been consulted on the occasion.

On the one side it was observed, that, after the enactment of the draft, many an officer would weigh, with far less nicety than he had been accustomed to do, suggestions regarding his want of

jurisdiction; that he might become less careful in initiatory and ex-parte proceedings; and that, if the liability to actions for acts done in excess of jurisdiction was materially weakened (if not practically done away), there might be a necessity for increased vigilance, on the part both of the Executive Government and the higher courts of law, to keep Magistrates within the bounds of their duty. It was also said that the protection afforded by the Act was carried to an unreasonable extent, and that the proper limits, within which such protection should be confined, were those pointed out by the decision of the Privy Council in the case of *Calder v. Halkett*; that Judges, Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, and officers acting judicially were already sufficiently protected, and that the proposed Act would amount to little short of a legislative declaration that those functionaries could do no wrong; that the somewhat similar measure, passed in England for the protection of Magistrates, was of local requirement, and appeared to have been called for by the keen competition among legal practitioners, who, either from public spirit or the prospect of costs, could always be found ready to take up a case against a Magistrate exceeding his jurisdiction. Finally, it was remarked that the draft appeared imperfect as containing no provision, declaring judicial officers liable to a civil action for damages on account of illegal or oppressive acts done *malâ fide*.

On the other hand, it was observed that the proper check on judicial officers did not consist in their being made amenable to the ordinary Civil Courts in actions for damages; that the Company's Civil Courts could not extensively exercise the power of awarding damages against officers, employed in the same districts with themselves, without producing injurious consequences; and that, to check irregularities, arising out of a Magistrate's exceeding his jurisdiction, it was not desirable to continue a class of actions in the Supreme Court against judicial officers, which gave rise to much irritation, and which, if successful, resulted in awarding a very trifling sum by way of damages, and inflicting an excessive penalty in the shape of costs on the defendant, or on the Government which indemnified him. It was also observed that this Act, as far as the courts of the East India Company were concerned, made the law correspond with what was believed to be the intention of the legislature in England; that Justices of the Peace, as well as inferior Judges generally, were very inadequately protected; that the principle of the proposed Act was a correct one, inasmuch as the protection of the judicial officer proceeded on grounds of public policy alone, and had no reference to the personal dignity

or comfort of the Judge ; that its aim was to promote his judicial independence, a thing of inestimable value ; that the lower in station the Judge, the more likely was he to be brought, from timidity, under compliances, if likely to be harassed by vexatious litigants ; that, if the result of the Act was to render Judges negligent of their duty, it would overbalance any good which might otherwise result ; but that the Government might effectually repress the evil, if it should arise, by increased vigilance, and by removing careless, negligent and ignorant, as well as corrupt, Judges. It was also stated that the apprehensions, which were entertained by Europeans in India, that the proposed Act was one of a class, which would deprive them of redress in the Supreme Courts, was groundless, as every European and Native Judge of the Company's Courts was subject in an action of tort to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court ; and that a corrupt or oppressive use of authority, even when there was jurisdiction, would not be exempted from liability, either civil or criminal, by the proposed Act.

Among the notable events of the past year, we must not omit to mention the resignation of Sir Charles Napier, the Commander-in-Chief, and the novel circumstances, under which it took place. He came out to this country in the preceding year, to assume the command of the army, in consequence of the extraordinary panic, created by the disaster and disgrace of Chillianwallah, which was attributed more to the incompetency of Lord Gough, than to the want of courage in our troops. The Court of Directors were constrained, as much by the force of public opinion, as by the importunity of the Ministry, to overcome the repugnance they naturally felt towards one, who had heaped the most abusive epithets on them, and to despatch Sir Charles Napier to India to repair the errors of his predecessor. But, before he reached its shores, he learnt that the victory of Guzerat had completely broken the military power of the Sikhs ; and, before he arrived in the Punjab, he found that Lord Dalhousie had annexed the country to the British dominions, and completed all his arrangements for its administration. The two objects of laudable ambition, which Sir Charles Napier had set before him on leaving England—that of conquering and of governing the Punjab, as he had conquered and governed Scinde—were thus placed beyond his reach. He found himself with a large income, but no vocation such as he had been expecting ; and the disappointment appears to have exasperated his temper, never the most exemplary, and given an unfortunate bias to all his official intercourse.

The necessity of reducing the extraordinary allowances,

given to the troops who had been engaged in the conquest of the Punjab, was at this time forced on the consideration of the Government. They had been allowed, while in the field, the same amount of batta, which had been allotted to the troops serving in Scinde. These extra allowances involved an annual expenditure of more than Twenty lakhs of Rupees; and it was felt, that if it was allowed to become permanent after the province had been incorporated with the British dominions, an intolerable burden would be entailed on the finances. It was resolved, therefore, to take advantage of the relief of the regiments, cantoned in the Punjab in the winter of 1849-50, to effect the desired retrenchment. These allowances were, for obvious reasons, to be continued to the troops stationed beyond the Indus at Peshawur, but withheld from those, who were marching from our older provinces across the Sutlej into the Punjab. The measure was not sufficiently explained by commanding officers to all the corps; and a feeling of discontent, as might naturally have been expected, arose among some of them, when they perceived that they were not to receive the same sum, which had been enjoyed by their brethren whom they relieved. The 66th Regiment, marching into Umritsur, in February last year, exhibited a spirit, which was considered mutinous. Their misconduct on this occasion has been greatly exaggerated; but it was unquestionably necessary to repress in the bud any such spirit of disaffection. Happily, the corps was reduced to a state of subordination by a very slight exertion on the part of the officers. Sir Charles, however, with a view to the complete eradication of every symptom of disobedience, resolved to make an example of the corps, in which this disposition had been manifested. He hastened to Umritsur, and, at once, and of his own authority, disbanded the whole corps, and placed an irregular Gurkah corps on the roll in its stead. This act was, of course, beyond his individual authority: but Lord Dalhousie perceived that it was salutary, if not necessary, at the crisis which it was intended to meet, and, so far from reproving Sir Charles Napier for having taken upon himself to act on his own responsibility, gave this measure his full and entire approbation.

Soon after, however, another and more serious difficulty arose from an unnecessary assumption of authority by Sir Charles Napier, and led to discussions, which terminated in his abrupt resignation of office. We quote the particulars from one of the journals placed at the head of this article:—

By an old rule, which has been in existence for a long series of years, the native troops receive compensation, when the price of *atta* and other neces

sary articles exceeds a certain price. Sixteen seers per rupee for atta is, we think, the maximum. In the Punjab, atta was very dear, nine or ten seers for a rupee; ghee, dal, and other articles, correspondingly cheap. The Military Auditor General explained to Government some time ago, that the calculation for remuneration, as laid down in the rules, was not adhered to. The basis of it was, that a sepoy's food should not cost him more than three Rupees and a half, or half his pay. The Auditor General therefore stated, that the account should be in the nature of a debit and credit one; that is, that the loss on the atta, and the gain on other articles should go against each other; and that the difference was the sum he was entitled to. There is no doubt, we believe, that this is the correct rule; it was in this manner that the remuneration was calculated in Cabul. The Governor General in Council on this wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, requesting that the compensation might in future be calculated on this principle; but his Excellency, on receiving the communication, issued a Circular to the Generals and Brigadiers in command, to say that this was altogether a mistake, and that they were to make no difference in the system they had pursued. The Governor General, as might have been expected, felt no inconsiderable annoyance. He did not think fit to alter Sir Charles Napier's order: but he pointed out, that the instructions he had issued, as the head of the Government, were clear and explicit, and could admit of no doubt; and that if the Commander-in-Chief could thus set them aside, no order of Government could be of any avail.

This proceeding on the part of Sir Charles Napier was palpably unconstitutional. The duty of regulating the pay and allowances of the army belongs, in India, as it does also in England, to the Government of the country, and not to the Commander-in-Chief; any interference on his part is an encroachment on the province of the Governor General and his Council. Sir Charles Napier flared up at Lord Dalhousie's remonstrance, and, in a moment of petulance, sent in his resignation. The question was referred to the home authorities: but they took the same view of the character of this proceeding, which the Governor General had done: and, instead of endeavoring to soothe the Commander-in-Chief's irritated feelings, and soliciting him to remain, as he had expected, proceeded at once to appoint his successor. Sir Charles sailed down the Indus, and closed his Indian career by embarking for England from Bombay.

The year 1850 has also been distinguished above all others in the annals of British India, by the establishment of the principle of religious liberty throughout the whole of the country. We made a reference to this measure, while yet under consideration, in our review of the previous year; and we need not therefore farther revert to the history and character of the enactment, than to state, that the extinction of liberty of conscience under the British administration in India, for so long a period, arose entirely from our ignorance of the peculiar laws and institutions of the Hindu religion, when we entered for the first

time, on the duties of legislation, in 1772. It was then enacted, simply as a matter of justice, that all questions of Hindu inheritance should be determined by the Hindu law. Our legislators were totally ignorant of the fact, that, by the Hindu law, every one, who followed the dictates of his own conscience and renounced his ancestral creed, was doomed to the loss of his paternal inheritance, and reduced to beggary. We thus became, inadvertently, accessory to the violation of the most sacred principles of religious freedom. Lord William Bentinck, the most cautious of statesmen, but the most courageous of reformers, undertook to remove this opprobrium from our administration, as far as his authority extended. At the same time that he passed those regulations, by which the natives were admitted to share largely in the public administration, he ordained, in reference to the provinces at this presidency, that no man should forfeit any property or privilege by a change of creed, to which he would, but for that change, have been entitled. The Act, to which we now refer, has extended this enlightened principle to the rest of India, and abolished all those pains and penalties, which had hitherto been attached to the relinquishment of Hinduism. This measure, though in accordance with the enlarged and liberal views of the present age in England, is utterly repugnant to the principles of the Hindu and Muhammadan creeds, which are fortified by the same penal enactments, which so long continued to disgrace our statute book at home.

The enactment produced no sensation at Bombay. At Madras, where the profession of Hinduism is accompanied by a stern orthodoxy, which almost amounts to bigotry, meetings were held and adverse resolutions passed: but there was no Marquis of Tweedale to be identified with the measure, and the opposition to it, as compared with preceding agitations, was extremely languid and faint. In Calcutta, the great Babús expressed their decided disapprobation of the Act, though it did not affect them, as it was simply intended to extend the law, under which they had been living for eighteen years, to the rest of India. But it was supposed to aim at the encouragement of Christianity: and the most opposite parties—those, who treat the popular superstition with the utmost ridicule, and those, who are completely enslaved by it—united in opposition to the measure. Still, the opposition was of a very feeble character. It scarcely extended beyond the limits of the town. The Muhammadans, who were equally affected by the law, manifested a perfect indifference to the measure: and, although the Act was passed in March last, eight entire

months were suffered to elapse, before the memorial of the Inhabitants of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, as the Calcutta Memorial was pompously designated, was ready. It was a long and labored document, without point or spirit. It appeared much more like an attempt to save appearances, by issuing a manifesto against the progress of Christianity, than the earnest and impassioned appeal of men who felt that they had any thing to lose. The memorial has been sent home to England, and entrusted to the advocacy of Mr. Leith, formerly a Barrister of the Supreme Court in Calcutta: and it will probably be presented to Parliament, just at the time when the question of the papal aggression is under discussion, and the strongest determination is manifested by all parties in the House, not to permit even that provocation to lead to the revival of religious penalties. Of the fate of the appeal there can, of course, be no doubt.

Since this article was commenced, a case has been decided at the Bombay Presidency, which clearly illustrates the importance of the new law, and renders its abrogation absolutely impossible. A native had embraced Christianity, while his wife continued in the ranks of heathenism, and refused to give up his child. He appealed to the Civil Court; and the Native Judge, who presided in it, decided the case in his favour. His wife appealed the suit to the European Judge of the district, who reversed the decision of the lower court, and declared that the man, by embracing Christianity, had become an outcast, and had forfeited all his civil rights and privileges, and of course all claim to the guardianship of his children. The case was then appealed to the highest tribunal, the Sudder Court. Fortunately for the convert, the Act, establishing liberty of conscience through India, had been intermediately passed; and the Judges, upon the strength of its provisions, at once restored the child to the parent. This is the first and the only instance of the operation of the law since its enactment; and it has incontestibly demonstrated its necessity.

The establishment of the Small Cause Court in Calcutta belongs also to the present year. The original Court of Requests was instituted in Calcutta three years before the battle of Plassey, while Calcutta was yet but a factory, and all the territories belonging to the Honorable Company at this Presidency did not amount to eight square miles. Calcutta then possessed only a Mayor's Court, which had been set up in 1727; but, like the Supreme Court, which was subsequently substituted for it, the expense of its process was so insupportable, that a Court of Requests was erected by charter, for hearing and

determining all disputes, in a summary way, when the matter in litigation did not exceed five pagodas. The Court of Directors ordered that their own covenanted servants should preside in it, without any other remuneration than the "conviction that, by an honest and faithful discharge of duty, they might be a blessing to the country." The court was remodelled by an Act of Parliament in 1797, in which it was stated that the provisions, made by the charter of justice for the Court of Requests, had been found "beneficial and convenient." But Sir John Anstruther, the Chief Justice in Calcutta, who undertook to superintend the remodelling of the court under the Act, found that this representation was very wide of the truth. The court exhibited scenes of venality and oppression, such as were unexampled, even at that time, in any other part of India. No case could be brought to a decision without bribing the Native officers. The number of fictitious suits exceeded that of real suits. Defendants were summoned, who did not owe a farthing; and any man, who wished to annoy his neighbour, immediately resorted to this court, and put its process in operation. Even when decrees were passed, they were never executed. What else could have been expected from a tribunal, in which nineteen amateur and unpaid Judges presided? Civilians, who had returned from furlough, were directed, while waiting for some new appointment, to take a turn on the bench of the Court of Requests: and fourteen young members of the service, the oldest of whom was not twenty-one, assisted in passing its decisions. Sir John Anstruther at once swept away all this useless machinery, and prevailed on Government to appoint three able Judges, at 1,200 Rs. a month each. He manifested the deepest interest in the success of the court, laid down rules for its guidance, and watched over its working with a paternal anxiety. Under his fostering care, it became so popular and so useful, that thirty thousand suits were instituted in it in the course of four years; and the court was not only able to meet all its own expenses, but to contribute a lakh of Rupees to the treasury of Government. During the twenty years, which followed the remodelling of the court, a fund was accumulated from its fees, after the whole of its establishment had been paid, of not less than Seven lakhs of Rupees. Of this sum, half a lakh of Rupees were expended in the erection of a jail, which has been removed to make way for the new Medical College; Two lakhs and a half were made over to the Lottery Committee for municipal improvements; and Four lakhs have been entombed in the General Treasury, from whence there is no resurrection.

Since the year 1823, however, the court had never paid its expenses. Its utility had been in a great measure neutralized. Its jurisdiction had been contracted; and the cognizance of every kind of suit, except for simple debt, taken out of its hands. On one occasion, the commissioner of the court was brought up before the Supreme Court, and fined 500 Rs. for a mere error of judgment of much nicety. The operations of the court were crippled by this and other proceedings. The Government was urged by Mr. Macaulay, nearly fifteen years ago, to reform and improve the court; and strenuous efforts were repeatedly made by the Supreme Council to enlarge its jurisdiction, and to ameliorate its constitution: but these benevolent exertions were always thwarted by the predominance of professional influences in the councils of Leadenhall Street. The reformation, we now record, is to be traced to the progress of public opinion in England. The remonstrances of the law-ridden community in England had at length constrained the Ministry and the Parliament to grant the establishment of County Courts, in which suits of small amount could be adjudicated with speed, simplicity and economy. The Court of Directors felt that, while England resounded with gratitude for this boon, they could not continue to refuse the same blessing to India, without essentially damaging their own reputation. On the last occasion, therefore, on which they threw out the measure proposed by the Government of India for the reform of our Court of Requests, they are understood to have offered to sanction the construction of a court at the three Presidencies, upon the same principle as the English County Courts. The Legislative Council again set to work upon a new Act—the third—and drew up the scheme of a court, in every way suited to the wants of the metropolis, and in some respects in advance of the courts in England. At length, after ten years of alternate hope and disappointment, the Small Cause Court was established in Calcutta on the 1st of May, 1850. The two Judges of the Court of Requests, Mr. Brietzcke and Babú Russomoy Dutt, were continued as commissioners of the new court; and Mr. Reddie, formerly Chief Justice of St. Lucia, who had been driven from his appointment by the Colonial Office, in consequence of some disagreement with the Governor, was constituted the first Judge of it. It has worked well, and given the highest satisfaction to the community: and it is to be hoped that in due time, when the experiment is sufficiently mature, its jurisdiction will be enlarged to 1,000 Rs., and that the beneficial effect of this system of cheap and expeditious justice will be extended throughout the country.

The Ganges Canal is the most magnificent, and the most useful of all the works, which the British Government has ever undertaken in India, whether we regard the difficulties attending it, or the magnitude of the benefits it is certain to confer on the country through which it passes. For this great undertaking we are indebted to the genius and indefatigable exertions of Colonel Cautley. The best and latest description, we possessed, of this undertaking was that furnished by Lieut. Baird Smith of the Engineers, in his article on "Canals of Irrigation" in this *Review* (No. 23, pp. 150—181), and in his pamphlet on the agricultural resources of the Punjab in the middle of 1849.

The greatest work in this department, the Grand Ganges Canal, projected and superintended by Major Proby Cautley of the Bengal artillery, is now in progress of execution, and will be completed in about five years. It will have a discharge of 6,750 cubic feet per second, and is expected to cost about 1,250,000*l.* Its total length, navigable throughout, is 898 miles; and it will furnish irrigation to a tract of country, between the rivers Ganges and Jumna, having an area of 5,400,000 acres. Its annual income from sale of water, &c., is estimated at about 160,000*l.*; and the increase of land revenue, which will be derived from the country under its influence, will not be less than 240,000*l.* per annum.*

The works of the Ganges Canal are of a magnitude unprecedented in India. The great aqueduct across the Solani river alone will require for its construction nearly ninety millions of the large bricks employed in this country, and a million cubic feet of lime, employing nearly 6,000 men daily, for five years, on the masonry and earth work connected with it. The other works are of proportionate magnitude; and the whole, when finished, will form a monument worthy of our national character, and will leave lasting proof that the British Government in India is not so unmindful of the great interests committed to its charge, as some would desire to have it believed. The works are advancing with great energy; and, to his honour be it stated, that, even during the enormous financial pressure of the late campaign, the Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, would admit of no check being given to an undertaking calculated to promote so materially the best interests at once of the Government and the people.

But this estimate of £1,250,000 made in 1845, was insufficient to carry out the work in all the details, which practical experience with the mountain torrents in the upper portion of the canal has suggested. The calculation has accordingly been revised: and the sum, now required, is estimated at Rs. 15,558,000, that is, rather more than a million and a half sterling: and we have every reason to believe that this increased estimate has received the sanction of Government. The canal, according to the last and most accurate statement, will occupy 765 miles, which is divided as follows. The main trunk line extends from Hurdwar to a point below Allyghur, 180 miles.

* In his revised estimate in the *Review*, Lieut. Smith estimates the addition to the Government revenue at £350,000.

At this point, the canal is divided into two channels of nearly equal capacity; the left runs a course of 170 miles in length, to the Ganges river at Cawnpore; while the right channel pursues a course of about 165 miles, and joins the Jumna, in the neighbourhood of Humírpore. From the Main Trunk Canal, again, one branch extends 150 miles to Futtyghur; another, fifty miles to Bolundshuhur; and a third, fifty miles to Coel.

The first, or northern, division of the Main Trunk Canal, extending twenty-four miles in length, is that portion of the canal in which is included the low, or Khadir, lands of the Ganges. The line of canal is crossed by four principal mountain torrents, and many minor lines of drainage. All the difficult and most expensive works are included in this section; and, on the 31st of December, last year, about Thirty lakhs of Rupees had already been expended on works alone. The most important of the works in this division is that connected with the Solani torrent. The masonry aqueduct consists of fifteen arches, or openings, of fifty feet each. This work is connected with the earthen aqueduct, the masonry revetments of which extend across the valley on one side 10,101 feet in length, and on the other, 2,118. At these terminal points are bridges spanning the canal, with ghauts for the convenience of men and cattle. The quantity of masonry included in these works, is about ten millions of cubic feet, and that of the earth work about seventy millions. The estimated cost of these works, and of others carried out in the execution of the principal works, is about Twenty-seven lakhs of Rupees, of which about Thirteen lakhs had been expended on the 31st of December last. Connected with these extensive works, there is a rail, or tram, road extending to a length, including branches, of about five miles. Upon this road numerous ballast waggons ply, drawn by horses, or propelled by men. Earth for the aqueduct is brought by these means, and by means of branch rails, to the several brick manufactories from a great distance; material is thus laid down at the works at a very cheap rate. In the present year, a locomotive engine will, it is supposed, be at work. The excavation of the channel is very nearly complete throughout the whole length of this division, in which ground was first broken in April 1842: but the work was soon after interrupted by the war of retribution. Owing to this and subsequent circumstances, the works were not prosecuted with vigor before the cold season of 1847-48. We should also mention that, of the estimate for the whole of the original works—establishment and ordinary repairs excepted—amounting to about 142 lakhs, the works in this first division of twenty-four miles will absorb about Fifty-seven lakhs and a half of Rupees.

The second division of the Main Trunk Canal extends about eighty-six miles, and requires not less than 826 millions of cubic feet of earth work. Of the channel excavation, sixty miles are already complete, sixteen nearly so, and ten are just commenced on. Of the seven masonry falls, four have a water-way of 200 feet each, and three of 150 feet each; two of the largest are complete, and the others are in various stages of forwardness. In this division, there are also twenty-six masonry bridges, varying in capacity from three arches of 55 feet, to three arches of 45 feet each. Work was first commenced in this division in 1844, but it was not pushed on with vigor before the winter of 1847-48. The sum expended on it, to the close of last year, was Nineteen lakhs.

The third and last division of the Main Trunk Canal extends seventy miles in length: but the works, though important, are of diminished magnitude. It comprises about 375 millions of cubic feet of earth work. Of the excavation forty-two miles are complete, and eight miles in progress. Of twenty-three masonry bridges, varying from three arches of 45 feet, to three arches of 40 feet, twelve are nearly complete, and the remainder in various stages of progress.

The left channel, as we have stated, extends from the southern terminus of the Main Trunk Canal to Cawnpore. It will run 170 miles in length, and require 403 millions of cubic feet of earth work, and fifty-seven masonry bridges, varying from three arches of 33 feet each, to a single arch of 25 feet, together with locks and buildings at the terminus. Of the excavation, eighty-six miles, and of the bridges, twenty-one miles, are in various stages of progress, but no portion of the works has been as yet completed. It was commenced in the cold weather of 1848-49, but various causes have operated to retard its progress. These have now been in a great measure removed, and it is hoped that the operations will proceed with increased energy. Of the right channel, which extends about 165 miles to Humírpore on the Jumna, about forty miles have been begun upon: but, of the sixty-six bridges which will be required, not one has yet been commenced. In fact, the work in this division only commenced last year. The three branches have not yet been accurately laid down. It is expected that water will be admitted into the main lines, in the year 1853. We have only farther to remark that, of the sum of Rs. 1,55,85,000, which is the present estimate for the whole of this magnificent undertaking, 63,44,000 Rs. had been expended at the close of last year, leaving about Ninety-two lakhs yet to be provided by Government.

In our Summary of events for 1849, we gave a brief sketch

of the most important measures which had been accomplished during that year in the Punjab. Our review for the past year, would be incomplete without a similar retrospect. The new and old territory, entrusted to the government of a Board of Administration, whose head-quarters are at Lahore, extends, as we formerly explained, from the banks of the Jumna to the Solimani range. It comprises an area of not less than 130,000 square miles, containing a population, which has been officially estimated at upwards of eight millions of souls. The old territory, that is, the districts east of the Beas and Sutlege, nearly the whole of which was acquired during, and subsequent to, the Sutlege Campaign, yielded, for the official year 1849-50, Rs. 69,00,000, at a cost of Rs. 26,35,000, exclusive of military expenses. "Punjab Proper," in other words, the territory, annexed to British India by the edict of March 1849, yielded for the same period, being the first year after annexation, ending with the 30th of April, 1850, the sum of Rs. 1,34,81,362. While all the local expenses (that is, all but those of the regular army) have fallen short of seventy-six lakhs of rupees—thus giving a clear nett income for the first year, of Fifty-eight lakhs of rupees, for a country, which some of the ablest men in India have asserted could never pay!

The following may be considered a faithful abstract of the different heads of revenue :—

	Old Territory.	New Territory.	Total.
1 Land Revenue	52,24,052 11 2	1,01,90,418 0 7	1,54,04,465 11 9
2 Excise Collections, Stamps, &c.....	2,59,777 15 8	3,40,448 7 9	6,00,226 7 5
3 Punjab Customs abolished	0 0 0	5,56,405 9 9	5,56,405 9 9
4 Salt Revenue, Current and Arrears ..	4,25,449 9 4	10,31,806 3 4	14,56,845 12 8
5 Tribute	4,88,336 0 10	17,570 11 7	5,05,915 12 5
6 Toshakhana, Miscellaneous, &c.	1,16,068 5 10	9,84,816 2 8	11,00,884 8 6
7 Post Office	1,72,645 2 9	1,77,545 8 0	3,50,190 10 9
8 Local, Road and Ferry Funds	2,14,153 6 9½	1,89,757 6 6	3,97,910 13 3½
Grand Total.....	69,00,483 4 4½	1,34,91,362 2 2	2,03,81,845 6 6½

An analysis of the expenditure gives the following details :—

Civil	10,00,498
Military Police.....	7,34,596

Expenses of the old Territory.. 26,34,994

Civil and Political expenses	41,72,789
Arrears of pay to old Durbar establishments at Lahore	15,02,040
Pay of Punjab Corps and Guides	17,52,522
For local improvements	1,19,130

Expenses of the new Territory 75,46,481

Total expenses for new and old Country 1,01,81,475

Thus it will be seen that the whole of the territories under the Board of Administration yielded, for the first year of management, 2,03,81,845, at a cost of Rs. 1,01,81,475, giving a nett revenue of Rs. 1,02,00,209, or a trifle above One Million and Twenty Thousand pounds sterling. For the "Punjab Proper" the pension list does not exceed Rs. 3,68,368; the smallness of which is accounted for by the fact, that, until the old soldiers and servants were paid up and pensioned, they were allowed their full pay. The whole expenditure, in the form of arrears of all kinds, was no less than Rs. 27,71,587, being upwards of one-third the cost of management. The fact, that but a trifle above one lakh of rupees was expended on local improvements, arose from the circumstance that little could be done in the first year beyond surveys and estimates for public utility.

For the current official year, *i. e.* the second year of British management, ending with the 30th of April, 1851, the estimate of income is not less than that for the year under review, while the expenditure may be estimated as follows:—

Civil Establishment.....	44,00,000
Pensions	10,00,000
Customs, &c.....	8,00,000
Arrears of old establishments.....	10,00,000
Punjab corps, camel, and guide corps.....	21,50,000
Public works	5,00,000
Miscellaneous expences	6,50,000
	<hr/>
	100,00,000
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By adding to this sum the following items for military expenditure, we obtain the probable extra cost entailed by the annexation of the Punjab, exclusive, however, of commissariat, and building expenses:—

Three European corps.....	16,50,000
Two hundred men for 75 Native Infantry corps....	15,00,000
Peshawur batta	6,00,000
	<hr/>
	37,50,000
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The expenditure on account of arrears will probably cease altogether by the commencement of the third year, while the pension list and the cost of public works will be increased. If Government, therefore, make no reduction in the batta at Peshawur, or in the number of men in the Native Infantry corps, both of which we are inclined to think might gradually

be reduced, the permanent expense of annexation will probably average 131 lakhs of rupees, thus:—

Military expences	37,50,000
Punjab corps, camel and guide corps.....	21,50,000
Civil establishments, customs, &c.....	47,00,000
Pensions	15,00,000
Public works of utility	10,00,000
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Total permanent cost	131,00,000
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Against a revenue of 140,00,000

The revenue, however, will gradually encrease by the lapse of life jaghirs, which amount to a considerable sum, and by the returns which the canals may be expected to yield. The heavy list of pensions will also be diminished, as the greater number of them have been given only for life. For the whole territory, new and old, the land-tax is expected to yield, in round numbers, 1,60,00,000; the excise and other indirect sources of revenue, 40,00,000.

During the current year, much progress has been made in reforms, tending to improve the material condition of the mass of people. The assessment and record of the land-tax have been completed by summary settlements, which will continue in force, until the general survey and revised assessment of the country is completed. The actual amount of revenue, now paid by the agriculturists is less than that collected under the late rule, by a sum equal to from fifteen to thirty per cent.: while the expenses of collection, which under the Durbar was excessive, do not exceed six per cent. Thus, though we tax the country more lightly than formerly, the nett revenue accruing to the State is fully equal to what was collected under Sikh rule. In the heaviest taxed lands, the assessments, we understand, do not exceed one-fourth of the gross produce: while in poor, remote and thinly-peopled districts, it falls as low as a fifth, a sixth, and even an eighth, of the produce. The abolition of export, import and town duties has also had a similar beneficial tendency: while the loss to the State, or at any rate, a large portion of it, promises to be rapidly made good. The salt tax, which consists in an excise of two rupees per maund of 80lbs. on all Cis-Indus salt, yielded for the first year upwards of eight lakhs of rupees, which it is confidently anticipated will rise to fourteen lakhs for the current year. By the abolition of customs duties, a considerable impetus has been given to the northern trade, as well as to that of English piece goods.

It has been objected, we think on insufficient grounds, that the abolition of the customs duty was an unnecessary sacrifice of revenue. But, if it be borne in mind that the greater portion of the income derived from the customs must necessarily have been relinquished, and that the remainder could only have been collected by a system harassing and inquisitorial in the extreme, it must be allowed that the change was not injudicious.

Prior to the annexation of the country, the Punjab customs on exports and imports were derived from three different sources, which yielded an aggregate revenue of about Six lakhs of rupees annually. The duties on the Northern trade were collected by a line of posts along the Indus. Another line along the base of the Hills intercepted the trade between Maharaja Golab Sing's territory and the Punjab: and a third line on the Sutlej and Beas brought under taxation the traffic to and from the eastward. These last duties yielded a revenue of about Two lakhs of rupees per annum, the greater portion of which was derived from taxes on British goods, which had already paid duty on their importation by sea. It is obvious, moreover, that, on the annexation of the Punjab, these duties became mere transit duties, and, as such, could no longer be levied with any degree of justice. The line along the foot of the Hills did not yield more than Rs. 30,000 per annum, and was not worth retaining. There remained then but the northern line, which yielded from two lakhs to two lakhs and a half per annum. A considerable portion of this revenue arose from export duties on indigo and similar articles, the growth of the Punjab, and therefore formed no inconsiderable impediment to our own trade and agriculture. On indigo, in particular, which yielded the largest item, the duty pressed so severely as to render its suspension at an early date after annexation indispensable. Under the least favourable view of the subject, we gave up but a gross revenue of two lakhs and a half of rupees per annum, the greater proportion of which was derived from a tax on the industry of our own territory. We consider that the arrangement was wise and politic. It has given occupation to a large number of Muhammadans on the frontier, who, from their habits and prejudices, are better adapted to trade, than to any other calling, except perhaps that of military service: and there can be no question that the change was highly popular.

The excise on Cis-Indus salt, as we have already said, yielded the first year Eight lakhs, and for the second year, is expected to yield Fourteen lakhs of rupees; but, of this sum, perhaps one-sixth should be deducted for the expenses of collection. Under

the Sikhs the excise actually yielded no more than a nett revenue of Four lakhs of rupees; but, on the rate of duty which then obtained, might probably have risen to Six lakhs under their management.

As some misconception appears still to exist regarding the salt excise in the Punjab, and as this form of raising revenue has been, moreover, for some time, a fertile topic of discussion, we will add a few words on this subject. At the period of annexation, the people of the Punjab, as regards the salt tax, were divided into three classes, those of the Trans-Indus states, those of the country lying between the Indus and the Beas, and those east of the Beas and Sutlej. As regards the first class, they obtained their salt from the mines in the Kohat and Khuttuck districts, where the duty at the mines was nearly nominal, and where it is still very light. But as this salt travelled, it became, under the old system, subject to various imposts in the shape of town and transit duties. Thus, before it had passed the Peshawur valley, it was thrice taxed, and, if introduced within the town of Peshawur, it was taxed a fourth time—the duty being collected by a farmer, who had the sole right to retail the article. All these duties were swept away by the new system; and a single tax was substituted, in the shape of an excise of two annas on the maund at the Bahadúr Khail mine, and of four annas at the other Trans-Indus mines. The difference in favour of the Bahadúr Khail mine arose from the circumstance, that the merchants, engaged in that trade, had before them a long and expensive land journey.

These arrangements have been assailed by two parties, the one insisting that the change was unjust and oppressive, and thus led to the outbreak in the Kohat defiles; the other reproaching Government with having tamely given up a considerable revenue. Neither accusation is just. The Affredies had broken their engagements, and plundered and murdered travellers and traders, previous to any change in the salt duties. The tax on salt can be hardly said to affect these wild tribes as consumers. Setting aside its cheapness, salt is so abundant, cropping out in various directions all over these hills, that, so far as their own wants are concerned, the poorer classes could collect enough for their consumption from the surface of the ground. The Affredies, Wuziris and other hill tribes, looked on the salt tax solely, as it affected their trade with the countries they supplied as carriers. And it may be very reasonably concluded that a single excise duty of two or four annas, on the maund

of 80lbs. weight, was more advantageous to them than three or four separate duties at different localities, the delay and annoyance incident to the collection of which would usually entail a greater loss, than the whole sum of the excise duty at the mines. On the other hand, as regards the argument that we needlessly sacrificed revenue, no individual, with any pretension to the reputation of a statesman, will for a moment contend in the abstract for this or that amount of duty. A high duty was impolitic, because the collection of it would have cost more than the income derived from it. A moderate tax is paid readily and of free will. Considering the physical difficulties of the country in which the mines lie, the warlike character of its inhabitants, their poverty, the distant trade which they carry on, and the large military establishments which a high duty would have rendered it necessary to maintain on the spot, it was clear to all, who had studied the subject, that a low excise would be the most profitable arrangement. The possession of these mines will go far to meet the expenses of the occupation of the Kohat district, which it is impossible that we could ever safely abandon, so long as we retain the Peshawur valley: while it affords us a ready mode of coercing a contumacious tribe, by debarring them from the salt trade. If we gave up the salt duty to-morrow, it would only embolden our enemies to new and more audacious demands.

To return, however, to the general salt question. Under the Sikh rule, salt, in the Cis-Indus tracts, paid an excise duty of two rupees the Punjabi maund, which is equal to ninety-eight pounds avoirdupois weight. Our duty is two rupees on the Government maund of eighty pounds. We have thus raised the duty a trifle more than eighteen per cent. : and salt now sells at a price, varying from 26 to 34lbs. the rupee, between the Indus and Beas river, with reference to the distance from the mines. The increase of duty has increased the price of salt, within the tract above described, on an average about one-fourth; while it will have increased the nett revenue from Six to Fourteen lakhs of rupees.

This considerable increase has arisen from various causes, among which are the general extension of the market, and the superior probity and vigilance of the establishments, by which fraud in serving out salt to the dealers, as well as smuggling generally, have been almost totally suppressed. Under the Durbar, the mines were farmed out; and the farmer, who enjoyed a monopoly, sold as much salt as possible at the lowest price which

would remunerate him. Hence the price of the article has risen since the annexation of the country in a greater proportion than the duty. The Lahore Government had also for many years been in the habit of granting assignments on the salt mines in the form of pensions, chiefly to religious characters. These parties were entitled to receive a given number of maunds per annum, gratis: and this salt, being subsequently brought into the market by them, came into competition with that which had paid duty, and tended to keep down the market price.

The third class, affected by the salt arrangements, were the inhabitants of the districts east of the Beas and Sutlej rivers. These comprehend the Jullunder Doab, the Cis-Sutlej States, and the whole Alpine region from the banks of the Ravi to the neighbourhood of the Jumna. In this vast tract the price of Lahore salt ruled as high as from 12 to 16lbs. the rupee; for, previous to annexation, this salt, besides paying the Durbar excise at the mines, was subject to a duty of two rupees the maund of eighty pounds. This duty was collected at the custom-houses, posted along the line in the vicinity of the Beas and Sutlej, which extended up to the Hills opposite Bossowly in Maharaja Golab Sing's territory. The sum of the duties thus paid on salt in the districts above mentioned was equal to Rs. 3-10 on the Government maund. Simultaneous with the abolition of the Punjab customs, and the increase of duty at the mines, arrangements were made for the removal of the Beas and Sutlej line, which taxed salt and sugar on exportation, and cotton on importation. The effect of this change, by which Government gave up a revenue of five lakhs and a half of rupees, one-third of which was expended in the collection, has been to lower the price of salt by full one-third, and to make cotton and sugar free. The high price of salt in the Trans-Sutlej Territory, since the Sutlej war, was gradually diverting much of the trade from our territory into that of Golab Sing, and increasing the demand for salt from the little state of Mundi, which lies along the right and left banks of the Beas, north of Hoshearpore and Nadoun. This salt is very impure; it has been ascertained by analysis to contain full half its weight of earth, and is not generally used beyond the vicinity of the Alpine region, and, even there, chiefly for cattle. It was gradually becoming diffused through the plains, but has now been contracted within its ancient limits. To sum up in a few words the result of the fiscal arrangements, as regards the customs

in the Punjab, we may state that trade in every article of consumption within the newly annexed territory is made free; that the price of salt—exclusive of the Trans-Indus, where it averages the former price—has been raised by one-fourth, and now sells at from 34 to 36lbs. the rupee, and that in our old territory, the price of this necessary article of consumption has been reduced by about one-third, and now sells at from 20 to 22lbs. the rupee. Cotton and sugar, the only articles besides salt, on which duty was levied since the Sutlej war, have also escaped duty. The sacrifice made by Government in these great changes will not exceed a nett revenue of from four to six lakhs of rupees.

To return, however, to the general administration of the Punjab. A powerful and efficient Police has been organized for the security of life and property. This force may be divided into two classes, the organized, or Military, Police, and the Town and Rural Police. In the old territory, one corps of the irregular cavalry, which is borne on the military rolls, is placed at the disposal of the civil officers, and relieved every three years. This was an arrangement introduced by the late Governor-General; but it does not work very well. The corps is necessarily broken up into detachments; and this is injurious to military discipline, and to the general efficiency of the sepoys: while this constant change prevents their taking that pride and interest in their duty, without which it cannot be well performed. These changes moreover prevent the men from acquiring that knowledge of the people and of the nature of the country, which is so necessary to a policeman.

There are also four regiments of locals, which were raised in 1846 by Lord Hardinge, and placed under the civil power. The men of these corps are chiefly inhabitants of the Cis and Trans-Sutlej states; so that such regiments afford employment for a considerable number of the warlike youth of the country, and give us the advantage of their local knowledge, and their acquaintance with the peculiarities of the district and its inhabitants. The expense of the four local corps of infantry is Rs. 5,41,225, and of the corps of cavalry Rs. 1,93,371, the latter being paid by the military department. In addition to this force, the ordinary Police consists of about 1,800 men; and the cost of this establishment may be set down at Rs. 1,50,000 annually.

For the service of the annexed territory, or “Punjab Proper,” containing probably upwards of six millions of souls, who inhabit a tract of 80,000 square miles, there are six regiments

of organized Police, and twenty-seven rissalahs of horse, besides Town and Rural Police. The force may be thus estimated :—

	Men.
Six Regiments,	4,800
Twenty-seven Rissalahs,... ..	2,700
Detective Police,	6,000
	<hr/>
	13,500
	<hr/>

The whole cost does not fall short of Thirteen lakhs of rupees yearly.

The organized Police, horse and foot, consisting of 7,500 men, are regularly armed and equipped, and are under the superintendence of a Commandant and two Police Captains, who are British officers. Of the six battalions, four are old Sikh regiments, who remained faithful during the late war; the other two have been newly raised. Each regiment has its own Native Commandant. The Police horse are selections from the Ghorchuras of the Durbar, who did good service during the war. This force consists of Muhammadans, Sikhs and Hindus. In the cavalry, the Sikhs perhaps predominate; in the infantry, the Muhammadans.

The respective duties of the two forces, organized and detective, may be thus distinguished. The infantry furnish guards for jails and treasuries, escorts for civil officers, and for treasure in transit. They also provide guards for such forts, as it may be considered expedient to keep up on the frontier, but which are not held by the military, as well as for the gates of large towns, like Lahore and Umritsir. They are also ready to turn out and reinforce the Detective Police at the shortest warning. Parties of the mounted Police are posted on the different high roads, which they patrol, and they further aid the Detective Police in the pursuit and capture of robbers and other dangerous characters.

The Detective Police are the town and rural force. They are employed in patrolling in and round towns, and along the high roads. They investigate and report on crime; track and arrest offenders; collect supplies for troops; watch ferries; collect boats for the passage of rivers; escort criminals from the interior of the country to the courts of the magistrates, and serve processes. Their officers furnish daily diaries of all information, which they may acquire; they keep a record of all that occurs within their divisions; and lastly, they form the link of communication between the magistrate and that useful body, the village watchmen.

Of the efficiency of these Police arrangements as a whole, we may judge from the fact, that, while we now write, the jails in the Punjab do not contain less than 5,000 convicted offenders; that, during the past two years, upwards of 150 of the most desperate dacoits and marauders have already expiated their crimes on the scaffold, and that treble that number have been sentenced to banishment. It is not pretended that crime has ceased in the Punjab; so long as vice, poverty, and misery exist, this is impossible: but we think it may be safely asserted that peace and security, such as is not exceeded in any part of India, such as the Punjab has not known for centuries, now prevail in that country. As an illustration of these remarks, we may draw attention to the remarkable facility with which the population of the country were disarmed by the Police, who have collected and sent in little short of 200,000 stand of arms of various descriptions, among which were upwards of fifty pieces of cannon. Many of the magistrates are living in the interior of the country, and carrying on their duties at a distance from any military force, in perfect security.

As regards the military arrangements in the Punjab, the distribution of the regular troops is essentially that which the late Commander-in-Chief sanctioned. There have been a few changes, some of them hardly for the better. The large force at Seroki, west of Wuzirabad, is about to be transferred to Sealkote—a position in every respect advantageous as regards salubrity, but rather too near to the territory of the Maharaja Golab Sing. We are inclined to think that the extensive plain, south of Guzeranwallah, would have proved an equally healthy and a better military position. Guzeranwallah is on the high road, which runs from Lahore towards Peshawur; it is well and centrically situated, so as effectually to coerce the inhabitants of the Rechna Doab, to reinforce Lahore, to cover the passage of the Chenab, and to draw supplies from the towns of Raninuggur, Sealkote, Guzeranwallah, and Wuzirabad. Sealkote on the contrary is almost in a corner, and so near Jummoo, that, in the event of a war with the Maharaja, no portion of its force could be safely spared for service elsewhere. In the first Sutlej war, we found Ferozepore to be too close to our neighbours; and the same objection applies to Sealkote. In the event of a quarrel with Maharaja Golab Sing, he might throw the whole weight of his power on one division of our army, long before it could be reinforced.

The wisdom of the change of the Lahore cantonment from Anarkulli to Mean Mir is very questionable, especially as

the site, which has been selected, is so distant from the city. In 1847, '48 and '49, Anarkulli was remarkably healthy. The year 1850 was a sickly year throughout India; and the troops at Mean Mir suffered equally with those at Anarkulli. The latter station was also much too crowded, especially in the European barracks. The new cantonment is full six miles from the nearest gate of the city, seven from the civil station, and nearly eight from the citadel. It does not appear judicious, especially in a new country, to separate the military and civil establishments by so great a distance. The presence of the one is essential to the security and confidence of the other. At a distance of seven miles, the troops will be inconvenienced by their distance from the treasury and the magistrate's court. The station is likely to lose much as it regards good roads and shady trees and similar improvements, to be expected from the civil power; while the latter will be deprived of much of the security, which the presence of the military confer. Anarkulli possesses a magnificent soldier's garden, two ball courts, excellent public bazars, and good roads planted on both sides. We may safely affirm that in ten years the new cantonments will not present so flourishing an aspect as the old one.

The border districts on the frontier, stretching from Kohat to Mithankote, a distance of about 400 miles, were, in the first instance, as the reader is aware, occupied and defended by such portions of the old Durbar force as remained faithful. These have now been nearly all disbanded, or absorbed into the Police force. The border is now held by the "Punjab Corps," which the Governor-General raised after the annexation, and by the camel corps transferred from Scinde. The Punjab force, as is well known, consists of ten corps—five of infantry, five of cavalry and three batteries of six guns each—the whole commanded by Brigadier Hodgson, one of the best soldiers of the Bengal army. The final distribution of troops is not yet fully determined; but they will probably not much differ from the following detail:—

	CORPS.		
	<i>Infantry.</i>	<i>Cavalry.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
District of Kohat	2 Corps.	1	6
Bunnú	1	1	6
Dehra Ismael Khan	1	1	0
Dehra Ghazi Khan and Mithankote	1	2	6
	5	5	18

One corps of "Punjab" infantry has been reserved for

service in Hazara; and its place is supplied by the camel corps above alluded to. Besides this force, two of the six Police corps and seven hundred of the mounted Police have been allotted to the border. Brigadier Hodgson is now carrying out the details of the frontier system of defence under the Board of Administration. Under his auspices we are sanguine that a border foray will soon become a feat of rare and desperate achievement, if not altogether a matter of history. So efficient already are the arrangements in that quarter, that the utmost tranquillity has existed throughout the year. The only incursion from the hills, beyond a mere row for cattle lifting, was met and repulsed in the Bunnú valley in November last, when the assailants suffered considerably.

The state of the Kohat district, which lies between the province of Peshawur and the Derajat, has been more satisfactory than might have been anticipated. After the affair in February 1850, when Sir Charles Napier marched through the defiles leading to Kohat with a force, and dispersed the Affredies who opposed his passage, they sued for peace and forgiveness for the past. That affair, as is well known, did not result in humbling the pride of these fierce mountaineers, who, though they suffered to a certain extent, inflicted probably an equal loss on our troops. In fact, they affected to consider that they had been successful in repelling our attacks; which, though doubtless a delusion on their parts, was not altogether unnatural, considering the little damage we inflicted, and the celerity, with which we passed through the defiles on the return to Peshawur. Fearing, however, that a second and more systematic attack, and with greater numbers, might follow, and knowing that the harvest time was approaching, when their crops could not fail to suffer in the event of hostilities, they made submission through the heads of their clans, who came to Peshawur for that purpose.

The terms, they received, were essentially those they had formerly accepted, and which were in force at the time of the annexation. They bound themselves to keep up a given number of men for the protection of the pass, and to become responsible for all loss suffered by traders and travellers, who may be plundered in their passage through the defiles. On these conditions we pay them Rs. 6,000 per annum. On their again violating their engagements, we excluded them from the Kohat and Peshawur valleys, by which they were deprived of all the advantages of the salt trade, as well as of the market at Peshawur for the sale of their hill products. These measures

had the desired effect; and they have since adhered to their engagements with some degree of good faith. How long this may last, it is difficult to say. In the mean time it is to be hoped, that we are slowly gaining a knowledge of the country, and of the means by which its inhabitants may hereafter be coerced, should that necessity arise. It has been proposed to fortify the whole pass from end to end. If this can be done with any reasonable expenditure of labour and money, it is clearly desirable. But, while doing so, we must keep a little army in the field; and it is by no means very clear that the measure would be effectual. Throughout the defiles water is scarce, and only procurable at the bottom of the hills; whereas the towers, required for its protection, must be planted on high and commanding points. Reservoirs, in which rain water could be collected, can no doubt be made; but the supply from this source would be scanty and precarious.

The gradual withdrawal of the dead currencies is steadily progressing. The large expenditure, consequent on the location of upwards of 50,000 regular troops, besides other establishments, and the extensive public works now in progress, will greatly facilitate this measure. The expenditure of Bombay exceeds its income by full half a million of money. This deficit has hitherto been made good from Calcutta and Madras. But remittances of the old coinage can now be made with advantage, direct from Lahore by water, to re-appear in the shape of "Company's" Rupees from the Bombay mint.

During 1850, considerable progress has been effected in public works intended to facilitate communication, to open up distant markets, to increase the fertility of the soil, and to secure the harvests as much as possible from the vicissitudes of seasons. Upwards of 1,000 miles of road have been surveyed and marked out. From Putankote, the northern extremity of the Bari Doab, to Umritsir, and thence by Lahore to Múltán, a good road has been made, on which it is already proposed to run carriages to convey the post. The great military road from Lahore to Peshawur, which from the Jhelum to the latter city runs through one of the most difficult countries in India, is now in progress. The estimates, exceeding fifteen lakhs of rupees, have already received the conditional sanction of Government. From Rawul Pindi to Mari on the Indus, opposite Kalabagh, a distance of 110 miles, an excellent road has been made which will enable Government to reinforce the Derajat from the line of military stations along the northern high road. Plans and estimates for a great canal, at a cost of full half a million sterling,

have been designed, conditionally sanctioned, and the work commenced on. This canal will do more to reconcile the warlike population of the Manjha to peaceful pursuits, than any other measure which could be devised. Its effect will be more tranquillizing than the presence of 10,000 extra troops. Inundation canals in the province of Múltán and the Derajat have been improved and extended, considerable sums for these objects having been allowed by Government. The village boundaries, as far south as the parallel of Lahore, have been marked off; and a scientific survey has commenced. In Hazara and Peshawur geographical surveys have also been nearly accomplished. A committee has also been nominated to investigate and report on the mineral wealth of the upper portion of the Sindh Sagor Doab, commonly known as the salt range.

Some attention has also, we are happy to find, been directed to the state of education in the Punjab. Government have called for returns from all the different districts. At Lahore two schools have been established by private subscriptions, and are in a flourishing condition. In the Lahore division, which comprises the districts of Battala, Umritsir and Lahore in the Bari Doab, and of Wuzirabad and Shekhupura in the Rechna, it has been ascertained, that a population of two millions four hundred and seventy thousand supports 1,385 public schools, in which 11,500 boys receive instruction. The following return of them is given in the *Lahore Chronicle* :—

<i>Language taught.</i>	<i>No. of Schools.</i>	<i>No. of Boys.</i>
Arabic	116	1,108
Persian	337	2,188
Hindi.....	109	2,252
Gurmukhi.....	83	546
Sanscrit.....	76	1,311
Koran only.....	225	1,190
Different languages	359	2,905
	<hr/> 1,385	<hr/> 11,500

This gives about eight boys to each school. The emoluments of the masters vary from half a rupee per mensem to seven rupees eight annas, and even eight rupees eight annas. This is made up, partly by weekly payments, and partly by presents at particular festivals. In some cases payment is made in grain, in others, each child contribute a given number of meals for his master; and there are even instances, in which the agriculturists assess themselves periodically to secure instruction for their children. It has been estimated that full six per cent. of the popu-

lation thus receive instruction, exclusive of private instruction, which more generally prevails among the higher classes. In the city of Lahore, there are no less than sixteen schools in which female children are instructed. A public seminary has lately been sanctioned by Government for the city of Umritsir by an annual endowment of Rs. 5,000. The sum of Rs. 3,000 has been allowed for a building. That city, from its wealth, trade, and population, as well as from being the head quarters of the Sikh religion, is one of the most important towns in the Punjab.

While the authorities of all ranks in the Punjab have thus been actively employed in fixing our rule on a firm basis, and introducing improvements calculated to ensure peace, security and comfort to its people, the Governor-General has visited nearly every part of the country, from Múltán and Mithancote to the defiles of Mari and Kalabagh and the valley of Peshawur, seeing every thing with his own eyes, manifesting the most lively interest in all that was going on, and furthering progress by a wise liberality.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Analogies Constitutives de La Langue Allemande avec le Grec et le Latin, expliquées par le Sanskrit; par C. Schœbel. Paris. 1846. (Constitutive analogies of the German Language with the Latin and Greek, explained by the Sanskrit.)

THE writer of this work is Professor of German in the College of Rheims, which, though in a secluded part of France, sends up its quota to the joint-stock contribution towards Oriental Literature made on the continent. The object of the author is "to trace the progress of ideas through the march of words" and to carry out into practice the remark of Champollion,—“the study and comparison of languages offer means of resolving many problems connected with the history of the human race. Comparative philology leads us in fact to the cradle of mankind, and enables us to trace the steps by which mankind in language mounted from sense to spirit.”

Monsieur Schœbel has entered on the question of the lexico-graphical comparison of languages in that spirit of philosophical earnestness, which has so distinguished linguistic researches on the continent since the days of Leibnitz, and which certainly has not abated under the auspices of such men as Eichhoff, Bopp, &c. The author of this work announces that he intends to publish a Sanskrit Grammar also. We rejoice at all efforts of this sort; for one of the first steps towards spreading a knowledge of Sanskrit must be the dispensing with the existing native grammars for beginners, which seem to have been constructed on the principle of accumulating every possible kind of obstruction at the portals of Sanskrit lore.

While Williams has smoothed down the difficulties of Sanskrit Grammar, works like Schœbel's facilitate the study of Sanskrit lexicography. In the national schools of England, the etymology of the English from the Latin and Greek is studied. We believe ere long the study of Sanskrit roots in connection with the Greek will be introduced into our classical schools. The most popular Greek lexicon in England (Scott's and Riddel's) gives the Sanskrit etymons of Greek words; and, as the study of German is on the increase in England, such a work as this of Schœbel's will be in demand. We think, however, that he has resorted too much to conjectural etymology, and has not trodden in the safe and cautious footsteps of Bopp, who has pointed out so clearly the analogies, that ought to guide us in comparing groups of languages. Still there is a wide field to enter on in comparing German and Sanskrit; and, as there is an evident re-action in England in favour of using a phraseology cast in the Saxon, rather than in the Latin, mould, the more the richness of the German languages is pointed out, the greater will be the respect paid to the primitive stock of our mother-tongue.

Magistretiya Upadesh. (The Assistant Magistrate's Guide, being an abridgement of the Criminal Regulations, and Constructions of the Nizamut Adawlut in Bengal; by F. Skipwith, B. C. S.) Translated by Udai Chandra Adhya. Calcutta. Purnachandraday Press.

POSTERITY will scarcely credit the fact that the British Government should so long have perpetuated the Persian language, as the language of Courts in which only Bengali was spoken. Yet so it was until lately. The main aim of the Musalmans was to *denationalize* the Hindus. Hence they insisted that Persian, a totally *foreign* tongue, should be the organ of communication with the conquered race — acting on the principles of the Kaliph Walid, that Arabic should invariably follow in the track of the Crescent. In this they signally failed. Persian now is little used or known beyond the walls of Madrissas. Lord W. Bentinck, by his noble measure of making the Bengali the language of the Courts in the Lower Provinces, has placed matters in a proper position. Such works as the *Magistrate's Guide*, &c., are among the fitting fruits of this benevolent act. Darogas and Deputy Magistrates will find such compilations of much use.

It is, we think, rather a mistaken notion to consider that even natives, acquainted with English, easily understand our works relating to professional pursuits, and particularly those on law and medicine. These have borrowed almost all their peculiar phraseology from the Greek and Latin, which are not likely to be much understood by Hindus. Mr. Mason, in his *Natural Productions of Burmah*, says well that the borrowing technical terms from a foreign language of a totally different genius from the one into which a translation is made "casts a deep shadow over the signification of the passages in which they occur, and sometimes wraps it in impenetrable darkness." How very difficult it must be, even for our best native scholars, to familiarize themselves with the Latinized nomenclature of Botany or Geology! We believe the day may come when those terms will be taken from the learned languages of the East; and thus, by compounding terms of home-growth, make them descriptions in themselves. The translator of the present work has experienced great difficulty here. In fact, the language used in the Courts is such a jumble of bad Persian and corrupt Bengali, as to deserve the name of a *patois*, generally unintelligible even to the peasantry. It will, we trust, be gradually purified, as the Europeans gain a better acquaintance with Bengali, and as the Hindus feel an increased sense of the injury they are doing to their own interests, by tolerating a slang for the benefit of cunning *amlas* and wily *vakils*, who seek to mystify the people by the use of a jargon known to few besides themselves.

The translator is the editor of the *Purnachandraday* newspaper, one of the best productions of the Bengali press, and one which is

calculated to foster a healthy taste among the Hindus for correct and solid information.

Muhammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre. Aus handschriftlichen Quellen und dem Koran geschöpft and dargestellt, von Dr. Weil. Stuttgart. 1843. [Muhammad, the Prophet : his life and doctrine, &c. By Dr. Weil.]

THERE has been no deficiency of biographies relating to Muhammad in the English language. Prideaux, a century ago, wrote on the subject; but his facts are all made to bend to a theory, and he sat down determined to condemn Muhammad as a vulgar impostor. Maracci wrote in a similar spirit. Savary and Gagnier have given us, in French, a fair and, on the whole, impartial view of his character: but it has been reserved for the German perseverance of Dr. Weil, the Librarian of Heidelberg University, to take the subject up in a philosophical spirit, basing all his statements on the evidence of Arabic writers themselves. When Dr. Weil gave lectures on Muhammad in 1837, he found the need of resorting to original authorities; though he has made free use of the writings of Reinaud, Gagnier, Hottinger, and Reland. In 1840 he made a literary pilgrimage to Gotha, to consult many Arabic MSS. there. Washington Irving, in his *Life of Muhammad*, cites largely from Weil; and, in addition to the historical verity of the original statements, arrays them in all the beauty of his poetic genius. His *Life of Muhammad* unquestionably seems the book most adapted for popular reading, and far superior to either Green's or Taylor's.

Modern historical research seems to be doing justice to the views both of Cromwell and Muhammad. While it points out their ambitious and selfish designs, it yet relieves them from the imputation of being those moral monsters, that party-writers were so fond of painting them. Whether we look at the career of Cromwell or Muhammad, there is quite sufficient in their public character to condemn, without creating a sympathy for them by unmeasured abuse. Muhammad seems, like Cromwell, to have been quite sincere in the beginning. He saw his country devoted to idols; its tribes engaged constantly in intestine war; and Christians occupied in mere sensual worship. It seemed to him, therefore, a very legitimate object to restore the doctrine of the Unity of God. Like Rammohan Ray, he professed not to introduce a new religion, but simply to aim at a revival of primitive truth—the *Ekmebidityan*, one God without a companion. Enthusiasm may have led him to announce himself as a prophet; but we do not see how he can be acquitted of the charge of imposture, in his announcements regarding his interviews with Gabriel, and the authoritative way in which he proclaimed his communications as coming from God, and, most of all, in his rendering these messages subservient to

his passions by sanctioning his concubinage and polygamy; for, while he restricted others to four wives, he allowed himself fifteen.

Though an aristocrat himself, Muhammad well understood, like Napoleon, the principle of elevating his generals from the ranks, and distinguishing talent, though in the lowest grades of society. Hence one reason of the impulse given to his soldiers:—like the troops in the wars of the French Revolution, they knew that the highest posts were opened to the poorest man, provided he possessed the requisite energy. Muhammad in his whole career was noted for his affability and sympathy with the common people. Like the priests of Buddhism, he devoted much time to street preaching, and, in consequence, cultivated the gift of oratory: indeed the beauty of style in the Koran contributed very much to spread its doctrines among a race, who prized poetry and eloquence beyond any people in the east.

The day is rapidly passing away, in which our views of ancient history are to be limited to the Greeks or Romans; it is now pretty well established that there are “other heroes than those of Greece and Rome, sages as contemplative, and a people more magnificent than the iron masters of the world.” We have no admiration for mere conquerors as such; and we see not why the sympathies of youth should be engrossed by such men as Hannibal, Scipio, and Alexander. Muhammad in his influence rises far above a conqueror. He founded a system, which is still powerful in some of the finest countries in the world. No conqueror, not even Napoleon, has left such permanent institutions as Muhammad has done. The Code of Napoleon is almost the only memorial left of the former: but the latter imprinted such almost indelible traces of his genius and laws on many of the noblest countries of the world, as enabled them to resist the military power of the Crusades, and the concentrated proselyting influence of Rome in its palmiest days.

Educational and Missionary institutions in this country are brought into contact with Muhammadans, and it is of great importance to form a proper estimate of the character of their prophet.

It is surprising indeed, that so little interest is taken in the career of Muhammad and his successors. The English have succeeded to the Muhammadan conquerors of India, who have stamped their genius so distinctly on its various institutions, that many of them cannot be clearly understood without some knowledge of Muhammadan history. On the other hand, Russia is wasting away the Moslem power in Northern Asia and Constantinople, and France in North Africa.

The life of Muhammad, like that of Ram Chandra, the pioneer of civilization in Southern India, has been so clouded with poetic and mythic statements, as to render it very difficult in some cases “to extract the historic truths out of the nimbus, in which they are veiled.” Muhammad, like Xavier, has had a number of acts and sayings imputed to him, which he would have thoroughly repudiated: as for instance, in the case of miracles, which Muhammad

stated he had not the power of working, and yet the Musalmans gravely tell us, that he brought the moon down one of the sleeves of his coat, and that it passed out through the other; and that a shoulder of mutton spoke.

Dr. Weil points out clearly that Muhammad was subject to epileptic fits, which in many cases gave rise to a popular report that he was under the influence of inspiration, like the priestess of the Delphic oracle. It must be obvious how much these fits were calculated to confirm the statement, which Muhammad propagated, that he was honoured with trances, in which the angel Gabriel appeared to him and made disclosures of an important kind. This work is a most valuable addition to Muhammadan literature, and we hope some day to see an English translation of it. The author has bestowed great labour in verifying facts and citing original authorities.

Programme of the Bengal Vernacular Translation Society. 1851.

WE deeply regret that, at the present time, when every effort is required for the promotion of general education, an old controversy should be revived, calculated to produce discord among those who ought to spend their time in working out the great problem of the enlightenment of the masses. While, we believe, the Vernacular Translation Committee of Calcutta are warm friends to the diffusion of English among all those natives, who have leisure and opportunity for pursuing the study of it; and while they consider that, were English spread twenty fold more than at present, it would be a great boon to the country; yet they cannot resist the conviction that, beyond that circle, there will be at the least *twenty millions* of people using the Bengali language, who can gain knowledge only through the channel of their mother-tongue, and who cannot devote seven years to the study of a foreign and difficult language.

It has been objected by some, that translations into the Vernaculars are absurd, because they cannot transfuse all the shades of thought of the original; that the Bengali is the rude tongue of a semi-barbarous race; that dialects are already too numerous in India; and that we ought to abandon translations, and teach the people through English alone.

Let us not be misunderstood on this question. We are ardent friends of universal education and linguistic studies. So far from restricting natives to their mother-tongue, we would have them cultivate, not only English, but, as far as possible, German, French, Latin, Hebrew, &c. We would place no shackles on the wings of knowledge. But this we are decidedly opposed to—a mere *smattering* of English—that amount of it only which qualifies a native to be a mere copying machine in some merchant's office. This is the knowledge, which the great mass of natives in our English schools rest satisfied

with. It may be said of the small number, who attain such acquaintance with English as to qualify them to read our authors with ease, without the constant bore of a dictionary,—

“ Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.”

We know from painful experience and observation, that of those natives, who attend English schools in general, many, when five years have elapsed after they leave those institutions, are unable to read English books with ease and intelligence, and have to resort to the Vernacular media for information. On the other hand, very few of them can write a letter in Bengali, which is not daubed with bad spelling and bad grammar. Should this state of things continue? We would not have English learned a whit the less, but we would have Bengali properly attended to. We do not wish to see the old system of the Eton and Westminster schools repeated on Indian ground, where students composed beautiful Greek poetry, while they could not write a letter in correct English. We have seen an instance recently of a native student from a college in Calcutta, who could not read Bengali in giving a deposition before the Magistrate. It is natural for a nation at first to run all on imitation, as has been the case with the Russians during the last half century; but the tide has turned there; and attention is particularly paid at present to adopting the vernacular as the language of the court and polite society, so as to identify to a greater extent the sympathies of peasants and peers, and give the upper classes an impulse for the cultivation of a national literature. We hope that in this country those Babús, who are the leaders in native society, will not spurn from them that tongue, which is a link between the Zemindar and Rayat, the college student and the village peasant.

We shall take up the various objections urged against the Vernacular Translation Society *seriatim*.

1. “There are so many dialects in India.” There are only *five* principal tongues to a population of 150 millions;—Bengali, the language of 25 millions, Urdu, spoken from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, Telugu, Tamul, and Mahratta. Now, the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society’s labours may be of use to 30 millions, and those of the Bengal Translation Society to 25 millions—a greater number than speak the Dutch, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Swedish, and Polish languages respectively. Would any of the nations using these languages tolerate a proposition, that no translations should be made into them, because they are used by a limited number? Are we to have no translations made from German or French into English, because the number of readers is limited? So far from it—we see even our American friends devoting a considerable expenditure of time and money to a series of translations from German into English, even though only a limited number will avail themselves of these.

2. “The Bengali is the rude dialect of a semi-barbarous race.” We leave the Bengalis themselves, on the ground of patriotism

or nationality, to deal with the latter part of this proposition. But, we ask, can that be a rude dialect, which has been made to convey, expressively and suitably, the truths of natural history, chemistry, natural philosophy, mental philosophy, and above all, which has been found fully equal to express the mysterious dogmas of revelation, the lyric effusions of Isaiah, and the lofty strains of the minor prophets of Scripture? Besides, the Bengali, in its derivation from that noble tongue, the Sanskrit, possesses unbounded resources for borrowing terms and phraseology and is gradually increasing in its capabilities. The Moslem power has not been able to extirpate it; and all the energy of an Aurungzebe could not drive it from the homes and hearts of the people. By its close affinity with their venerated Sanskrit, it preserves the lingering rays of the long-faded glories of their ancient literature. Without touching on its merits as a translation, we would refer to Yates's translation of the Bible in Bengali, as a monument of the degree of elegance and expressiveness to which the Bengali language has attained.

3. "We ought to teach all the natives through English; and then translations would not be necessary." We do not now treat of what is *desirable*, but of what is *practicable*. We think it very desirable that there were only *one* language in the world, and regret that the confusion of tongues ever took place; but we have to deal with a different state of things. We are in a country, where the Europeans are but a handful compared with the natives; where we have to encounter the antipathies arising from difference of race, creed, manners; and where, with few exceptions, the Hindus regard us with feelings of jealousy, though conscious of the benefits we have conferred. We have therefore to do with the *practical*. Ample supplies of books are imported from England for those natives, who understand English. Are we to do nothing for the millions in the present generation, who will have no opportunity of reading these books? The Calcutta Bible Society has spent probably more than four lakhs of rupees in Bengali translations of the Scriptures: but an intelligent reading of the Scriptures requires other books explanatory, as the Bible abounds with references to subjects of Geography, Natural History, Ancient History, Jewish Customs, &c. Now, these books have to be translated; and, if translations are to be condemned, it virtually amounts to condemning translations of the Scriptures, and to pronouncing useless the exertions of Missionary Societies, who in rural districts have to instruct the people through the medium of their own language. Indeed, if England itself, which possesses such a rich indigenous literature, has provided so many translations from other tongues into its own, *a fortiori*, Bengal, with its poor Vernacular literature, requires translations much more urgently.

4. It is said, that "translations do not convey the full force of the original." Very true; and this is simply an argument for advising all, who can consult original works, to do so; but leading ideas,

and historical facts admit of being easily transferred into another tongue, and particularly into such a language as Bengali, which has such unbounded resources in compounding terms. But even in the most difficult class of works to be translated, viz. the poetical, the English people insisted on having translations, as in Mickle's *Lusiad*, Carey's *Dante*, Pope's *Homer*, Fairfax's *Tassos*, Dryden's *Virgil*, &c. Unless a design is entertained to extirpate the Bengali language, translations must be adopted.

Let us hear on this question the voice of History. We have seen lately that, the Protestant Church had been established in IRELAND for three centuries, and hitherto has proved a signal failure in one of the objects it had in view, viz., to unite England and Ireland by one religion, as well as one language—and that, after the experiment has been tried there for three centuries on the part of Protestants of conveying religious knowledge solely through English, they now admit that a wrong step had been taken, and that they should have begun with education and translations into the Vernacular, as had been the practice of the Romish priesthood there. Among the WELSH, the feeling even now is so strong, that their remonstrances succeeded in inducing the Government lately to appoint a Bishop, who could preach in Welsh. The English Church has been a comparative failure in Wales, owing partly to its clergy not being acquainted with the language of the people, and despising the Vernacular. We are not advocates ourselves for perpetuating the colloquial use of the Gaelic and Welsh; we think it far better that Ireland and Wales should use the noble English language: but we adduce it to shew how difficult it is to eradicate a Vernacular language, and particularly when it is identified with the historical recollections and literary glory of a people. Queen Elizabeth proscribed under a severe penalty the use of the Irish language; and the Mussulmans applied every means to extirpate the Vernaculars of India. What have been the results, with respect to the Bengali in particular? It is increasing in richness and energy of expression every day, and is now much superior as a language, to what English was in the days of Chaucer.

In ITALY, the indigenous tongue was the Latin in Roman days, the use of which has been maintained subsequently with all the influence and supremacy of the Church of Rome. All the municipal acts of the towns were recorded in Latin; public acts, solemn deeds, education, literary and scientific intercourse, all were carried on in Latin. Boccacio and Petrarch wrote their most elaborate works in Latin, despising the "*lingua volgare*," the language of the mob;—(their Latin works are now forgotten, and only what they have written in the *vulgar* tongue survives.) Every thing, therefore, seemed to favour the perpetuation of the Latin.

But was the formation of the Italian Vernacular, which rose on the ruins of the ancient Latin, prevented? No; the influence of one man gave the impulse. Dante arose. Deeply read in classic lore, and

appreciating the beauties of the Augustan age, he longed to impart them in the "lingua volgare," and to unseal to the many what had been only known to the few : hence his immortal "Commedia," which, like Milton's *Paradise Lost*, will ever remain as an example of the influence of a great mind in making a language great, in wielding vulgar phrases by the magic pen of genius, and making them capable of expressing the most sublime ideas. Dante is justly called "the Father of Italian literature," as Lorenzo de Medici may be styled its foster parent, from the encouragement he gave to literary composition.

GERMANY comes next, where literature was at such a low ebb in the days of Frederic the Great, though Luther had ennobled and fixed the language by translating the Bible into it. Frederic the Great, not content with his military conquests, aimed at superseding German literature by French : but he succeeded as little in his efforts against the Vernacular, as the Musalmans did in India. The moment he laid his head on the pillow of death, the German nation rose as one man in defence of their national tongue ; and we see, in the prodigious strides that German literature has made since, the truth of the remark—

" Naturam furcâ expelles, tamen usque recurret."

SPAIN presents another strong case. The Roman and Moslem conquerors there had given every ascendancy to their languages. Yet, in spite of all social and political obstacles, the Spanish language was formed and finally gained the predominance.

We hope there may be no necessity again to recur to this subject, but that all the friends of native education will co-operate on the grand basis of giving every opportunity for the attainment of a complete education both in English and the Vernacular, so as to make the former the medium for acquiring, and the latter of diffusing, ideas.

Lives of the Governors-General of India; by J. W. Kaye.
- London. Bentley.

A SERIES of *Lives of the Governors-General of India* can scarcely fail to be a popular and generally interesting work ; and we believe, from a knowledge of Mr. Kaye's talent and opportunities, and the abundant materials in his possession, that it has a fair chance of being very successful. The following extract from a letter, received from Mr. Kaye by the last mail, will fully explain the nature and design of the series ; and we have much pleasure in recommending the appeal, he makes, to the favourable consideration of our Indian

readers. Any documents, sent under cover to our publishers, will be carefully forwarded to Mr. Kaye:—

In some of the London papers has appeared an advertisement of a series of "Lives of the Governors-General of India," with my name appended to it, as the author, and Mr. Bentley's, as the publisher of the work. In what, perhaps, you will think, a rash moment, I have undertaken to write this work, in eight or ten octavo volumes, by serial instalments: the two first volumes to appear at the end of this year. I am not now going in search of materials, because I have undertaken to write this work; but I undertook to write the work, because I possessed materials. The history of the matter is briefly thus: I was asked, some time ago, if I would like to write a Life of Lord Cornwallis—because, if I were willing to undertake the work, materials would be placed in my hands. It happened that I had long desired to write such a work. The idea first took shape in mind, I believe, in the Town Hall of Calcutta; and I had from that time never abandoned it. I believed it to be a great desideratum, and I was anxious to supply it: and now, unexpectedly, the suggestion was made to me by others, and a large mass of valuable materials was placed in my hands. I sought and obtained more; and, in the course of my search, accumulated so large a body of interesting matter, illustrative of the careers of other Governors-General (especially Lord Wellesley, Lord Hastings, and Lord Minto), that when my friendly publisher called to see my stores, it occurred to him (as indeed it had occurred to me) that I had at all events a fine foundation for a series of Lives of the Governors-General; and, pleased with the idea, he suggested that I should write the work in eight or ten volumes, the first two volumes to appear at the end of the year. The agreement was soon made. I was encouraged by other promises of contributions of the most valuable kind; and I was soon convinced that, if the work, I had undertaken to write, should lack interest, the fault would be entirely my own. It has since occurred to me—and here, I come, my dear friend, to ask your aid—that there must be in India, in the hands of the children, or relatives, of deceased public officers, many interesting letters and documents illustrative of the Lives of your Governors-General—many, doubtless, in the hands of the friends and supporters of the *Calcutta Review*—friends, who, perhaps, would not be less unwilling to assist me in such an undertaking, because I was the originator, and am the proprietor of a work, which, I trust, has afforded them some amusement, and done them some substantial good. I hardly like to put forth any direct appeal to the Indian public—and, yet my object being simply that of rendering as complete, as it can be rendered, the series of Biographies which I have undertaken to write—a series which, if worthily executed, will, I may say, without presumption, constitute an acceptable addition to Anglo-Indian literature—I do not see why I ought to shrink from inviting friends and strangers alike to make common cause with me in this literary undertaking, by contributing any documentary or other information which they may happen to possess. I do not so much want public documents, which are always obtainable, as private letters, anecdotes, reminiscences of personal incidents, &c., such as will give vitality to the page, and bring the subject of my memoirs with life-like prominence before the readers. Nor is the information, which I seek, limited to information, directly relating to the several Governors-General. I am equally desirous to obtain information relative to the principal officers of the State, civil and military, by whom our Governors-General were surrounded, and whose conduct and opinions may have had any influence in shaping the conduct and opinions of the chief rulers themselves. Can you assist me in bringing this matter before the friends of the *Calcutta Review*, and the Indian public at large? Communications might be addressed to me, through my agents, whom you know—and I trust that I need not even refer to the confidence, which (both in aid of the preparation of this, and of another, work which will precede it) has been reposed in me by the bearers of some of the most distinguished names in recent Indian history, to prove that I may safely be trusted with anything they may have to confide.

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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Kabikankan Chandi.*

2. *Annada Mangal and Bydya Sundar.*

3. *Gangabhakti Tarangini.*

4. *Panchali, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4.*

THOUGH the Bengali language has sprung from, and bears a close analogy to, the Sanskrit, it is, in several respects, better adapted than the original tongue, as a vehicle for the interchange of thought. Being of comparatively modern origin, it has not undergone any of those deteriorating changes, which have rendered the Sanskrit different from what it once was. With it the perverse ingenuity, which delights to invent difficulties where no difficulties exist, and to turn clearness itself into mystery, has not been at work. Neither has the jealousy of an ambitious priesthood endeavoured to counteract its diffusion. Spontaneous in its growth, it has branched out of the parent stock unrestrained and uncared for, possessing many of its beauties, and few of its imperfections. Of all the derivative languages of the East, it is, perhaps, the most simple in its structure, and lucid in its syntax. Its nomenclature, though not quite so full as that of the Sanskrit, is varied and precise. It is the spoken language of upwards of twenty-five millions of inhabitants, which is more than any thing that could have been said of the Sanskrit even in its most palmy days, the days of Kalidas and Bar-ruchi.

Of the merits and demerits of Sanskrit poetry, we have, on more than one occasion, spoken at large. We have endeavoured, with the help of Jones, Wilson, Schlegel, and other illustrious scholars, to give the reader some idea of those gigantic epics, the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, and to acquaint him with the beauties of some of the ancient Indian dramas. The capture of Sita by the ten-headed Ravana, from the forest of her exile; the invincible prowess and miraculous feats of the son of the Wind; the lamentations of Rama in search of his beloved; the trial of Sita by the flames; the audience-hall of Durjodhun; the bridal of Rukmini, and the incidents previous thereto; the conflict between the Kurus and Panduvas; the virtue of Yu-

dhisthir; the loyalty of Draupadi to her five lords, and the affecting story of Damayanti, the queen of Nishada, are subjects with which he is already familiar. Of the renowned king Dushmunta, and Sacantola, the nymph favored of the sylvan goddesses; of the loves of Malati and Madhava; of the famed princess, Ratnavali, and of the courtesan, Vasantesena, he has often heard. He is also aware of the sceneries, dresses, and decorations that were used on the Hindu stage, seventeen hundred years ago, and how that stage has gradually deteriorated. In the present notice, therefore, we shall have nothing to do with Sanskrit literature, or even with translations from the Sanskrit. The celebrated translations of Kasidas and Kirtivasa shall be passed over in silence. We shall confine our attention to *Bengali* poetry, and to the books placed at the top of this article.

But before we proceed with our task, we must premise that Bengali literature stands in exactly the same relation to Sanskrit, as Latin literature stands to Greek. As in Latin, many metres, the heroic, elegiac, and lyric, for example, are of Greek origin, so, in Bengali, the metres *payar* and *totak* are of Sanskrit origin. As the best Latin epic poems are faint echoes of the Iliad and Odyssey, so the best Bengali epic poems are faint echoes of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. As the best of Virgil's pastorals are imitations of Theocritus, so the best Bengali pastorals are imitations of Jaydeva. As Latin plays, the plays of Livius Andronicus and Ennius and Plautus, are bad copies of Greek dramas, so Bengali plays (which are not many) are bad imitations of Kalidas and other Sanskrit writers. Almost all the standard Latin works are fashioned after Greek models, and almost all the Bengali works are on Sanskrit models. If ever there is a Bengali philosopher, we have little doubt that he will borrow as much from the *Nyaya* and *Patanjali* schools, as Seneca borrowed from the Portico and the Academy.

By far the greatest portion of the rules of Bengali *versification* have not, however, been derived from the Sanskrit, but owe their birth to the talent and ingenuity of Bengali poets. The following metres, viz., the *ekabali*, the *mal jhamp*, the *malati*, the *chamar*, the *lalita jhamp*, the *laghu bhanga tripadi*, the *laghu tripadi*, the *dirgha bhanga tripadi*, the *dirgha tripadi*, the *laghu chatushpadi*, the *dirgha chatushpadi*, the *laghu lalita*, and the *dirgha lalita*, are of this class. Dr. Yates thus explains them:—

“The *ekabali* consists of eleven syllables to the line, and the last syllable of each first line rhymes with the last syllable of the succeeding one.

“The *mal jhamp* consists of fourteen syllables in each line; the

‘ final syllable of the first line rhymes with the final of the second, and the final of the third with that of the fourth, besides which, the fourth, eighth and twelfth syllables of each distinct line rhyme.

“ The *malati* consists of fifteen syllables to the line, with the last syllable of the first rhyming with the last of the second, &c.

“ The *chamar* has the same number of syllables as the preceding, and the same rhymes in the lines, but which differs from it in the regularity of its long and short syllables. With some trifling exceptions, it consists entirely of trochees, *i. e.* a long and short syllable throughout.

“ The *lalita jhamp* has fifteen syllables to the line, and the finals of the lines rhyming as before; but besides this, it has the rhyme extended to the fourth, eighth, and twelfth syllables in each line.

“ The *laghu bhanga tripadi* has sixteen syllables in the first line, and twenty in the second, which rhyme at the end. Also in the first line, the eighth, and sixteenth syllables rhyme, and in the second, the sixth, twelfth and eighteenth syllables.

“ The *laghu tripadi* has twenty syllables in each line. Besides the usual rhyme, at the end of each two lines, it has also a rhyme between the sixth and twelfth syllables in each line. The *dirgha bhanga tripadi* has twenty syllables in the first line, and twenty-six in the second. In this, beside the rhyme at the end of each two lines, there is also a rhyme between the tenth and twentieth syllables of the first line, and between the eighth and sixteenth of the second line.

“ The *dirgha tripadi* has twenty-six syllables to each line, with the rhyme between the eighth and sixteenth of each line, and the final of every two lines.

“ The *laghu chatushpadi* consists of twenty-three syllables to the line, with the rhyme between the sixth, twelfth and eighteenth syllables of each line, and the final of every two lines.

“ The *dirgha chatushpadi* has thirty-one syllables in each line, with the rhyme at the eighth, sixteenth, and twenty-fourth syllables of each line, and the final of every two lines.

“ The *laghu lalita* has twenty-four syllables in each line, with the rhyme at the sixth, twelfth and eighteenth syllables of each line, besides the final of every two lines.

“ The *dirgha lalita* has thirty-one syllables to the line, with the rhyme at the eighth and sixteenth syllables of each line, and at the end of every two lines.”

The oldest Bengali poem extant is the *Chandi* of Kabikankan. It is an epic celebration of the glory and power of *Chandi* or *Parvati*, and occupies the same place among Bengali epics

as Milton's *Comus* occupies among English dramas. It is decidedly pastoral. It commences with prayers to Ganesa, Suresutti, Lakshmi, Chytunno, and Rama. Then follows an account of the author, of which the reader shall have the substance. Kabikankan was the son of Damunya, who lived on the lands of a wealthy zemindar, close to the city of Simlabaz. The honest and sturdy farmer knew no grief, and died at a patriarchal age. Kabikankan succeeded to the paternal acres, but his life's course was far different. Then it was that Mushaud Sheriff was placed at the head of the Government of the three provinces, and tyrannized over certain landholders and their dependent ryots. Kabikankan was obliged to flee from the place of his birth, with his wife and children. Passing over many miles, he had to cross the River Damuda. While reposing on its banks, he dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the goddess, *Chandi*, girt with all her glory, had come to him, and commanded him to sing her praise. When he awoke, he determined to carry out the command, and proceeded on his journey. Several days elapsed before he reached Arora, the city of Brahmins. The king of this place received him with every mark of favour, and made him instructor to his only son, upon a liberal allowance. While "teaching the young idea how to shoot," Kabikankan wrote the *Chandi*.

The book consists of two stories, not very ingeniously constructed. The first story related briefly is as follows. The son of Indra had, time out of mind, been banished from heaven by the gods, and was born on earth of humble parents. His name was Kalketu. As Kalketu grew up, he became a mighty hunter, and betook himself to the woods with his wife, Phulura. One morning, as he was going to his daily labours, accoutred with a bow and arrow, he saw a lizard lying on his path. Angry with the animal, the sight of which is considered unpropitious to the success of an undertaking, he tied it up by the tail to the branch of a tree, determined to make a fare of it, if he should chance to meet no other game. When he returned, he took the lizard down, and carried it to his wife to be roasted, not having been able to kill even a heron or a rabbit. Phulura then went out to fetch fuel, and Kalketu departed to bathe in the neighbouring stream. On the good dame's return, she found that a maiden "beautiful exceedingly" was standing at the door of the hut. Supposing her to be a rival, she hastened to her husband, and accosted him with angry words. Kalketu said that he knew nothing of the matter, and arrived at his dwelling place, questioned the maiden as to who she was, threatening to slay her if her answer was not prompt. When, lo! the beautiful maiden

assumed the shape of Durga, as represented every year in Bengal. The hunter and his wife fell on their knees. "Follow me," said the goddess to Kalketu, "I am come to do thee good." The command was obeyed. In a secret part of the wood, where feet of man had never before intruded, Kalketu found hordes of treasure. His divine guide melted into air, but through her favour, which, to him, was great from that time, he at length became king of Guzerat.

The second story relates to the adventures of a soudagur named Dhunputti, and of his son, Shrimant. Dhunputti had two wives, Luhuna and Khuluna, who were loving cousins before they became rivals. At the time of his departure for Sinhala (Ceylon,) from his native city, on urgent business, the young Khuluna was "as all women wish to be, who love their lords;" and he therefore extracted a solemn promise from his other wife to take every care of her during his absence. The promise, however, was only lip-deep. For no sooner was Dhunputti gone, and the girl delivered of a son (Shrimant), than Luhuna practised every art to give her pain and sorrow. Her conduct was even more severe than that of the younger wife of Elkanah toward the mother of Samuel. She pretended that she had received a letter from her husband, to the effect, that Khuluna must be disgraced and degraded from the position which she then occupied. Khuluna was commanded to put off her *sauree* and *orna*, and to wear the robes of a menial. Nay, she was ordered to do something still more degrading. A flock of goats was placed in her care, and every evening she had to count and lock them up in the fold, and to lead them again to "fresh fields and pastures new" on the morrow morn. While engaged in her sylvan duty, one hot summer's day, on the banks of the River Ajuya, sleep had overcome her senses. Just at this time, *Hari* and *Parvati* were journeying through the air in a golden car, and pitying the poor soul's sorrows, determined to bring them to an end. When Khuluna woke, she found that one of the goats was missing. Apprehensive of the anger of the jealous Luhuna, she wept, and prayed for its recovery. *Parvati* or *Chandi* now appeared before her, and enjoined her to go back fearlessly to her home, as she would be persecuted no more. Khuluna obeyed the divine command, though doubtful of the treatment she should meet with. She was received by her rival with the utmost kindness.

We shall now accompany Dhunputti on his voyage to Sinhala. Many a barge "strong and trim" was fitted out for the expedition, and favoring winds wafted him to his goal. When

he visited the king of the place, he recounted to him a wonder which he had seen. Against the red of the distant horizon (such was the wonder), there often appeared a lotus-bush and a beautiful woman with a young elephant in her arms, striking terror into the hearts of all who saw her. On his narration being disbelieved, he said that he was ready to substantiate it to the king and his court, on pain of perpetual confinement. Again the barges were put to sea, crowded with men, women, and children, anxious to behold the sight. Nowhere, however, was it to be seen, and after many days of expectation, Dhunputti was thrown into prison. Years rolled away. A similar scene was once more acted in the court of Sinhala, but with a far more terrible and startling termination. Shrimant had come to Sinhala in search of his father, and had related the same story to the king, perilling his life to prove its truth. He failed in his undertaking, and, bound hand and foot, was immediately carried to the place of execution. Here, while the headsman was sharpening his axe, a woman, "with age grown double," made her appearance and demanded Shrimant as her only child. The guards laughed and insulted her, but she went not away. A moment after, another decrepid female came to them with the same request, and the next moment another, and another, till at last the whole yard was filled with crones, who began to dance hand in hand. While all wondered at the unexpected interruption, the whole company suddenly vanished, and *Chandi* descending from the skies with a sword of flame, commenced the work of destruction. Taking up Shrimant in her arms, she spared neither age nor sex. The very horses and elephants in the stalls were butchered, and one man only remained to carry the rueful intelligence to the king. Agitated and frightened in the extreme, the monarch hastened to the place of slaughter, and fell at the feet of the wrathful divinity, who consented to spare him on condition that Shrimant should be married to his only daughter, Shushilya, and be allowed to go back to the place of his birth with his father, who was still a prisoner. This was readily consented to, and every thing ended happily.

The following passage, literally translated from the *Chandi*, is in the original really admirable:—

Spring, accompanied by the god of Love, had now come to the earth, and the trees and creepers were loaded with flowers. On the bank of the River Ajuya, and under a fragrant and spreading *Asoka*, the young woman had fainted with the pangs of separation. As she cast her eyes on the new leaves and tendrils, she thought the bridal of the earth was nigh, for the robes which it wore were the robes of a bride. The bee sucking the honey from one flower hastened away to another, as a *Guru* hastens from the

hospitable home of one *shishya* to that of another. The flowers were dropping to the ground, and with these Khuluna paid an offering to Cama. The kokila was cooing his love-song, the breeze was blowing softly, and the *shari* and *shuke* were kissing each other with their bills. Overcome with sadness at the sight, she thus addressed the latter in a tone of reproof—" *Shuke*, thou art the cause of my lord's departure; at the king's command, has he gone to Sinhala, to bring a golden cage for thee; hence all my pangs and sorrows. My condition is quite forlorn, nor food, nor clothing have I. Fly thou to him, whom I love, and acquaint him with all I suffer. If thou neglectest my injunction, I shall learn the fowler's art and entrap thee, and so give pain to *shari*, the she-bird." Both birds then winged away their flight. A creeper twisted round the stem of a tree then met her eyes, and she ran to the place where it was. Embracing the tender plant, she accosted it as sister, and as one most fortunate. The peacock and peahen, dancing with joy, she also saw, and was forcibly reminded of her own desolate state. To the male and female bee, she said the following words with joined palms:—" Hum no more, hum no more your song of pleasure, for my breast is startled at the sound. You know not the pangs of separation. O! male bee, if thou hast any regard, any love for your partner, cease thy song. Alas! thou mind'st not my entreaties. Settling on that pale Dhatura, thou singest again."

Here is a description of the unsubstantial show or miracle which Shrimant beheld on the sea. It is short, but characteristic of the author's mind and style of writing:—

" Look! look! brothers," said Shrimant to the rowers, " at yon beautiful lotus bush; the flowers are of various colours—white, green, blue, red and yellow. It must be the garden of some *Debta*, for the treasures of every season adorn it. The snow-white swan is passing a lotus from its own bill to that of its mate. The many-colored kingfisher is wheeling over the water for fishes. The *chaeravaca* is screaming with joy, and as the thunder rumbles at a distance, the peacock and peahen display their gorgeous plumage. And look! most wonderful of all, is that beautiful woman (some goddess perhaps) holding a young elephant in her arms."

In concluding our notice of the *Chandi*, we have to observe that the copy before us is embellished with several wood-cuts, which do no credit to the artists.

The works of Bharut Chunder, the *Annada Mangal* and *Bydya Sundar*, are familiar as household words to the people of Bengal. They are read with delight and admiration by every class of native society. They while away the leisure hours of the Hindu lady of rank, as well as of the well-fed and wary *banya*, and materially lighten the labours of the *manji* at the helm. We ourselves have witnessed young Bengali women lounging about from room to room, with one or other of the books in their hands, and can well conceive how their minds are contaminated by the perusal. There is nothing more grossly indecent in sense than certain chapters in the *Bydya Sundar*, made attractive to readers by the help of rhyme, rhythm, and diction. Idolatry, the bane and curse of India, is inculcated in all imaginable shapes, by every one of the poets with whom

we have to deal. The call for a healthy, and, at the same time, popular, literature in Bengali, is really imperative, and we wish all success to those who are labouring to supply the want.

The *Annada Mangal* is a collection of hymns to different gods, and a metrical narration of the principal incidents in the life of Shiva. Of the hymns, we shall faithfully render two into English prose, and these, we believe, will give the reader a pretty correct idea of the whole batch:—

HYMN TO SHIVA.

Sankara, the lord of Gowri, to thee, to thee, I bow. Thy throne is an ox, and thy three eyes are the moon, the sun, and fire. A necklace of human heads dangles from thy neck, a skull is in thy hands, and ashes are over thy body. Ghosts and spirits accompany thee wherever thou goest. Thy locks are long and matted, thy throat is blue, and red stripes beautify thy forehead. Thou hast bangles of snakes, and clothings of snakes. Thou art wrapt in meditation, but what thou art meditating, I know not. None can say thy origin. Those who repose under the shadow of thy feet are blessed with virtue and wealth in this world, and with salvation in the next. Thou, that art the giver of wisdom and joy, remove my sorrows and crown my undertaking with success.

HYMN TO VISHNU.

Kesava, I bow to thee. Thou art the eldest born of Time. Thou hast four arms, and dost bestride that winged monster, Gurura. Thy complexion is that of the clouds, and a gem like a star illumines thy breast. A garland of wild flowers encircles thy neck. A conch, a *chakra*, a mace, and a lotus are in thy hands. Thy garments are yellow, and thy feet are sandalled and jewelled. Thy lips are redder than coral, thy face is fairer than the moon. The whole world is lighted by a reflexion of thy beauty. In Heaven, Indra and Varuna worship thee, and Nareda on his *vina* sings thy praise. There, where the six seasons are all at once present, thou revelest in the moonlight, or in a *cadamba* grove blowest thy musical shell. Grant that my master's wishes be fulfilled.

Of the metrical tale which follows, we shall merely remark that it is not unworthy of the author's great name, the best portions of it verge even on the sublime, a characteristic very rarely to be met with in Eastern writers.

The *Bydya Sundar* is the most popular and admired of all Bharut Chunder's productions, and but for the indelicacies which disfigure it at places, would, perhaps, have been justly so.

The Venus and Adonis of the bard of Avon was not a greater favorite with the pensioners and court beauties of Queen Elizabeth than is the *Bydya Sundar* with the young ladies of Bengal.

The best way to deal with the book, would, we think, be to give a few translated extracts, and an outline of the plot. But first we shall recount the origin of the story, which, according to our author, was as follows. Pratap Aditya, Rajah of Bengal, had his seat of Government in the city of Jessore. His

temper was haughty, and his passions knew no restraint. Having engaged in a feud with his cousin, Katchu Roy, for a supposed injury, he wreaked his vengeance on him by putting all his friends to the sword. Katchu Roy besought the help of the Emperor Jehangire, who, highly incensed at Pratap's tyrannical conduct, sent his General Maun Sing, with a round number of his soldiers, to bring the offender to his senses. While Maun Sing was marching through Burdwan, he beheld a number of builders and masons, working under-ground, near the palace of the Rajah of that place. They were stopping the breach, which *Sundar* had long ago effected to gain admittance into the apartments of *Bydya*. On enquiry they narrated to him the history of the lovers.

Bydya was the daughter of *Bira Singha*, and was famed, far and wide, for her beauty and accomplishments. While scarce a woman, she had mastered the difficulties of the Sanskrit language and philosophy, and had vowed a vow to give away her hand to any that excelled her in learning. Princes and potentates came to her from various parts of India, but invariably their mental acquirements fell far short of those of the young woman whom they came to woo, and they were sadly disappointed. *Bira Singha* had therefore great difficulty in finding a fitting bridegroom for his daughter.

While affairs were in this state, arrived at Burdwan a prince, named *Sundar*, after a toilsome journey of many days. His appearance was extremely prepossessing, and his mind highly cultivated. As his horse browsed at a little distance, and he himself was reflecting on the best means of bringing to a happy termination his mission of love, a party of women in *Bira Singha's* service passed to fetch water from the neighbouring stream, and were greatly struck with his beauty. None, except *Hira*, had, however, the effrontery to speak to him. *Hira*, the flower-dealer, naturally bold, questioned the youth as to his name and parentage, and invited him to partake of the comforts of her home. To this, *Sundar* gladly agreed. Being harboured with the flower-dealer, *Sundar* contrived various plans of winning the heart of the lovely *Bydya*. On one occasion he sent to her a flower effigy of Cupid. So artfully was this thing constructed, that the moment she saw it, she fell in love with the unknown author. An interview took place between the pair, in which *Bydya* was deeply smitten. Day and night she thought of none else but *Sundar*.

"Her lute strings gave an echo of his name.

She spoilt her half-done 'broidery with the same."

One night, as she was conversing with her women in her sleep-

ing apartments, Sundar suddenly made his appearance by the subterranean passage already alluded to, but none then knew how. Surprised and agitated at this unexpected meeting, the young woman asked the purpose of his visit, and being answered in a *sloke*, or couplet, of which she could not understand the meaning, she was obliged to confess her inferiority in learning. Sundar then claimed her as his bride. The nuptials were celebrated by the attendant women, and night after night did he pass in the company of his wife, without the knowledge either of the king or queen. But when Bydya was with child, the secret could no longer be kept from them. Both were now under the impression that the marriage ceremonies were not duly performed, and that Bydya had lost her honor. Guards were set about the house to apprehend the intruder, and when apprehended, he was immediately carried to the place of execution. But a voice from heaven spoke aloud that Sundar was no culprit. It was proved to Bira Singha's satisfaction, that he was the rightful lord of the matchless Bydya, and the lovers were once more happy.

The reader will perceive, that there is nothing either in the substance or arrangement of the above story, which an English author of the present day would be proud of. In it there is little of *passion*, and the denouement is not at all striking. The manner in which it has been worked out and embellished, however, is indeed worthy of admiration, and affords an incontestable proof of Bharut Chunder's thorough mastery over the language in which he wrote. Each page is more musical, and contains a greater number of beautiful similes than the one that precedes it, and the reader is often lost in a labyrinth of sweets. To those unable to read and understand the work in the original, we can merely give an idea, and a very imperfect idea, of its contents. In the extracts, which we shall now make, we shall endeavour to retain, so far as possible, the author's meaning. But to infuse the *harmony* and *spirit* of the original into the translation, is a task which we dare not undertake.

BYDYA.

Beautiful was she, that maiden of fifteen summers. Her face was fairer than the moon of autumn; at its sight the lotus, instead of closing, expanded with joy. Dark were her eyes, and more transparent than those of the fleet gazelles. Her gait was firm and majestic. More music there was in her voice than sounds drawn from the *vina* of *Sursutti*. Her locks were black and curled. Her nails were red as rubies. Her eye-brows were the bows of Cama, and from underneath them shafts of light struck the gazer's heart. Pearls could not be compared to her well-set teeth. The *amrita*, for which the *Debtas* and *Asurs* fought of old, was hid in her mouth. Her hands were slender and pliant. *Cadamba* blossoms could not vie with the softness of her bosom, neither could the golden *champao*

vie with her complexion. As she moved, the clanking of her armlets and bangles taught the bees their musical hum. In the deep shade of fragrant groves, she loved to loiter and meditate. Her presence diffused light and life, and she charmed the hearts of all that came nigh to her.

THE SUDDEN APPEARANCE OF SUNDAR IN BYDYA'S CHAMBER.

Sundar decked himself to visit his lovely bride. His dress set off his person to such advantage, that even the wife of Cama would have fallen in love with him had she seen him. His heart palpitated with a mingled feeling of hope and fear; not knowing how he would be received, he often brought himself to a stand, and then walked on again.

In the meanwhile, Bydya was sorrowing and eagerly longing to see her heart's lord. The chances of another interview, however, seemed to her to be so slight, that she had given up all hopes of it. Said she to her favorite attendant, Shulachuna—"Say, sister, how shall we bring him, for I can no longer bear his absence; where shall I ease my heart, if not to you? The moon which was erst so fair seems now to rain poison from her sphere. The water, scented with camphor, is now nauseous and distasteful. The flowers have lost their perfume. The songs of my maidens are harsh and unharmonious. The winds are no longer gentle but boisterous. The voice of the *kokil*, and the hum of the bee, yield me no delight. The ornaments that deck my body are like burning coals, and the blue cloths which I wear, sting me like serpents. The bed on which I sleep is a perfect disgust to me. The nights are long and dreary. Say how shall I survive my pangs." Thus sorrowed Bydya. At times she fell on the neck of one or other of her women, and at times on the marble pavement of the room. Of a sudden Sundar made his appearance; the effect of his coming was, as if the moon had risen upon the earth. The first feeling of Bydya, and her companions, at sight of Sundar, was that of fright; when they recovered from their surprise, Shulachuna, on being instructed by her mistress, thus spake to Sundar—"Harm us not, stranger, for we are helpless women. We know not who you are, but whether you are a *Gandarva*, *Nagu*, *Yaksha*, or human being, reveal to us thy name, and purpose of thy visit." Sundar answered—"Fear not, fair maidens, I am no spirit, but a man. I am the son of Guna Sindhu, Rajah of Canohipur. My name is Sundar. Having heard of Bydya's vow, I have come hither to try my fortune. Let her withdraw her veil, for all her attempts to conceal herself are ineffectual. Can a piece of cloth confine the lightning of heaven, or can the stars of the sky hide the lustre of the full-orbed moon? *Her presence is as the fragrance of a lotus, or as the brilliancy of a precious gem.**

MAUN SING'S ARRIVAL AT DELHI, AND THE EVENTS WHICH FOLLOWED.

Maun Sing arrived at Delhi, with his prisoners of war. His victory was proclaimed throughout the city by trumpeters, and he was forthwith summoned to the Imperial presence. Jehangire commanded him to relate his adventures. Making a low obeisance, the General thus began—"The conquest of Bengal, great King, has been effected, but not without the loss and trouble which always attend such undertakings. Pratapaditya, the rebellious Raja of Jessore, has been defeated and captured; but the glory of the victory cannot be claimed by me alone. On the eve of battle a great storm swept over the province, and the men, horses, elephants, and camels of the army under my command would all have been utterly destroyed, had not Mazundar, who now stands on my right hand, given us shelter. To him is due the credit of having pro-

* This passage almost reminds us of Longfellow's description of Evangeline:—

"When she passed, it seemed like the ceasing of exquisite music."

pitiated the goddess *Annada* by prayers and offerings, to put an end to the raging storm. To him I, and several of my companions in arms, owe our lives. The reward which my sovereign can most appropriately bestow upon him, is the governorship of Bengal. Let the word of favor drop from his lips, and Mazundar is at once exalted and recompensed." A frown passed over the brow of Jehangire. "Renegade," exclaimed he, after a pause, "you too have been imposed upon by that wicked and deceiving race, the Brahmins. The faith of our Prophet hast thou disgraced in the eyes of idolators, who should not be touched but by the sword. Hinduism is full of abominations. Its doctrines and rites are both abominable. It inculcates the shaving of one's beard. It restrains widows from marrying. It commands the worship of stocks and stones, and creeping things. The Hindu race is composed of cheats and liars. It is priest-ridden. Its *Puranas* have been penned by the evil one. Pratapaditya was a Hindu, and I have hurled him from his throne, shall I then consent to place another of the same faith in his stead? Name some other reward, Mazundar, and I will grant it thee. It would be foolish in me to entrust to you the government of the conquered province." Mazundar, being thus accosted, spake to the following effect—"I am a Brahmin, and I have heard my class reviled; the authorship of the books I venerate, and the religion I follow, has been ascribed to the evil one. Fear, therefore, has departed from me. The augustness of the presence in which I stand shall not restrain me from speaking out my mind freely. The religion of Mahomet is false and puerile; but the religion of the *Purana* comes direct from Heaven. The Mahometans pray in a vacant room, and not, as they should do, before god's image and likeness; many of their rites cannot be named. Their widows are allowed to take husbands unto them." "Hindu," said Jehangire, interrupting the sage, "no more of this—there is insolence in thy look and words; call on thy thousand gods to save thee." Mazundar was immediately surrounded by the imperial guard. But who can harm the man that is favored of heaven? *Annada* heard his prayers, and on the third day of his captivity, came to his rescue with an army mighty and invincible. Thus sing I Bharut Chunder Roy, the favourite of my master, and a true Hindu.

Without tiring the patience of our readers with any more prosy extracts like the last, we shall now proceed to a comparison of the respective merits of Kabikankan and Bharut Chunder.* Although Kabikankan is at times more pathetic and soft than any Bengali author we have met with, yet the palm of superiority must undoubtedly be awarded to his great rival. The genius of Bharut Chunder was more versatile and more prolific of poetical thoughts. He had the creative power,

"The vision and the faculty divine,"

in a more eminent degree. Kabikankan loves to depict in words, which become tender thoughts, the sorrows of a love-lorn damsel, the forests in spring, a moonlit bank, or a beautiful landscape. The *Apsaras* of heaven, and the nymphs of the wood, are his favourite companions. Purling streams, and flowering declivities; the song of the kokila, and the hum of the bee; sylvan

* They were contemporaneous authors of the time of the celebrated Raja Krishna Chunder Roy, the great encourager of Bengali literature, and the second Vikramaditya of India.

solitude, and the breeze laden with fragrance, are to him more than delights. There is a calm transparency, a tender beauty in his narrative, which fascinate every reader, and which are seldom, if ever, interrupted. Bharut Chunder is far more varied, and his style, although possessing less of what Cowper calls "creamy smoothness," is always felicitous and appropriate to the subject-matter. He describes, with equal truth, the court of a puissant prince, an evening cloudless and serene, a beautiful woman, the gathering tempest, the peal of the trumpet, and the neighing of war-steeds. The passages of imitative harmony, which we have met with in his works, have convinced us, and will, doubtless, convince all who read them, that Bharut Chunder was one of the gifted of heaven.

With the names of Kabikankan and Bharut Chunder must be associated the name of another poet, who lived at a comparatively modern time, and fully equalled his predecessors in the grandeur and pathos of his compositions. It is that of Durga Persaud, author of *Gangabhakti Tarangini*, a mytho-heroic poem, on the bringing of the Ganges from Swarga to earth by Bhagirath, in order to preserve the souls of sixty thousand of his ancestors, who had been reduced to ashes by the curse of Kapila, a sage. The work is well written, and although founded on a portion of the *Scanda Purana*, is quite within our range, not being a translation from it. The subject also is well chosen, for in the legend connected with the noble river, there are ample materials for poetic inspiration, and these our author has turned to very good account. The sacrificial horse, arrayed with gorgeous trappings, and checked in his course by "the ever sounding sea," the sudden transformation of Sagar's numerous sons into ashes, for charging Kapila with the theft of the same, Angshuman's intercession in their favor, the birth of Bhagirath, his prayers for the souls of his forefathers, the descent of the Ganges from heaven on the matted locks of Shiva, and from thence on the earth beneath, its impetuous course over leagues and leagues, and finally the ascension of Sagar's sons in sixty thousand radiant chariots, are all of romantic interest, and ably delineated. The episodes in the book, in general, describe the difficulties which Bhagirath met with in carrying on the stream in its onward flow. On one occasion it leapt in its wild fury among adamantine rocks, and was unable to extricate itself. Bhagirath hied him back to Indra's heaven, and besought the aid of *Eyrabut*, a huge white elephant, with tusks that could penetrate the hardest substance. The required assistance was given by the royal beast, on condition that Ganga would acknowledge him to be her lord and deliverer. But when the waves once more,

freed from obstructions, dashed themselves up to the welkin's pinnacle, he trembled at his late audacious proposal. On another occasion a sage, named Janhu, drank up the whole river in a sip for disturbing his meditations. Bhagirath fell at his feet. The sage relented. Forth sprang the foaming torrent from his thigh, and inundated the land. Elated with joy, the heroic and virtuous youth bounded before, sounding the conch-shell, which he had received from Vishnu.

And now that we come to speak about Bengali ballads and songs, a few remarks on that description of poetry, generally, will not, perhaps, be out of place. It is certain that ballads and songs are a species of composition, with which all ages, and all nations, are more or less familiar. In Greece and in Rome, metrical accounts of the achievements of gods and of heroes, were sung to the lyre by wandering bards. The Anglo-Saxons celebrated in rude poems the victory of Brunanburgh and the precipitate flight of Anlaff and his confederate sea kings. Taliessin and Modred recited, from the cliffs overhanging the Conway, prophetic visions of the future destiny of Wales. The women of the interior of Africa, who sheltered the renowned traveller, Mungo Park, poured forth their lamentations in song at his departure. The North American Indian invoked the aid of Manitou, in lays full of spirit, before he rushed into the battle with his tomahawk and scalping knife. In Spain ballads and songs were once the delight of the people. The maiden danced to them on the green. The day-labourer solaced himself with them among his toils, and the mendicant repeated them to gather alms. Amid the "brooms and braes" of Scotland may still be gathered relics of old songs, which were at one time exceedingly popular.

The ballads and songs of a people are a true index to its national character. With an idolatrous race they are tinctured with sentiments at which the mind revolts, as for example, the lyrics of the Khonds addressed to Laha Pinu, the god of battles, and Bira Pinu, the earth goddess, reveal to us that these deities were propitiated with human sacrifices; and the Rig Veda Sanhita, which is a collection of Sanskrit hymns, lays bare the abominations of the pristine mythology of the Hindus. Among a race prone to war and bloodshed, their tone is martial and their music wild and thrilling. Delicacy of texture they have none. They stir the soul like the sound of a trumpet. Again, the ballads and songs of a people naturally timid are characterized by softness, and have seldom anything in them to startle or terrify. The mind of the ballad and song-maker is moulded and fashioned by the society in which he lives. He

can, therefore, have no true sympathy with that which does not accord with the tastes and habits of that society. But supposing even that he *had* a genius, which could appreciate every kind of excellence, and an ear which could discern the music of a lute, as well as that of a war-horn, his labours would scarcely be directed to efforts that would not have for their guerdon the praises of those around him.

In most countries the ballad preceded the song. The reason of this probably is, that the former was more easily composed. The excellence of a ballad consists not in *sentiment*, but in its *story*. The hurried narration of events does not task the poetical faculties to a very great degree, nor need the feelings of the author's mind be wrought up to a high state of sensibility. With abstract ideas, the ballad writer has little or nothing to do. The bloody feuds of chiefs and nobles—the adventures of some errant knight or beauteous damsel, form the staple of his verse. The legends that exist in the language in which he writes, furnish him with ample materials. His imagination is not wholly inactive, but it does not soar to unexplored regions. Greater power, are undoubtedly required to compose a song like Burns's *Mary Morison* than to compose a ballad like *Chevy Chase*.

The ballads of *King Karna* and *Pralhaud Charitra* are both of Sanskrit origin, and highly celebrated throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. Many a young man, and woman too, have laughed and wept over them after the twentieth perusal. *Karna* was a king famed for his good qualities; every morning the needy flocked to his palace gate, and were fed and clad in a princely style. The gods were jealous of his virtues, and Krishna descended from Bycunt to make a trial of his charity. Assuming the shape of a blind old Brahmin, he begged of him to give him food and shelter. Karna took him by the hand, and promised him all that he desired. The Brahmin then made a request at which even the cannibals, into whose hands the Arabian sailor, Sindbad, is said to have fallen, would have shuddered. The only repast which would please him, was the flesh of Karna's only child, prepared and cooked by the hands of his parents. The king was in a dilemma; his promise to supply his guest with all that he wanted recurred forcibly to his mind. Slowly, and with down-cast looks he repaired to his queen, and told her all that had happened. Rather than have the stain of perjury and uncharitableness to one of the priestly class upon them, they both determined, like Abraham of old, but with misdirected faith, to overcome their natural affection and slay *Brisacatu*. The careless boy, whose heart nor sin nor sorrow had touched, was

summoned from the field, where he was playing, and sawed to pieces by Karna and his wife. When the repast was ready, the inhuman guest wished that his host and hostess, and some other person from the neighbourhood, should also partake of it, and commanded Karna to go in search of the third party. No sooner had his feet crossed the threshold, than he beheld at a distance Brisacatu, and a few of his playmates, running toward him. With infinite joy and wonder he once more clasped his boy, carried him in his arms to the expiring queen, and fell at the feet of the disguised god.

The *Pralhaud Charitra* is a ballad on the destruction of Hirana Kashipu, the father of Pralhaud, and an *Asur* of mighty strength, by Krishna. Pralhaud had, at an early age, learnt to repeat the name of Krishna. The *Asur* considering his prowess and dignity insulted, punished him for this. But the boy was not to be dissuaded. The words, "Krishna, Krishna," were ever on his lips. Numerous were the trials and hardships which he had to endure, but his faith was strong and never swerved for a moment. He was dashed headlong from a high mountain, he was thrown into the raging sea, but rocks and waves alike spared him, and he was as sound as ever. At length Kashipu, tired out of all patience, asked him where his Krishna was. The child answered that he was everywhere, and that even within the crystal pillar on which the *Asur* then reclined, Krishna was present. With one stroke of his ponderous sword, the *Asur* broke the pillar into fragments. Instantly a monster, half man and half lion, made its appearance. Gradually dilating in size, it seized Kashipu and tore out his entrails with its claws.

Of the song-writers of Bengal, the most renowned are *Nidhu* and *Dasirathi Roy*. Their productions, although lively and clever, are by no means without fault. A *sameness* in the ideas is their principal defect. There is an endless jingle about heart-consuming woes, and women with beautiful eyes, and the love of the lotus for the day-god: the amorous feats of Krishna are the subjects of many of them. Similar to the *Hymenæos* of the ancient Greeks, the Bengalis have their bridal songs, which are sung in Zenanas on the occasion of a marriage. When the bridegroom, in most cases a boy of twelve or thirteen, decked with pearls, and with a glittering conical cap, stands in the middle of the yard or open space of the quadrangular building, accompanied by the bride, and surrounded by dark-haired damsels, the *Shankha* is sounded, and these songs are sung by professional songstresses. We wish we could give the reader translations of some of them, so that he might have an insight into the present state of native female society, but

they are nowhere to be found in writing. The following is the late Dr. Tytler's versified translation of a song very popular in the streets of Calcutta twenty years ago. It has allusion to the failure of Messrs. Palmer and Co., and to the opinions of Rammohun Roy :—

From Bengal land, the Hindoo faith must quickly now decay, man,
 Since Suttis, all, both great and small, are banished quite away, man,
 And Messrs. Palmer Compani, so flourishing and gay, man,
 Have lost their stores of bright gold-mohurs, and can no longer pay, man ;
 In all our town, there's nought but sights and raree-shows to see, man,
 But how shall I, or any tell, what sort of sights they be, man ;
 A Brahmin's son, brought up with all a Brahmin's holy rites, man,
 Has left his caste, and printed books of politics indites, man ;
 He once believed the holy Veds, and all their ancient stories,
 The heretic forsakes them all, to talk of Whigs and Tories ;
 His penances, his holy water, and his long bead-roll, man,
 He stops,—and stops the masses for his pious father's soul, man.

While on this subject, we are compelled to admit the truth of a charge often urged against the Bengali poets. All their writings, and more especially their *panchalis* or songs, are interlarded with thoughts and expressions grossly indecent. The seclusion of women from society is not, as some have supposed, the only cause of this turpitude. Sanskrit authors, living at a time when in India women mixed freely with men, and the wits of the Restoration, from Dryden down to Dufey, are open to the same objection. The Plain-Dealer and the Country Wife are of a more immoral tendency than even Bydya Sunder. They were written to please men, who were determined to avenge themselves for the enforced morality of the protectorate. Whatever, therefore, outraged the feelings of the puritan, to them yielded delight ; whatever the one avoided with the utmost scrupulosity, the others were the most forward to join in. The male characters in Wycherly's plays are not libertines merely, but *in-human* libertines ; the women are not merely without modesty, but are devoid of every gentle and virtuous quality. The blots in the poetical literature of Bengal are more properly ascribable to the *religion and moral training* of its inhabitants, than to the seclusion of women from society. Let these be as they should be, and all that is bad shall soon be consigned to oblivion, or no more be read. Let these be as they should be, and a better race of authors shall adorn its annals. Let these be as they should be, and the rights and privileges of the Hindu lady shall be no longer denied her. Let these be as they should be, and the dying shall no more be exposed by his nearest relatives to the inclemencies of an ever-varying sky. Let these be as they should be, and horrible atrocities shall cease to be perpetrated, and invidious distinctions shall be abolished, and all shall live in brotherhood and love.

We have all along spoken of the Bengali poets in the spirit of kindly criticism. We have endeavoured, as much as we could, to palliate their faults, and have been lavish of praise on their beauties; but now that we have finished our notice of them, we must make the admission, that compared with the poets of Britain, and even with the Sanskrit poets, they sink into utter insignificance. Valmiki and Vyasa and Kalidas have no compeers among the authors reviewed; far less have Milton and Shakspeare. The poets of Britain are indeed a glorious band, and their productions are wonderfully varied. The profound simplicity of Chaucer, the luxuriance of Spenser, "immortal child in poetry's most poetic solitudes," the truth and depth of Shakspeare, the sublimity of Milton, the dreaminess of Coleridge, the gorgeous mysticism of Shelley, the rich coloring of Keats, the unaffected devoutness of Cowper, the deep feeling of the Ayrshire ploughman, the grandeur of him who sung of Thalaba, "the wild and wondrous song," the vigour and freshness of Thomson, the polish of Campbell, the gaiety and sparkle of Moore, and the philosophic thoughtfulness of Wordsworth, are unequalled in their several ways. Nor can the ballads of King *Karna* and *Pralaud Charitra* bear any comparison with the old English ballads of Chevy Chace, Sir Cauline, and Childe Waters.

Meanwhile we have strong hopes of better days for Bengali poetry and Bengali literature generally, as well as for the people of Bengal. Already have issued, under the patronage of the Council of Education, works in the Vernacular tongue, which, whatever may be their defects, have a laudable object in view; and under that of the Vernacular Literature Committee, an illustrated Penny Magazine for the diffusion of useful knowledge among all classes of native society. These and like undertakings will materially help to develop the latent capabilities of the Bengali language. They will accelerate the approach of the wished-for time, when the Bengalis, instead of being an idolatrous, priest-ridden and semi-barbarous race, shall rank high in the scale of civilization. And this time is not distant. The great and glorious consummation is at hand. Glimpses of the promised land, the land of Beulah, the land flowing with milk and honey, are clearly discernible, and our joy is similar to that of the thirsty stag in a trackless desert, so often described by Bengali poets, at the far off semblance of refreshing waters. Ours, however, is no transient delusion,—no unsubstantial show. Ere long the prospect before us shall be vividly defined, the uplands and hills shall "wear like a garment, the glory of the morning;" the clouds shall disperse and vanish from the firmament, and the sun shall shine *until it is perfect day*.

- ART. II.—1. *The Homœopathic Times, or Review of British and Foreign Medical Literature and Science.* 1850-1851. London.
2. *A Treatise on the Principles and Practice of Homœopathy*, by Francis Black, M. D.
3. *The British Journal of Homœopathy.*
4. *Elements of General Pathology*, by the late John Fletcher, M. D. Edited by J. J. Drysdale, M. D., and J. R. Russell, M. D.
5. *Hahnemann's Novum Organum.* Translated by Dr. Dudgeon.
6. *Recherches cliniques sur le traitement de la Pneumonie et du Choléra, suivant la méthode de Hahnemann, précédée d'une introduction sur l'abus de la statistique en médecine, par le Docteur J. P. Tessier, Médecin de l'Hôpital Ste. Marguerite. (Hôtel Dieu annexe.)* 8vo. 1850. Baillière.
7. *Health, Disease and Homœopathic Treatment, rationally considered.* By J. Stuart Sutherland, M. D., late of the H. E. I. C. Medical Service.
8. *An Inquiry into the Homœopathic Practice of Medicine.* By William Henderson, M. D., Professor of Medicine and General Pathology, and lately one of the Professors of Clinical Medicine, in the University of Edinburgh.
9. *Introduction to the Study of Homœopathy.* Edited by Dr. Drysdale and Dr. Rutherford Russell.

THERE are few persons in England, America, or on the continent of Europe, who will be disposed to question the assertion, that the science of Homœopathy is now a *great fact*—that it has assumed a position, and achieved a success, which call upon all minds of intelligence to investigate its principles, and determine the propriety of its claim to the discovery of a new law, which would overturn the whole of the present practice of medicine, and introduce in its place a system comparatively certain in its results, and successful, safe, and pleasant beyond all former experience. In India, however, this system is still comparatively unknown, and though we imagine few mails now arrive without bringing their quota of votaries to the new art, the popular opinion upon the subject is still so vague, that we propose to draw up a sketch, from the numerous publications at the head of this article, of its principal features and progress in various parts of the world; our pen speeded, our hearts lightened on the way, by that firm faith in this breaking forth of a new era in the noble art of medicine, which distinguishes

all those who have given their thoughts to the study, or themselves to the treatment, of Homœopathy.

In Calcutta the labours of an educated homœopathic practitioner will have placed the subject before many of our readers in the most favourable point of view, that of successful practice; but in the Mofussil, we fear, few persons have any notion of the system, but as one of charlatanism and quackery, which has imposed upon the credulous, and which will soon die the death of all imposture, and be heard of no more. Such will be surprised to hear that its founder, Samuel Hahnemann, was an educated physician of extraordinary ability, sagacity, patience, integrity, and learning; a man of genius, that gathered around him troops of friends, who regarded him with the veneration due to a Christian sage, and whose doctrines have been espoused and vindicated by some of the first intellects of the age.

But, perhaps, we cannot begin our observations better than by a brief notice of the life and character of the celebrated reformer, who carried on so brave a crusade against those dark pills and potions, whose memory still carries terror to our emancipated spirit.

Samuel Christian Frederick Hahnemann was born of humble parents at Meissen, in Saxony, on the 10th of April, 1755. Little is known of his early education at the public school of his native town, excepting that he had made such progress in the learned languages, that his master entrusted him with the tuition of the junior class in Greek.

At twenty years of age, he entered himself as a student of the university of Leipsic, his pocket scantily furnished with twenty dollars; but he possessed that which no money can buy, an indomitable will, an untiring perseverance, and a fixed resolve to do his duty; and that he was no idler, either in his literary, scientific, or medical studies, his copious, crude, and accurate style, his success in chemistry, and his accurate descriptions of disease, sufficiently testify.

From Leipsic he went to Vienna, where he attended the hospitals, and so won the confidence of the profession, as to have a portion of the hospital entrusted to his entire care. At the university of Erlangen in 1799, he obtained the degree of M. D., and was shortly afterwards appointed district physician at Gommeren, near Magdeburg, an appointment that ensured him a certain amount of practice and some little emolument.

Here he practised for some time with more than ordinary success, obtaining for himself an honourable reputation, both for integrity and skill. But his own mind was not satisfied; keenly

alive to the responsibilities of his situation, the practice of medicine presented to his thoughtful temper many glaring inconsistencies, and the question pressed hard upon him—How is it possible with conscientious fidelity to discharge my trust? Is there no great principle, no *law* by which I may guide my course? In vain did he seek this law, either in the theories or practice of the most eminent physicians, and at last, thoroughly disheartened, he gave up his practice, emolument, every thing, though at this time a married man and a father, and retired into penury and obscurity, away from a profession which he considered unequal to the task demanded of it.

These are his own words to the illustrious Hufeland, “It was agony to me to walk always in darkness, to prescribe, according to such or such a hypothesis concerning disease, substances which owe their place in the *materia medica* to an arbitrary decision. I could not treat conscientiously the unknown morbid conditions of my suffering brethren, by these unknown medicines, which being very active substances, may (unless applied with a rigorous exactness, which the physician cannot exercise, because their peculiar effects have not yet been examined) so easily occasion death, or produce new affections and chronic maladies, often more difficult to remove than the original disease. That I might no longer incur the risk of doing any injury, I engaged exclusively in chemistry and literary occupations.”

Hahnemann's skill in chemistry was remarkable, and some of the preparations and tests he discovered, still retain his name. But though he had given up the practice of his profession, he had by no means retired to idleness; and the following account is given by one of his disciples, of the extent of his studies and pursuit after knowledge:—“He had been a traveller in many ages, in many countries, in painful study, in watchings, in vigils; to him all medical literature was tributary, the fragmentary medical lore of the older Ind, of mysterious Egypt, of marvellous Arabia, the learning of Greece and Rome, the Babylonish dialects of modern times, the rescarches of alchemy, the growth of chemistry, the reveries of the poet, the recorded facts of natural history, in a word, whatever was needful to constitute the reformer of medicine, was under his sway. He had sifted all medical theories; all of medical science that deserved the name he had digested; all history that referred to his art, from the earliest record of our race to his own time, he had travelled through. He harmonised all experiments that had been made before and during his time, on the subject of defending, ameliorating, and prolong-

‘ing human life. He proved the depths of the vast sea, and explored the shallows that lay on the surface of what was called medicine, and, like a true interpreter, cautiously, and yet firmly, he declared the Delphian knowledge that was given him. Yet such was the noble simplicity of the man, that while he was the teacher for all time, the humblest who approached him at once discovered that he was their modest fellow-student and co-labourer.” After reading the above tribute to Hahnemann and his studies, we feel inclined to echo Coleridge’s exclamation of, “Hahnemann was a fine fellow!” But we must hasten on to that discovery of the true law of healing, which restored him to the temple of Esculapius, and which has since rendered his name so famous.

While translating the *Materia Medica* of Cullen, he was struck by the fact, that cinchona, when taken by a healthy person, produces symptoms analogous to those of intermittent fever; he tried the bark upon himself when in health, and found that the statement was correct. The idea now occurred to him, that the power of this drug in curing fever and ague might be in its power of producing a similar disease. He repeated his experiments, made many trials of various drugs upon himself and others; each new trial confirmed his opinion; and in 1790, he was satisfied that the long, the earnestly sought *law of healing* was in his grasp, and that the true cure for disease was to be found in the application of those remedies, which would cause a like malady in persons in health. He expressed this by the terms, “*similia similibus curentur*”—“let likes be treated by likes,” or “like cures like.”

Yet, though convinced himself of the discovery of a new and important truth, and one for which he had so long thirsted, nothing can mark more significantly the patient, practical character of the man, than the fact, that for *six years* he carefully and diligently pursued his researches. He discovered, in the records of ancient and modern medicine, that this principle was constantly shown in the operation of medicines designated as specifics; several eminent authorities he found had obscurely alluded to it, and at last he gave it to the world in *Hufeland’s Journal*, 1796, under the title of “An attempt to find a new principle for the discovery of the healing power of medicine.”

And here we will pause a moment to call the attention of our readers to the circumstance, that Hahnemann’s discovery was not the mere theory of a chamber philosopher indulging in idle ~~speculations~~ *speculations*, but a plain induction from facts and experiments, arrived at by a practical chemist and physician of great ability, after a series of trials covering many years of his life,

and one therefore, however new or startling, against which no arguments can hold weight, unless they previously overturn the scientific facts upon which it is grounded.

Hahnemann's next step was to ascertain diligently the effects of various drugs upon the healthy frame, and for this purpose he conducted a course of experiments upon himself and friends—who willingly aided him in enduring patiently the annoyance of a rigid regimen, and the severe suffering produced by the medicines; and after thus labouring in the cause of truth for fifteen years, he published, in 1805, his "*Fragmenta de viribus medicamentorum positivis.*"

For the next five years he was engaged in preparing his "*Organon of the Healing Art,*" which he published in 1810, being the result of twenty years' observation, containing a full explanation of the homœopathic mode of practice; and in 1811 he returned to Leipsic, where he publicly practised, according to the new law which he had promulgated, and where he met with the most brilliant and unexampled success. At this time he commenced the publication of his "*Materia Medica Pura,*" six volumes of which appeared in succession. But the hostility of the profession would allow him no repose; their jealousy was aroused by his success, and this instigated the apothecaries to carry into execution an obsolete law forbidding the physician to prepare and dispense his own medicines; this forced him to abandon Leipsic and his lucrative practice, and settle at Colthen, where he was kindly received by Duke Ferdinand, who honored him with the title of Councillor of State. Here he published his work on "chronic diseases," and remained for several years, finding it to be a haven of repose after the stormy life which he had led at Leipsic, where he had been subjected to the most contemptible indignities, and most unrelenting persecution from his medical brethren, whose reception of him was thus characterised by the celebrated Richter,—“Hahnemann, this rare double head of learning and philosophy, whose system must drag to ruin the vulgar recipe-heads, although at present it is but little known, and more scoffed at than welcomed.”

In 1835 Hahnemann married his second wife, and with her removed to Paris, where he practised to the last, still toiling, still learning with all the freshness and vigour of youth; his affectionate spirit soothed by the love of numerous and devoted friends, his devotion to his art gratified by the extension of his system throughout Europe and the greater part of America. With heart unchilled, intellect unclouded, his spirit left this mortal life in 1844, in his 89th year. In figure Hahnemann was tall and of a noble and commanding presence; the head and fore-

head finely formed ; his manner of living was very simple, and he seems to have been guided in his life by a most reverent spirit of obedience to his Creator. He was in the habit of daily seeking the blessing of the Most High on the selection and the use of his medicines, and there is something nobly characteristic in some of the last words recorded from his death-bed. When some of his disciples recalled, in terms of praise, the great work he had achieved during his life, and the fame he had earned in so many countries, he exclaimed—"Why should I have been thus distinguished ; each of us should here attend to the duties which God has imposed upon him. Although men may distinguish a greater and a less, yet no one has any merit. God owes nothing to me, I owe all to Him."

Such was Samuel Hahnemann. His history is not that of the statesman wielding the power of empires, of the warrior leading his troops to conquest, but that of the patient large-minded, or, as Richter has it, "double-headed philosopher," one of those men given at long intervals to benefit mankind, whose genius can grasp new truths, whose patient experience can prove them to all capable of receiving them, and whose firm indomitable spirit can support them in the face of all opposition, or of personal reproach and persecution.

We will now return to the subject of Homœopathy itself, entering more particularly into its principles and practice, and endeavour to answer the question so constantly sounding in our ears,—“What is Homœopathy?” “It is emphatically a system of specifics, its distinguishing characteristic being, that every individual disease ought to be combated by therapeutic agents, having a distinct individual property, bearing directly upon the morbid action of the disease.” In this principle, embodied in the popular expression of “Like cures like,” we have the foundation-stone of the system, though it is also accompanied by three corollaries, which we believe all homœopathists consider as indispensable to a true and successful practice of the new method.

The 1st, is a necessary consequence of the original law, and demands a close and searching investigation of the properties of each individual medicine, ascertained by numerous and repeated experiments upon the healthy human frame.

2nd. That each medicine shall be administered singly.

And 3rdly, that the quantity administered shall be the very smallest compatible with the restoration of the patient.

On this last point, both as regards the particular preparation of the medicine, and the actual quantity administered to the patient, much diversity of opinion exists, some

practitioners preferring the use of "mother tinctures," others lauding their success from the exclusive employment of infinitesimals of the 30th and other high dilutions, yet all agreeing upon the above law, as regulated by their individual experience, and all employing drugs in portions, which are infinitesimal, as compared with those in use among their predecessors and allopathic* contemporaries.

We can now imagine those of our readers, who have come to the discussion of the subject with unbiassed minds, but who have hitherto heard of Homœopathy as something so inconceivably absurd as to be capable of imposing only upon the simple, exclaiming in some surprise—Is this Homœopathy? Surely there is something highly scientific in a system, which thus requires a physician to adapt his remedy so exactly to the disease of his patient, and in choosing it under all circumstances according to a certain determinate law.

Must not such a profession require a patient study of medicine, and of disease, superior to that now required of the ordinary practitioner? Must not much skill be needed to group leading symptoms, where all strongly resemble each other, to separate the accidental from the constitutional, and to catch those higher characteristic features, which render the prescription for one individual totally useless to another, though to the unpractised eye each case may show no difference? While he may ask again—Why should not the medical professor, as in all other sciences, act according to some established principle? Do not all thoughtful men desire this? Would not both science and mankind gain greatly by such a discovery? We think so, and fearlessly challenge the approbation of every wise man for the various points of homœopathic practice, beginning with that which demands that the powers and properties of each medicine be determined by the most accurate and repeated experiments. The carpenter knows his tools, the dyer his colours, and the homœopathic physician,—relieved from the reproach of D'Alembert, that, "the doctor being truly a blind man, armed with a club, as chance directs his blow, will be certain of annihilating either nature or the disease,"—knows what he is using, and can give a precise reason for the application of every drug in his possession. On this point, even his professional opponents may owe his publications some gratitude. After a second or third large dose of calomel, they may now also determine, with some precision, how much suffering in the patient may be

* A term invented to describe the usual medical system, as distinguished from the homœopathic; and derived, we suppose, from *ἄλλος*, *other* or *opposite*, as the name of the new system is derived from *ὁμοίος*, *like* or *similar*.—ED.

due to the original disease, how much to the remedy, and the balance accurately struck may not be without its benefit to both parties. Hahnemann's definition of medicines is that "they afford no nourishment, they are preternatural irritations, solely destined to modify the amount of bodily health, to injure the vitality and functions of the organs, to produce disagreeable sensations, in a word to make the healthy sick." * * *

"Not unlike in this respect to the specific miasmata of disease in small-pox, measles, the venom of serpents, &c.; each simple medicine creates its own special disease, a series of determinate symptoms, which no other medicine in the world can exactly produce."

Is not that a merciful system, which thus insists upon the trial of the caustic drugs, the burning oil, the fearful purge, the irritating stimulant, the heavy-eyed narcotic, not upon the lacerated frame and tender nerves, and morbid sensations of the already suffering patient, but upon the comparatively impartial test of the healthy body and easy mind of one, who may thus readily detect the power and effects of the foreign substances upon which he is experimenting?

For the simple administration of single medicines, we must also challenge approbation, holding heartily with Bacon that "there has been hitherto a great deficiency in the recipes of propriety respecting the particular cures of diseases; for as to the confections of sale, which are in the shops, they are for readiness, and not for propriety, for they are upon general intentions of purging, opening, comforting, altering, and not much appropriate to particular diseases." But upon this point we cannot do better than let Hahnemann speak for himself, and with tolerable certainty that his arguments may meet with a reply, but with no answer:—

"Is it wise," he asks, "to mix many substances in one recipe? Can we, by so doing, ever raise medicine to certainty? Can we tell which of the substances we have employed has effected the cure, which the aggravation? Can we know, in a similar case, what medicine to avoid, what to select?"

"Of all the problems in physics, the ascertainment of a resultant of various forces is the most difficult to solve, and yet we can measure with accuracy the individual composing forces. In vital dynamics we cannot gauge a single simple force, and yet we dare to guess at the result of an exceedingly complex combination. Would it not puzzle any one to predict the position which six billiard balls, flung, with the eyes shut, upon the table, would ultimately assume?—and yet your practitioner flings into the human system his half-dozen

ingredients, and professes to know their exact result upon the sensitive frame. He who frames the prescription, prescribes to each ingredient the part which it is to play in the human body. This will serve as basis, that as adjuvant; a third as corrigens; a fourth as excipients! In virtue of my power, I forbid all these ingredients to wander from the post assigned them. I wish that the corrective be not deficient in covering the faults of the base or the adjuvant, but I expressly forbid it to leave the boundaries which are traced for it, or to pretend to enact itself a part contrary to that of this base. As to the adjuvant, thou shalt be the mentor of my base, thou shalt assist it in its painful task, but recollect well that thou art only bound to sustain it; go not, I advise thee, to perform any other duty, or act contrary to it. Have not the audacity to undertake some expedition upon thine own account, or to counter-mine the intentions of my base; although thou art another thing, thou must still act in concert with her, for I command thee. To all I confide the conduct of a most important affair; expel from the blood what you discover to be impure, without touching what you find to be good; alter what you find to be abnormal, modify what seems to you unhealthy. You have to diminish the irritability of the muscular fibre, to calm the excessive sensibility of the nerves, to procure sleep and repose. See you these convulsions of the arm, these spasms of the neck of the bladder, I wish that you appease them; see you that man a prey to jaundice, I command you to bleach his face and deobstruate his biliary ducts, no matter whether it is spasm or a mechanical obstacle that renders them impermeable. See thou this patient attacked with putrid fever? Dear base saltpetre, I pray thee hasten to avert the putrefaction. Excuse not thyself by saying that thou art always unfortunate in thy expeditions, for I will give thee as adjuvant sulphuric acid, which will aid thee in all that thou wilt undertake, although these fools of chemists would make us believe that you cannot be found in company without ceasing to be what you are, without being changed into nitrate and sulphate of potash, as if that could take place without the consent of him who framed the prescription. Dear base opium, I have an obstinate and painful cough, which I reserve for thee to attack. I confide to thee this task, to thee to whom the asclepiades have granted the duty of relieving spasms and pain, however difficult they may be, as the seven planets have received the order in the secular calendar to rule such or such part of our body. I have,

' however, heard that sometimes thou bindest the belly. In
 ' short that this phantasy may not seize thee now, I associate
 ' with thee such and such a laxative drug; it is for thee to
 ' watch that this latter does not destroy thy action. It has
 ' also been whispered that heat of skin and perspirations are
 ' caused by thee. If it is so, I give thee camphor as correc-
 ' tive, to control thy conduct. Some one has lately pretended
 ' that you lost your properties by marching side by side. But
 ' we cannot suffer this. Each of you ought to fill the office
 ' which has been assigned you by the constitutional materia
 ' medica. But they still tell me that you hurt the stomach;
 ' but to correct this inconvenience, I will order with thee several
 ' stomachics, and I command the patient to drink a cup of
 ' coffee, which, according to the writings of our schools, aids
 ' digestion, for I have no confidence in these innovators, who
 ' say, on the contrary, that it impairs it. As a last advice,
 ' thou wilt take care that the stomach be not weakened, for to
 ' this end art thou base. And thus it is that each ingredient of
 ' a prescription receives its part, as if it were a being endowed
 ' with consciousness and liberty. These four symptoms and
 ' more ought to be combated by as many different remedies.
 ' Imagine then, Arcesilas, how many drugs must be accumu-
 ' lated, *secundum artis leges*, in order to direct the attack at
 ' once upon all points. Tendency to vomit requires one thing,
 ' diarrhœa another, fever and nocturnal sweats a third; be-
 ' sides, the poor patient is so feeble, that he needs much a
 ' stimulant, or even several, in order that what cannot be done
 ' with one may be effected by the other. But what should
 ' happen, if all these symptoms depended upon the same cause,
 ' as is almost always the case, and if there existed a drug
 ' sufficient for all these symptoms. Ah! that would be a
 ' different thing. But it would be tedious for us to make
 ' researches of this kind; we find it more convenient to in-
 ' troduce into the formula something which corresponds with
 ' each indication, and acting thus we obey all the commands of
 ' the school. But science, but the precious life of man!

"No man can serve two masters at once. But do you con-
 ' scientiously believe that your mixture goes to produce that
 ' which you attribute to each ingredient, as if the drugs which
 ' compose it ought to exercise no influence, no action, the
 ' one upon the other. Do you not see that two dynamic
 ' agents can never, when united, produce what they would do
 ' separate? That from them arises an intermediate effect, which
 ' previously we could not calculate upon. Learn, then, that
 ' three, or even four substances mixed together do not produce

‘ what you would expect were they given singly, at different times, and that they determine an intermediate effect, whether you see it or not. In such cases the order of battle which you assign to each ingredient absolutely serves for nothing. Nature obeys eternal laws without asking you if she ought. She loves simplicity, and does much with a single remedy, whilst you do so little with so many. Imitate then nature. To prescribe compound prescriptions is the height of empiricism. The more complicated our recipes, the darker will it be in medicine. To give the *right*, not the many *mixed*, is the stroke of art.”

And now we come to the third point, the great stumbling block in the path of his opponents, *the smallness of Hahnemann's doses*, and we do so fearlessly, demanding for this novelty the same approbation which we have claimed for the other parts of his system. Upon what grounds? Upon the very strongest and surest that can be set forth as the foundation of any new theory—those of direct experiment. When he first commenced the practice of the homœopathic system, Hahnemann administered his medicines in doses nearly as large as those in ordinary use; but his accurate knowledge of the remedies he was using soon showed him that they occasioned aggravations, and new pains and complicated symptoms, which added to the sufferings and impeded the cure of his patients. And he gradually, and by the most patient attention and experiment, reduced the amount of his doses, until he found, that in many cases, and generally in exact proportion to the fitness of the remedy, the very smallest quantities were sufficient to effect a cure. His practice, in this respect, varied according to the age, sex, or strength of the patient. Some of his last cures were attained by merely smelling the appropriate medicine, while in other cases he would give at once a whole drop of the “mother tincture.” How drugs can act upon disease in quantities so inconceivable to all previous habits of thought, it is hard to say; but that they do act in this way, is a fact ascertained by direct experiment, in the first instance, by Hahnemann, and since, by the whole body of his disciples, amounting in America alone to 1,500 educated medical practitioners. To say that that is not possible, which every day's observation demonstrates to be an assured scientific fact, is mere assertion, of no value against positive demonstrative experience; while, to refuse to employ these medicines until we know how they act, as Hahnemann justly observes, would be like a man's refusing to light his fire until he knew why his striking together the flint and steel should generate a new substance, fire, whose momentary

contact should yet suffice to melt and carry away with it small particles of the hard metal.

Many theories have been broached as to the action of small doses. They are generally supposed to influence the vital powers directly through the nerves, but into such discussions we do not presume to enter; they form the subject of pure philosophical investigation, and the truth may, or may not, reward enquiry. Our province lies only with those parts of the system which admit of ordinary tests, and which any one of fair ability and of honest, patient temper may ascertain for himself.

We must not, however, forget to remind our readers that homœopathic drugs are not administered in their raw state, but after the most careful preparation; and it was to the new powers communicated to them by shaking and trituration that Hahnemann attributed great part of their curative success, considering this to be among the greatest of his discoveries. "He found that various substances, insoluble in their crude state, became, after trituration, capable of solution either in water or spirits of wine. The dark liquor obtained from the sepia is soluble, in its primitive condition, only in water, but the homœopathic process makes it soluble in spirits of wine also. Magnesia, marble, and other calcareous substances, after undergoing this process, become perfectly soluble, though they will not thoroughly combine with either water or spirits of wine before it.

"Hahnemann announces himself as the first observer of these chemical facts, but still more emphatically, as the first who has detected that great increase of power in medicines through rubbing or shaking, to which we have already alluded. Accordingly it is upon the augmented force of the medicines, however reduced in bulk, which results from his mode of preparing them, that Hahnemann seems inclined to rest his explanation of the efficacy of infinitesimal doses.

"The clown, who lights his pipe with flint and steel, little thinks of the surprising power which his operation has developed; mere rubbing will draw out the latent caloric, for Count Rumford found that chambers might be heated by the simple motion of metal plates rubbed rapidly together. Horn, bone, ivory, and some other substances, though inodorous when left alone, emit a strong smell when subjected to friction."

For a full account of the various methods employed in preparing homœopathic medicines, we refer our readers to Dr. Black's interesting sketch of the "principles and practice of

Homœopathy." We shall merely observe that the principal end to be obtained is the perfect solution and division of the substances, and for this purpose, water, alcohol, sugar of milk, and in some cases æther, are employed. "The water must be perfectly pure and distilled, the vessels used perfectly clean, the mortars should be of porcelain, never of metal, the spatulas of bone, and well scraped every time they are used. Great care must be taken that the substances be perfectly genuine; plants should, if possible, be procured green, or if dried, never in powder, and the ordinary tinctures of drugs are never to be employed. Tinctures of all indigenous plants are to be procured by expressing the juice; and adding to this an equal quantity of pure alcohol. After standing a few days, the clear fluid is to be carefully decanted, and preserved for use in well stoppered bottles. This is what is called the "mother tincture." All mineral and animal substances, and exotic vegetable substances, are best prepared by trituration with sugar of milk. The future attenuations are prepared in such a manner, that the first contains one grain of medicine, or one drop of the mother tincture to be attenuated, mixed with one hundred grains of sugar of milk, or a hundred drops of alcohol, and then shaking or triturating for a due time; the second is procured by adding the hundredth part of the first to four hundred new parts of the vehicle, submitting it to the same process. The third in submitting to the same process, the hundredth part of the second, and so on to the thirtieth."

Another great contribution to medical science, from the genius of Hahnemann, was his work upon chronic diseases, which, according to him, owe their origin to three miasms,—psora, syphilis, and sycosis. After twelve years of diligent research, he was led to believe that psora was the source of most chronic complaints. He found that chronic diseases, treated with his best skill, "frequently re-appeared after seeming cured, that they always appeared under a form more or less modified, and with new symptoms, and each year with a perceptible increase in their intensity. From this he concluded that we have in sight only a portion of the deeply seated primitive evil, the vast extent of which is shown by new symptoms being developed from time to time, and that we ought to know all the accidents and symptoms produced by this primary unseen cause, in order to seek a homœopathic remedy." His theory was confirmed by observing that this class of disease never yielded to the most healthy diet or the most regular life. He next observed that this difficulty of treating certain affections

apparently occurred in patients who had formerly had scabies, and who traced their illness from that period, or in those in whom, though forgotten by themselves, slight traces of the eruption could be found. He says, "These circumstances, joined to the fact established by numerous observations of medical writers, and sometimes by my own experience, that the suppression of a psoric* eruption had been immediately followed in patients otherwise healthy by similar or analogous symptoms, left in my mind no doubt as to the internal evil which I had to combat."

His next care was to discover anti-psoric remedies, and attentive observation of their curative effect confirmed him more than ever in the conviction that, to the driving-in of psoric eruptions was to be attributed the origin of most chronic maladies. "It persuaded me that not only the greater part of the innumerable skin-diseases, distinguished and denominated so minutely by Willan, but also the pseudo-organizations, from the wart upon the finger to the enlargement of bones and deviations of the vertebral column to many other softening and distortions of bones in infancy and adult age; that the frequent epistaxis, the congestions of the hæmorrhoidal veins, hæmoptysis, hæmatemesia, and hæmaturia, amenorrhœa, menorrhagia, habitual nocturnal sweats, dryness of the skin, habitual diarrhœa, obstinate constipation, chronic erratic pains, convulsions appearing during many consecutive years, in a word, the thousand chronic affections to which pathology assigns different names, are only, with few exceptions, the off-sets of a polymorphous psora, the ramifications of a single, immense, fundamental disease."

From numerous writers Hahnemann collected a large number of cases, showing how frequently disease was caused by the repulsion of psoric eruptions by external applications. "With patient industry he tracked the unseen unnoticed taint to its ancient forms, marked it in the chronic diseases of the modern, and finally concluded that its original type was to be found in the leprosy of the Old Testament, and in that of the Arabians, and in that once prevalent malady for which Lazar houses were erected in almost every town and city of Christendom."

As may be readily supposed, the discoveries and experiments of Hahnemann upon this subject, have led to improvements in medical science almost equal in value to the original law propounded by him. The homœopathic physician thinks it mad-

* Psora is a general name for skin disease.

ness to drive in or repel those external manifestations, by means of which nature has probably saved a vital organ, or at least given warning of a subtle enemy, but treats them with appropriate remedies. Under his care the tender infant is no longer poisoned for life by the driving-in of a teething eruption ; he hails the unsightly sore as a friendly notice of threatened evil, and with gentle hand combats the lurking taint within. But Homœopathy does more than this, it boldly meets the hereditary disease, which, in consumption, scrofula, or other fearful maladies, desolates our hearths and strikes down our children with premature decay. Listen to the testimony of Dr. James Chapman, so well known as an allopathic practitioner in the neighbourhood of Liverpool :—"We have repeatedly seen the children of unhealthy parents born comparatively healthy, when those parents have been put on the anti-psoric treatment. We have known families, where child after child has died in the first two or three years of life, in which, after the parents had been treated homœopathically, healthier children, with the promise of long life, have been born." This is but the testimony of one convert to the new system, but all homœopathists will confirm such statements, and will tell you of cases wherein the disease, after resisting the most appropriate remedies, has yielded like magic to the exhibition of a well chosen anti-psoric.

Having given in the preceding pages a slight sketch of the general principles and high aims of Hahnemann's system, we now propose to look over in detail a few of those points in which we consider the new method of cure to be so infinitely superior to the old one. The first place must be given to its great comparative success ; for to this test, of course, must the value of all improvements be eventually referred.

"If its method of cure could be shown to be only equal to that of its opponents, it would deserve a preference for its safety and pleasantness ; but when we can show that it is not only safer and surer, but that mortality, even in the fiercest and most intractable diseases, has been greatly diminished by its influence, surely every sane and unprejudiced person must admit that a fair case has been made out for the establishment of homœopathic hospitals."

The editor of the *Homœopathic Times* gives the proportion of deaths to the number of cases treated in allopathic hospitals and infirmaries, as from nine to ten per cent ; in homœopathic institutions as from four to five per cent., leaving a balance of five per cent. in favour of Homœopathy. The mean duration of treatment of patients in allopathic hospitals and infirmaries as from twenty-eight to twenty-nine

days; in homœopathic institutions from twenty to twenty-one days, giving an average time of eight days less with homœopathic than with allopathic treatment. He says, "These results have not been obtained by the invidious selection of particular hospitals, but from the summary of the reports which have been published. They have been furnished by the allopathic hospitals of Berlin, Vienna, Leipsic, Dresden, and many other German hospitals; the provincial infirmaries of France, as those of Montpellier, Lyons, &c., and the hospitals of Paris. In these kingdoms, the hospitals of St. Thomas and St. George in London, and the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, have furnished data. The homœopathic institutions, whose reports have been consulted, are those of Leipsic, Vienna, Munich, Breig in Silesia, and two hospitals in Hungary."

In a commission of enquiry appointed by Duke William of Brunswick, the books of both allopathic and of homœopathic practitioners were examined with the view of discovering the respective proportions between cases treated and deaths. The highest homœopathic proportion was three in the hundred, the lowest less than one; whilst the allopathic proportion ranged from eight to ten in the hundred. When it is known that the practitioners of Brunswick are obliged, under pain of heavy penalties, to keep a faithful register of cases treated and deaths occurring, and that the enquiry extended in the case of one of the homœopathists over ten years, and in the case of another over four, statistical information of this kind must be allowed to have great weight.

Dr. Black gives various statistical reports from French and German published statements, a comparative account of the treatment of a French regiment of hussars, with the results during several years, and the following is his comparative view of the results of both systems in various acute diseases :—

Name of Disease.	Allopathic Treat.			Homœopathic Treat.		
	No cases.	No deaths.	Deaths per cent.	No cases.	No deaths.	Deaths per cent.
<i>Inflammation of the substance of the Lungs</i>						
Pneumonia.....	362	38	10.5	176	14	8.0
<i>Inflammation in the Peritonæum—</i>						
Peritonitis.....	34	11	32.3	58	4	6.9
Erysipelas.....	93	8	8.6	122	2	1.6
<i>Inflammation of the Liver—</i>						
Hepatitis.....	99	14	14.0	12	0	0.
<i>Small Pox—</i>						
Variola.....	159	53	33.3	54	10	18.5
<i>Water in the Head.</i>						
Hydrocephalus.....	70	63	90.0	7	4	57.1

Dr. Oryanne, in the *Homœopathic Times*, gives elaborate calculations and observations upon pneumonia, from the published statements of Skoda and others, and of various public institutions; and after a careful analysis of respective ages, &c., he gives one death in nineteen as the result of homœopathic treatment, and one death in seven cases under Allopathy.

In the treatment of cholera, that fearful malady, which has so long set at nought the art of the physician, the statistics of Homœopathy show a great superiority of success. The number of deaths has been reckoned at sixteen per cent., while the mortality under allopathic treatment has been counted at fifty per cent.

Dr. Mabit was created, by the French King, Knight of the Legion of Honour, in 1836, for his successful homœopathic treatment of Asiatic cholera at Bourdeaux, and for his eminent success in a homœopathic hospital, which he had established in that town; he has collected, from authentic sources, the results of the allopathic and homœopathic treatment of cholera. In his table he gives the comparative trial of each town or country separately, and also the period at which the cholera raged. The following are the results:—

<i>Treated allopathically.</i>	<i>Cured.</i>	<i>Died.</i>
4,95,027	2,54,788	2,40,239

Giving 49 as the per-centage of deaths.

<i>Treated homœopathically in the same districts.</i>	<i>Cured.</i>	<i>Died.</i>
2,239	2,069	170

Giving 7½ as the per-centage of deaths.

The following results of the homœopathic treatment of cholera in N. W. Prussia, we extract from the *Prussian State Gazette*, No. 316, November 14, 1831. The report is drawn up by Dr. Sieder, a Stadt physician. Cured by homœopathic treatment, eighty-six out of 109, or about 79 per cent. Ditto by Allopathy, sixty out of 199, or 30 per cent. Ditto by nature, without the aid of physic, sixteen out of forty-nine, or nearly 33 per cent.

The cholera attacked the territory of Raab in Hungary with great violence. Dr. Bakody undertook the homœopathic treatment of cholera patients, and his official reports were placed among the public archives by the imperial health commissioner, Count Frany Ferraris. The proportion, taken from these reports, is for allopathic treatment five deaths for seven recoveries; for homœopathic treatment, two deaths for forty-nine recoveries. But our readers will cry out '*jam satis*;' we will therefore only add, that in Vienna, during the raging of the cholera, the Emperor sanctioned the homœopathic treatment of patients, on condition that two allopathic physicians should be appointed to report on the nature of the cases taken into the hospital, as well as to observe the course of treatment. The report of the commissioner shows, that whereas two-thirds of those treated homœopathically recovered, two-thirds of those treated allopathically died, and in consequence, the Emperor repealed the existing laws against Homœopathy, and endowed a public hospital, in which the progress and success of the new system, under Dr. Fleischmann, have become matters of European notoriety.

In the above extracts, we have, we think, fulfilled our promise, and shewn that in the cure of the most dreaded maladies, Homœopathy has achieved a success which has been beyond all former experience; and our readers must recollect that hospitals give reports only of the maladies of the poor, who have little time to attend to aught but alarming illnesses, and that such statements give no idea of the vast amount of suffering removed, both by the exclusion of the old-fashioned remedies, and by the speedy relief afforded by the new ones. In the same manner a week's diminution of the average number of days consumed under treatment, affords no notion of the speed with which a patient has been relieved of his most intolerable pains, often in the course of a few hours: or of the state in which he has been dismissed from a homœopathic hospital, when in the place of a weak, sickly individual, who long requires home, care and attention, you see a person, who, from the exhibition of well chosen anti-psorics, will tell you with exultation, "that he is 'not only well of his complaint, but that somehow or other, 'these new doctors, he doesn't know how, have cured him of 'aches and pains of long standing, and he never felt so well in 'his life.'" At this distance from England, we are unable to consult at will those documents, which would give us an opportunity of laying before our readers a complete exhibition of homœopathic power; but the success of Hahnemann's system has been equally great in the treatment of disease generally; and

in cases of hooping cough, bronchitis, croup, scarlet fever, threatened convulsions after a severe fall, dangerous low typhus fever, we can ourselves testify to its triumph; to say nothing of the tooth-aches, ear-aches, violent head-aches, sicknesses, colds, coughs, sore-throats, quinsies, diarrhoeas, the teething attacks of infants, eruptions and disorders of children, which, either nipped in the bud, or cut short, often, by the administration of one or two doses of the remedy, render the advent of a homœopathic physician into a family one of blessing and of astonishment to its inmates.

2nd. Its comparative certainty over the old method. Man is no machine. It is but according to the will of the Supreme Creator that he lives, and moves, and has his being. Many are the obstacles to health to be found in his own carelessness, intemperance, or indulgence of those evil passions, whose subtle influence upon the diseased frame may over-power that of the best physician, who has not under his controul the secret griefs and heavy sorrows which are more or less the portion of every son and daughter of Adam. Yet granting all these circumstances, which may attend and modify the best directed efforts of human skill, the homœopathist acts according to a certain law. For certain pains and sufferings, he has an exact, corresponding remedy, and expects their removal as a scientific result of its exhibition.

3rd. Its comparative power. The grand object of the allopathist appears to be to render the unhappy bowels "the sink, ' whose part's to drain all noisome filth, and keep the kitchen ' clean;" but the homœopathist, requiring a distinct and appropriate remedy for each disease, has searched all nature for aid; and as might have been expected from the lavish bounty of our heavenly Father, he has found it: trees, herbs, animals, and minerals, all bring their quota to his store; each year adds to its variety and exactness, and there appears to be no limit to the discovery of means for the curing or alleviating of mortal disease, but in the patience, endurance, and sagacity of the discoverers. Nor is this all; his use of anti-psoric remedies will often effect the cure of a chronic malady after hope has long fled; while to the stricken parent he is the very messenger of hope, telling him that his tender babes may yet grow up in health and strength, or that the hereditary disease, which has seized upon member after member of the cherished group, may yet, with God's blessing, be eradicated or lessened in force.

4th. Its gentleness. Many disorders, hitherto given up to the lancet as the only cure, have been found amenable to homœopathic treatment. Dr. Malan relates, in the *Homœopathic*

Times, some successful cases of cataract, and observes that when this disorder is hereditary, we might as well hope to cure a tree of internal disease by plucking off the rotten fruit, as think to eradicate cataract by the knife. Of the improved treatment and frequent cure of the insane, Dr. Oryanne gives some very interesting examples in the 2nd volume of the periodical referred to above; and in cases of "tumours, abnormal growth, ulcerations, diseased joints, cancer, &c., the sufferings may be greatly alleviated, and the cure often effected without the aid of the lancet." Then the whole merciless system of purging is destroyed at once, and with it, bleeding, either from lancet or leech, setons, blisters, and blistering ointments, whose use, it has been well observed, has made the old method certainly one of torture, if not one of cure. A water-doctor of our acquaintance, who was examining the arm of a lady, who had been treated with such appliances, exclaimed in a tone of disgust—"What *farriery* has been here!" Who that has marked the fair neck, disfigured by ruthless plunges of the lancet or by setons, or who has placed, with reluctant hands, the burning blister, or watched with sickening apprehension the bleeding leech-bite on the neck of the little infant, which nothing will stop, or the blanched cheek and sinking pulse of the wife, whose best hope lay in that life blood, of which she is being so mercilessly deprived, but must reiterate the doctor's exclamation, and hail with delight the advances of a science, which will for ever exterminate such helpless barbarities.

5th. Its comparative safety. The homœopathist does not war with nature; and when his remedy does no good, it very, very rarely does any harm. The allopathist enters into a violent contest with nature, taking little count of the constant tendency of the vital powers themselves towards efforts for health. The homœopathist, on the contrary, carefully guards the vital strength by attention to diet, and the absence of all exhausting appliances; and taking nature as his best friend and counsellor, he listens to her suggestions, aids her imperfect efforts, and gently supplies her deficiencies, scrupulously watching, lest, by his own rude handling, he should destroy her truer and more delicate operations. Then, as we have said before, the homœopathist gives no dashing purgatives, no drowsy opiates; neither do we meet with patients he has victimised with iodine, or whose faces he has blanched with bleeding, or turned blue with nitrate of silver, to say nothing of "those unfortunate persons, who, in consequence of large doses of mercury, have their teeth destroyed, their limbs racked by nocturnal pains, who suffer from diseased liver, con-

‘stant excruciating head-aches, and who cannot expose themselves to the slightest degree of cold without being affected by it.’ Another striking feature of Homœopathy, which we will here notice, is that, in proportion to the severity of the symptoms in general, is the ease of prescribing for them. Among the sickly complaints of the valetudinarian and fine lady, it may be sometimes difficult to seize upon the leading characteristic with its appropriate remedy; but in a dangerous malady, the strongly marked symptoms so clearly indicate the healing medicine, that the veriest tyro in the science may meet with the most astonishing success; and this we have witnessed repeatedly. The same can scarcely be said of the old system; the alarming symptoms may arouse the fears and quicken the cares of the medical practitioner, but cannot relieve him from the apprehension, that the morbid principle being so rampant, the violent contest he must excite to quell it, may end in the destruction of the patient.

6th. Its simplicity. The application of a single remedy, and that in quantities undiscernible by the taste or feeling of the patient, renders it easy to perceive whether the desired end has been worked or no. The experienced physician will ascertain in a few hours whether his choice has been skilfully made; (it has been said, we think, by Hahnemann, that no remedy that is truly homœopathic, will fail in showing some slight indication of change for the better in twenty-four hours,) while the sufferer, undisturbed as it were by external force, finds no difficulty in determining whether his pains have been lessened or increased since he took the medicine. If the former, the practitioner has at once gained data for further proceedings; if the latter, he judges speedily that he has erred, or that some constitutional tendency has marred his efforts. By the old method, which pours into the delicate, probably suffering stomach, large quantities of bitter, purging, nauseous medicines, no one may define how much the state of the patient may be due to the disease, or how much to the drugs he has taken. Dr. Gully, in his able work upon chronic disease, says that mercury cannot be taken internally for a derangement of the liver, without at the same time “its plunging a sword ‘through the stomach.’”

7th. The comparative rationality of its dietary rules. One object of which the homœopathist never loses sight, is the husbanding of the patient’s strength; for he considers all illness to imply a deficiency of vital power, or nature would require no aid. Keeping this great principle ever in view, he never starves as a system; his dietary, though subject of course

to individual restrictions, comprises all those articles which science or long use has demonstrated to be most nourishing or easy of digestion; bread, milk, many kinds of meat, poultry, vegetables, fish and fruits, accordingly find their place in it, and nothing is forbidden as a rule but wines (those not invariably), spirits, condiments, spices, coffee, &c., which having a medicinal action of their own, would interfere directly with the action of his remedies, and also those substances which have long been held in instinctive dread by the sick, such as lobsters, salt meats, ducks, some fruits, old cheese, pastry, salads, &c., &c. In the application of his rules, the same good sense is observable; considering that illness implies a morbid irritation somewhere, he has no idea of keeping up the strength by irritating wines or bitter beers; all this he holds to be only *feeding the disease*, and increasing the cause of the loss of strength. Where there is appetite, he cautiously administers that nourishment, which is lightest and most easily digested, such as bread, milk, cocoa, &c., &c., guided still in some measure by the taste of the patient. When the appetite has failed, he never presses food, taking nature's own clear indication that the digestive powers are not in a state to assimilate it; and conceiving it to be his part to restore the appetite by appropriate treatment, while the strength will take care of itself, or rather return, on the removal of the disorder, with a speed which is astonishing to those new to the art. For ourselves, we must say that when we see a patient under ordinary practice, not only drugged to a lamentable extent, but often forced to eat food which is loathed as much as the medicine, taking broth made of animal, and therefore stimulating food during fever, or crammed with wine or beer during convalescence, and all to keep up the strength,—we consider the doctor to be only confessing his blunders; that he has indeed knocked over nature with a bludgeon, and is now trying to set her on her legs again by his own clumsy contrivances.

Our 8th and last point of comparison will be one in which the advantages of the new school show to great advantage; it is in the cordial agreement of its professors in the choice of their remedies. Skill and experience will here, as in all other affairs, best guide the judgment; but provided the physicians agree as to the character of the malady, there will be but little difference of opinion between them as to the prescription, while in the case of a new disease, their previously acquired and exact knowledge of medicine will at once suggest a likely or appropriate remedy, or at all events teach them to seek for one upon some rational grounds. Ac-

cordingly, we find that when the Asiatic cholera first made its appearance in Europe, the homœopathists, with, we believe, one consent, immediately fixed upon camphor as the healing agent most likely to be successful; and so true were their conclusions, that to this day camphor has remained as their chief weapon in the treatment of this formidable disorder; and if applied at first, rarely fails to effect a cure, though in more advanced stages of the disease, other medicines are used with equal success, and some originally selected with the same unanimity.

In pitiful contrast, we now note the confessions of their own professors in the old school. We have read with care the reports of the medical men, who held the council in London during the last visitation of Asiatic cholera, and each medical practitioner appeared to rise in turn to propose his own nostrum, and to denounce that of the previous speaker as either futile or noxious: the only point in which all seemed to agree being in the acknowledgment of their complete failure in the discovery of any remedy, which could be relied upon for diminishing the enormous proportion of deaths. This is what is said by Dr. James Rush of Philadelphia:—"The history of the cholera, summoned up from the four quarters of the earth, presents only one tumultuous Babel of opinion, and one unavoidable farrago of practice; this even the populace learned from the daily Gazettes, and they hooted us accordingly. But it is equally true, that if the inquisitive fears of the community were to bring the real state of professional medicine to the bar of public discussion, we should find the folly and confusion scarcely less remarkable on nearly all the other topics of the art." Listen to another confession; Mr. Pinny says:—"At this moment the opinions on the subject of treatment are almost as numerous as the practitioners themselves. Witness the mass of contradiction on the treatment of even one disease, viz., consumption. Stoll attributes its frequency to the introduction of bark. Morton considers bark an effectual cure. Reid ascribes the frequency of the disease to the use of mercury, Brillonet asserts that it is curable by mercury alone. Ruse says that consumption is an inflammatory disease, and should be treated by bleeding, purging, cooling medicines, and starvation. Salvadori says it is a disease of debility, and should be treated by tonics, stimulating remedies, and a generous diet. Galen recommended vinegar as the best preventive of consumption; Dessault and others assert that consumption is often brought on by taking vinegar to prevent obesity. Beddoes recommended fox-glove as a specific; Dr. Parr found fox-glove

‘ in his practice more injurious than beneficial. Such are the ‘ contradictory statements of medical men!’ Who that has to make his way as a student, or who is rash enough to seek for health amid, truly, such a “Babel” of confusion, experiment, and individual fantasy, and can compare it with the calm principle, and as far as human skill may ensure it, certainty of the Hahnemannian method, but must feel as if he had walked out of darkness into light; as if after being tossed upon an ocean without compass or rudder, he had suddenly found himself sailing upon a calm lake with all the appliances of modern science at command, his pilot skilful and thoroughly conversant with every line of the coast to which he is bound.

Our readers will now like to know what progress the new science has made in Great Britain and in other countries; and we are sorry that our absence from the mother-country will preclude our giving aught but comparatively meagre details, and those not of a very late date.

With regard to medical practitioners, we find that in April 1850, there were fifty-two resident in London, of these twenty-six were doctors of medicine, and the remainder members of the Royal College of Surgeons, excepting a few foreigners bringing with them the credentials of foreign universities. As there is at present no English homœopathic college, we may presume the greater part of this large body of men to be converts to the new system.

At the same time there were seventeen dispensaries, and we rejoice to add, that at this present moment there are two public hospitals, the London and the Hahnemann hospital, (the report of this last for the first year we have unluckily mislaid, but we feel confident that the mortality, as compared with that of the other London hospitals, was stated as one-half less); there is also an hospital in Manchester, and another in Dublin, and we imagine that the modern Athens will not be long in the rear of her neighbours on this head. In the country there were fifty-two practitioners; of these thirty-one were Doctors of Medicine, and the remainder Members of the Royal College of Surgeons; of dispensaries there were twenty-one, viz., at Bath, Birmingham, Bradford, Brighton, Canterbury, Exeter, Glastonbury, Hull, Ipswich, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Maidstone, Manchester, Newcastle, Norwich, Sheffield, Sunderland, Taunton, Torquay and Worthing; and the number has probably been doubled since the above statement was written. In Edinburgh, at the same date, there were five homœopathic Physicians, Professor Henderson being at their head, and the like number in Dublin. With respect to foreign countries, the

resources we have at hand are still more scanty; but we find in April, 1850, a list of twenty-three medical professors of universities on the continent, who have adopted Homœopathy, and twenty-four privy councillors of state,* and twenty-one court physicians, viz., to the King of Prussia, the King of Belgium, and the late King of Naples, the Empress Maria Louisa, the Queen of Spain, the Queen Dowager of Naples, the Princes of Hoenlich and Henry of Saxony, two Princesses of Prussia, the Archduke John of Austria, the Grand Dukes of Baden, Hesse, and Weimar, the Dukes of Lucca, Saxe Coburg, Saxe Meinengen, Brunswick, and Anhalt Cœthen, and the Duchess of Anhalt Dessau. In France, in May, 1850, the number of avowed homœopathic practitioners was 174, of whom sixty-six reside in Paris. In Madrid two. In Sweden Dr. Leidbeck, well known on the continent for his homœopathic writings. "Wherever ships go, there has gone the knowledge of this doctrine and practice. From Rio Janeiro comes proof of its extension, from Labuan and the Spicy Isles, from India, New Zealand and Australia, from the steppes of Tartary, and from the Coast of Africa; yet in no part of the world has this noble doctrine made greater progress than in the United States, where there are 1,500 educated medical practitioners, and where their adherents are estimated at a million of people." At Philadelphia there is an hospital and a chartered homœopathic medical college. In Europe there are hospitals at Leipsic, Vienna, Munich, Lucca, Giino, Gyōngyōs, Linz, Moscow, Palermo, Thoissy and Kremser. In India, at present, we know of but three, that just opened in Calcutta, and those established by Mr. Brooking at Tanjore and Puducuta, under the respective Rajahs: but we earnestly hope that it will not be long before the call already gone forth will be responded to, and other places will add their names to the goodly array of institutions for diminishing mortality and suffering among the poor.

We will next consider the objections which are usually brought against the new system; and these, we think, are generally of a trifling nature compared with the immense amount of evidence adduced in its favour. For ourselves, we must own, that we have never had the fortune of meeting with any single opposing argument worthy of much attention, beyond that of the exceeding minuteness of the dose, an assertion, that "it is not possible that an agent, which can neither be weighed nor detected

* The title of privy councillors is conferred by the sovereigns of several parts of Europe upon such physicians only as are distinguished for their acquisitions in general science and in medicine, and is esteemed a mark of high honour.

‘ by chemical tests, should have any curative power ;” and on this point, though we grant that it is startling to the mind at first sight, we cannot consider any thing but direct experiment to be the legitimate decider of its uselessness or efficacy. Yet to the thoughtful mind there are many circumstances of daily occurrence, which may make the matter less difficult of belief ; and we here subjoin some remarks by Professor Doppler, on infinitesimal doses, he having examined the subject, not as a homœopathist, but in a purely scientific character as a professor of physics. “ Before presuming to call any thing great or small in relation to its effects, in other words, before we can set it down as powerful or powerless, we must ascertain if the property in question is one dependent on gravity or on superficies ; otherwise, we may be found using the measure in a case which requires the rule. Now it seems to have been tacitly assumed by pharmacologists, that the activity of a drug depends entirely on its weight. If, however, it shall appear that the activity of a medicine depends only on the parts in contact with the body, we shall perceive *à priori* the possibility of doses insignificant in mass, but of extensive superficies, being active agents ;—a result which Hahnemann and his followers have arrived at, by the independent and still more satisfactory process, that of induction from facts. Before proceeding further, it will be requisite to advert to the distinction between the physical and the mathematical superficies of a body. By the former designation, we mean the sum of the superficies of all the particles composing the body, while the latter is synonymous with the surface of common parlance, and denotes that portion of the surface of the outermost particles, which is external or free. It is obvious that no process of mechanical division can either increase or diminish the physical surface of a body. Not so with the mathematical surface, which undergoes enlargement from every fresh sub-division, particles previously in contact with other particles of the same substance now becoming external. Thus a cube of an inch, reduced, we shall say, into a million of pieces, each of which will be about the size of a grain of sand, will have increased its mathematical surface from six square inches to six or seven square feet. By a further sub-division into particles a hundred times smaller, such as those particles of dust which float in the air, the external surface increases to a thousand square feet or more. If then medicinal virtue be exerted by the external surface alone, it is clear that the process of sub-division must augment it, and to render active the whole surface gained by trituration, another substance, such as sugar of milk, must be

‘ interposed between the several particles. Proceeding on the moderate assumption, that by each trituration, the particles are reduced to the hundredth part of their previous size, we shall find that the surface of a medicine, originally a cube of an inch, will become, at the third trituration, equal to two square miles. At the fifth, to the Austrian dominions; at the sixth, to the area of Asia and Africa together, and at the ninth, to the united superficies of the sun, the planets, and their moons.” Doppler concludes thus; “ We have said sufficient to show, that if medicines act in virtue of their mass, the doses used in Homœopathy must be quite inert; but if in proportion to their surface, they may be of tremendous potency.” It must also be remembered, that Hahnemann’s law of cure demands a specific susceptibility on the part of the patient to the action of the remedy, a requirement which would imply a necessity for a smaller quantity than when applied as an opposing irritant. “ It is a well known fact, that the organism is much more susceptible to the action of homogeneous or similar, than of heterogeneous or dissimilar irritants. In typhoid fever the most enormous quantity of wine and spirits is often taken by those altogether unaccustomed to their use, and frequently without bad effects, whereas a minute quantity would act most violently if given to a person labouring under inflammatory fever, or phrenitis. A Russian peasant, under the excitement of the vapour bath, will roll himself in snow, and expose himself to a shower of ice-cold water with impunity, whilst a few drops on the bare neck of a chilly individual will suffice to give him a shivering fit.

“ The efficacy of small doses is further explicable by the increased sensitiveness of a diseased organ. The organs of hearing in the healthy state are little affected by the roar of artillery, but when inflamed, the most cautious step on the softest carpet affects them painfully. The eye in a healthy state bears the glare of the sun without great inconvenience, but when inflamed, the slightest ray of light causes pain.

“ Let a horse be unhurt, and you may rub his hide with an iron curry-comb; touch but with your finger the shoulder, which has been galled by the saddle, and the poor animal will shiver from the mane to the fetlock.”

We may also doubtless attribute “ increased effect to the peculiar preparation of the medicine, by which powers, which are latent in its original state, are developed, and it is rendered more penetrating and permanent.”

But is this action of minute agents, truly so very contrary to nature in her ordinary workings? We trow not; the philosopher

tells us that the whole world is formed by "a combination of atoms." "The glance of a sunbeam is capable of effecting such a powerful chemical action, as totally to alter the constituent parts of the substance exposed to it. The telegraph wire is the medium by which travels silently an influence identical with that which rends a tower; but neither of these can depress the most sensitive balance. In chemistry we find that a solution of common salt in a million parts of water is dimmed by a very weak solution of nitrate of silver; and iron separates copper from a solution containing only the fifty millionth part of a salt of copper. According to Leücks, peas lose their germinative power when immersed in a solution of tartrate of antimony containing only 21-80 parts of a grain to each pea. The hortensia bears blue flowers when supplied with water in which a piece of red hot iron has been cooled, though no iron can be detected in it by chemical re-agents." But it may be asked, are there any analogies for leading us to suppose that such minute portions would have any effect upon the living human frame? We think abundance.

What is the quantity of irritating matter injected by the tube of the mosquito? It must be very infinitesimal, yet we know that, under peculiar susceptibilities, such a quantity will cause inflammation to a very high degree, and infinite pain and annoyance. "When the rattle-snake or cobra de capella inflict their fatal bite, a drop of fluid is pressed through a very fine needle-like hole in the fang, and this drop of a transparent glairy fluid, when submitted to the investigation of the most accomplished analytical chemist, is found to be synonymous with gum-water in its chemical composition. The quantity of poisonous matter must be quite as infinitesimal as the drug of the homœopathist, and far exceeds it in potency, soon occasioning rapid sinking of the vital powers and death. Again, the saliva upon the tooth of a rabid dog impregnates the blood with a poison so exquisitely infinitesimal, that it takes weeks and months to produce its effects." We have the same subtle influences at work in the disorders caused by malaria, or the miasma of scarlet fever, measles, small-pox, &c. &c. Who ever caught and weighed these invisible powers, and yet how violent, how malignant their effects upon the human frame. "What colour and weight have those exhalations of lead which cause paralysis and colic." The same susceptibility to minute influences may be also observed in the idiosyncracies of individuals. Some persons feel unpleasant sensations on the approach of a cat, others from the touch of a crystal or loadstone. "We have seen a powerful

‘man faint upon smelling lavender,” others swoon from the smell of a rose. Scaliger was thrown into convulsions by the sight of cresses, and many people will turn sick on smelling an unpleasant odour.

Why, then, we would ask, if the effect of such infinitesimal portions upon the human frame thus comes under our acknowledged experience, should we suppose it to be *impossible* for the homœopathist to use this susceptibility at will for the cure of disease?

We cannot conclude this portion of our subject without calling the attention of our readers to the work by Mons. Tessier, noted at the head of the article. Mons. Tessier tested the truth of Hahnemann’s principle, in his hospital, in infinitesimal doses only, selecting for this purpose cases of acute and chronic disease. (He had previously studied diligently the works of Hahnemann.) He says, “At the end of a few days, the evidence of their action was complete, nevertheless I persevered in my experiments upon this sole fact during six entire months.” He next tried it in cases of pneumonia, and after many pertinent remarks upon this formidable malady, he tells us how he gradually substituted infinitesimal doses in the place of the last bleeding, or a dose of tartar emetic. Finding no harm ensue, Hahnemann’s remedies were next tried in the place of another bleeding, and the patients recovering, they were at last used in the first instance, and with such complete success, that Mons. Tessier adopted them entirely, and none besides homœopathic medicines are now used in his hospital. Out of forty cases of pneumonia during the space of two years, only one patient died, and the whole account of his proceedings, the caution and sagacity with which his experiments were conducted, his constant visits and “mental anguish,” lest his patients should suffer injury, with his complete justification of Hahnemann’s method, all conspire to render Mons. Tessier’s work one of remarkable interest. When we consider this testimony to be that of a physician in Paris, at the head of wards containing hundreds of beds, and one who is well known in the scientific world, who has thus publicly tested Homœopathy, what more can either its friends or enemies desire in the way of scientific demonstration?

Another class of objectors are those who are assured that, if true, such a discovery would have been made long before the time of Hahnemann. For ourselves we will own that we have no sympathy with such men. They are of that genus who embittered the life of Newton, who would have jeered down Harvey and Jenner, and have strangled Luther. But the

indefatigable Hahnemann was never without his weapon; anticipating such objections he ransacked the works of medical authors, ancient and modern, and in his own way he found many instances of the way in which eminent men have hovered near the great truth, which he first brought forward as a scientific law.

Others say that the homœopathists have produced no writings of ability—they have done more. Listen to Dr. Channing's speech before the New York Physician's Society. "By a devotion unparalleled in the history of medicine, Hahnemann and his followers, in less than fifty years, have carried their science to an extent and precision perfectly incredible to those unacquainted with its details." While among the laity, men of the best intellect have joined their ranks. Whately, the first logician of the age, is a homœopathist, so are the philosophic Bunsen, the brilliant Bulwer; the first preacher in London hails the system of Hahnemann, while the long list of subscribers and governors of the London hospitals, from the Duchess of Kent downwards, bears ample testimony to the intelligence and public repute of the professors of the homœopathic art.

Some say that Homœopathy is good for children; but this appears like an idle attempt to escape the burden of examining a system whose cures cannot be denied. Homœopathy must stand or fall by its foundation principle of "like cures like;" the quantities of medicine used are so small, and their successful operation so opposed to our pre-conceived notions or experience, that we can attribute it only to the peculiar principle upon which they are applied; grant therefore that the system succeeds with children, and you give up the whole question; the principle, whose application in minute doses has cured a child of Croup or hooping cough, no reasonable mind can conceive to be inadequate to the removal of disease in the grown-up brother or sister; and in fact such is the case; no homœopathist will admit of such a distinction; and the cases recorded are as well authenticated upon the one point as the other.

Some say that it is to nature that the Homœopathist owes his cures. Then we would simply ask, Why do they not try her? Why, if nature cures so well, do they give such pills and potions? Because they know better, and that if they were to leave their patients to the ordinary progress of cholera, of inflammations, congestions, or convulsions, &c., &c., death would probably deliver them quickly from all controversy as to the fittest remedy. Another will say that the supposed cure is owing to the imagination, but upon what grounds?

We think it will be found that the homœopathic physician has to encounter positive obstacles on this head. The imagination resists belief in such apparently inadequate powers. During the commotion occasioned by the violent remedies of the old school, the patient may believe any thing that his doctor may tell him of the effect of his drugs, the pain he is suffering being sufficient in his eyes to justify any revolution. The homœopathist on the contrary receives no mechanical aid from his remedies. After a minute examination, not only of present illness, but of previous disorders and treatment, constitutional tendencies, &c., he takes his leave, and sends a tasteless mixture, which the patient takes, wondering, in the first instance, whether it can do him any good. There are here, unquestionably, fewer grounds than ordinary upon which imagination may exert herself; the malady is either relieved or goes on; successful results, in general, follow so speedily, that it would be contrary to all experience to attribute them to aught but the remedy. These objections also cannot hold good against those chronic complaints, which have resisted all other methods of cure, under which imagination might have been just as effectual, with more room for its operation. They are also futile against the cures of infants and children, of those who have not known what they have taken; and in the disorders of animals, in which the homœopathic law, as might have been expected from its universality, has been eminently successful. Some resolutely declare that Homœopathy is practised by none but quacks. We have shown, in a former part of this article, that the titles of its professors are grounded upon precisely the same authority and license as that of their opponents, and such observations therefore can only be expressive of extraordinary illiberality and injustice towards a body of men that experience has shown to be one of unusual intelligence and attainment, who have nobly stepped out of the ranks of a false and exploded system, and thereby exposed themselves to a discourtesy of treatment, (often amounting to insult) from their medical brethren, which can scarcely be conceived by those out of the profession. And yet we would ask very fearlessly, which is the real quack,—he whose success depends absolutely upon his accurate knowledge of disease, and of the appropriate remedy applied according to a determinate law, or he who bleeds, blisters or cauterises at pleasure, pouring into the stomach at random a quantity of nauseous poisonous drugs, of whose precise and particular action upon the delicate mechanism of the human body he knows no more than his patient; but whose choice has been guided entirely by his

own humour or experience, or by the faith he places in some particular predecessor or contemporary?

Others say that in diet lies the secret of cure. The homœopathic dietary is unquestionably a good one; and from it doubtless the physician receives good assistance, but the article of diet will not explain his striking, sometimes almost miraculous, success in the treatment of such disorders as croup, and sudden inflammatory attacks, and the objection falls to the ground in the cases of children, and of those invalids in whom no change of diet can be effected.

The last and most amusing objection we have heard has been to its poisons.—“Homœopathists use such dreadful poisons, and that is why they give so little medicine.” It is indeed difficult to keep a grave countenance over these fears from persons who would not scruple to give, or perhaps take, during sickness, quantities of colocynth, tartar emetic, iodine, calomel, opium, nux vomica, or arsenic, that would serve a whole army of Homœopathists for their lives. We learned, on good authority, in 1844, that of the valuable homœopathic medicine, lachesis, so well known to many nervous sufferers, only *two drops* had ever been brought to Europe!

We would now ask, How has the medical profession acted towards Homœopathy, as the guardians of the public health, as the persons to whom we turn for relief under pain and suffering? What have they done to welcome among them a system which was propounded openly, and at first so lovingly, among his brethren, by a man of such genius, integrity and learning as Hahnemann,—a system, too, so gentle in its method of action, so easy to be tried, and one which offers that principle of certainty for which the most skilful among them had hitherto laboured in vain? We are sorry to have to write it, but with many honourable exceptions, the great body of medical men know nothing whatever of its practice or principle, though they agree in the narrowest attempts to put it down. With large hospitals and infirmaries open to all comers, with numerous publications inviting, nay entreating them to come and see for themselves the wonderful success of the new remedies, they resolutely shut their eyes and stop their ears, with the dictum that Homœopathy was a great quackery, that it is a great quackery, and that it shall be a great quackery.

Can we cease to wonder at this apathy and self-complacency, this insensibility to the noblest prerogative of the medical art, that of healing speedily, painlessly, and by the application of a principle having its foundation in a natural law, and therefore

as sure in its effects as human skill can make it?—A law and practice which attack the first principles of their art, and bid fair in a few years to beat them and their most painful matériel out of the field; the ground is being taken from under their feet, you show them this, and they answer you with a sneer about a globule; you bear this, and tell them of cases of severe fever, convulsions, croup, psora, ulcerated sore-throats, &c. &c., which have come under your own observation; they consider you with a smile, or sagely observe “that they would ‘not mind taking a whole box full of various globules,” or as one once said to ourselves, “He had placed a globule upon his ‘tongue and it had had no effect whatever!” If there were no illness, what effect should it have had? Is it not the very glory of Homœopathy, that provided there be no disease, or the remedy be not homœopathic, the quantity contained in a globule is too small to have any effect? Another more facetious practitioner perhaps proceeds to the witticism of asking you, if you do not give more brandy to a drunken man, or a little more water to one that is drowning; again we think showing a very culpable ignorance of the foundation law of a system, which has now been fifty years before the public, and which asserts not that “same cures same,” but that “like cures like.” But enough of this; let us hope that another day is coming. A system that ranks among its adherents so long an array of intelligence, genius, and philanthropy, needs fear no long battle: the question is only one of time, and what we need chiefly are the means to test publicly the truth or falsehood of Hahnemann’s method. The question is one in which all men have an interest, since none can hope to pass through life unhurt by some of those maladies to which man is heir, and none but those who have escaped from it can dream of the aggravations caused by the system now in ordinary use.

A homœopathic hospital incurs much less expense than those ancient foundations in which medicines are still paid for by the *ton*.* Shall we not bestow something to ascertain the truth upon a matter of so much importance? Shall we not endeavour to bring within the reach of the poor the latest improvements of medical science? Can either science or philanthropy offer to us a fairer opportunity of serving the truth, than by giving our aid to the diffusion of this system all over India?

“That the art of cure, as practised by the old school, does

* At St. Bartholomew’s hospital the bill for physic amounted in 1849 to £2,600, and included nearly 2,000lbs. of castor oil, 12 tons of linseed meal, 1,000lbs. of senna, 27 cwt. of salts. In one year 29,700 leeches were bought for the use of the establishment.”—*Dickens’s Household Words*.

‘ not meet the wants of ailing humanity, is proved by the admission of the most accomplished members of it, and by the numerous cases of acute disease allowed under that treatment to run into the chronic form, and the still more numerous cases of chronic disease remaining uncured.” What we desire is to set forth publicly a new, but simple system of medicine, which offers to “curtail the ravages of premature death, to limit the great leveller’s harvest more to the sear and yellow leaf.”

If there be any who suppose that the system may be suitable to the diseases of a temperate climate, which are in general comparatively slow in their operation, but that it would fail, if applied to the diseases of India, where Death generally does his work with such fearful rapidity, we need only refer them to the success that has attended the homœopathic treatment of Asiatic cholera in Europe. But if it be objected that this is but a collateral and presumptive evidence of the suitability of the treatment to the violent and rapid diseases of this country, we have abundance of direct experience, to which we can confidently appeal. The system has been extensively practised by amateurs, in the civil and military services, and by other gentlemen; and the success that has attended their practice, both upon Europeans and natives, has been such as to astonish themselves and all who have witnessed it. There is perhaps scarcely a large district in India, in which such an amateur has not for years been diffusing blessings around him; and there are scarcely any of our Indian readers, who may not satisfy themselves by personal observation of the success of this practice. If such has been the result, where the homœopathic remedies have been applied by men without professional education, and able to devote only the fragments of their time and attention to the subject, what may we expect when the system is adopted, as it will sooner or later be, by professional men, who will devote their whole time and energies to its study and application? Our appeal then is to the members of the medical service. Their duty, and we are sure their earnest desire, is to adopt every method, which experience shows to be fitted to alleviate the sufferings and prolong the lives of their fellow-men. Let them then examine this system and subject it to the test of experience, and fearlessly act according to the result.

NOTE.—It can scarcely be necessary to state, that it is not intended to convert the *Calcutta Review* into a homœopathic organ. We have unhesitatingly given insertion to the preceding article, without reference to our own sentiments on the subject of which it treats, because it is fairly and candidly written, by one who is thoroughly earnest in seeking to promote the welfare of his fellow-men.—Ed.

ART. III.—*The Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell, D. D., L. L. D., F. As. S., F. R. S. Ed., Prebendary of Westminster, and Master of Sherburn Hospital, Durham. Comprising the History of the Rise and Progress of the System of Mutual Tuition. The first volume by Robert Southey, Esq., P. L., L. L. D., edited by Mrs. Southey. The two last by his son, the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey, B. A., of Queen's College, Oxford, Perpetual Curate of Setmurthy, and Assistant Curate and Evening Lecturer of Cockermouth. London. 1844.*

AMONGST the *notables* that have flourished in India, it would be unreasonable to deny that a high rank is due to Dr. Bell. Whether we regard the *man*, fighting his way with hard-headed energy and indomitable perseverance from the very basement story of the social edifice, to a high position in one of the most exclusive institutions in the world, and from poverty to a splendid fortune—or whether we regard the discovery that he certainly made, of a system, by which the blessings of a good education have been put within the reach of multitudes from whom they would else have been withheld—or whether we consider the impulse that was actually given to English mind, and the great and alarming facts that were brought to light, in regard to the condition of the people, by the discussions to which that discovery gave rise—we can come to no other conclusion than that Dr. Bell was no ordinary man, but one altogether worthy—(what honor can be higher?)—of being introduced to our readers in a regular article. Moreover, the *environments* of one who held a distinguished place in our country more than half a century ago, become very interesting. It is pleasing, at once to enter into the gossip of those distant days, and to catch the spirit of the times from the straws floating on the surface of familiar correspondence, and at the same time, to be made acquainted with the views and sentiments of the actors in those important historical scenes that were then evolving. We enter, therefore, on a dissertation on the “Life and Times of Dr. Andrew Bell,” with considerable confidence of being able to produce an article that will amuse and instruct all classes of our readers.

Mr. Bell was born in St. Andrew's, in Scotland, on the 27th March, 1753. His father was a singular man, one of a class which, probably, never existed out of Scotland, and which, probably, has no longer many representatives there. He had received a good education, was a man of extraordinary abilities, of great integrity, and of considerable public spirit; yet he spent all his

days in the humble calling of a barber. It is true, that in those days, this profession was of somewhat greater importance than it is now; but we suspect that Dr. Southey errs in supposing, that in Scotland it ever had that peculiar dignity that he assigns to it, on the supposition that it was there, as in England, "doubled up" with the surgical art. Medical education has always been so cheap in Scotland, that we suspect there never was a time when a village that could boast the possession of a barber, did not rank a surgeon also among its denizens. Nor did we ever hear of any legends or traditions in Scotland, that would point to the existence of such a profession as that of the "barber-surgeon" to the north of the Tweed. We suspect, therefore, that the Scottish barber of the 18th century differed from his successor of the 19th, only in proportion as the *coiffure* of the one period differed from that of the other. Alexander Bell was, however, a man of varied acquirements. He was an amateur watch-maker, "regulated by observation the time-pieces" in the public library of the university, and assisted Dr. Walker, the professor of Natural Philosophy, in preparing his experiments." The following is Dr. Southey's description of his personal appearance and habits:—

His habits and appearance were singular, yet not so as to lessen the respect in which he was held for his talents, probity, and strength of character. He is described as tall and ungainly, with thick lips and a great mouth, which he commonly kept open, and wearing a large, bushy, well-powdered wig. Persons are still living, who remember him hastening through the street, with a professor's wig, ready dressed, in each hand, his arms at half-stretch to prevent their collision. After trimming one professor, he would sit down and breakfast with him, and then away to trim and breakfast with another; his appetite, like his mouth, (and his mind also,) being of remarkable and well-known capacity. He was at one time bailie of the city; and once by his personal influence, after all other means had failed, he quelled what is called a "meal-mob"—riots upon that score being then so frequent as to obtain this specific denomination.

With one more extract we dismiss this remarkable man:—

Bailie Bell was a proficient at draughts, backgammon, and chess. Such of the students, and of the professors also, as were fond of these games, used to meet at his house; and Andrew, while a mere child, acquired such singular skill in all of them, that the best players were fond of engaging with him. A more remarkable instance of the Bailie's versatile talents is, that he engaged with Mr. Wilson, afterwards professor of astronomy at Glasgow, in a scheme for casting types upon some plan of their own. They were employed upon this, his son said, day and night, night and day, in a garret; and though they did not succeed, yet after the professor's removal to Glasgow, the well-known printers, Robert and Andrew Foulis, are said to have been beholden to him for the beauty of their typography. Bailie Bell, having saved a little property, retired from business a short time before the close of his life.

Andrew was the second son. When three years old, he was inoculated for the small-pox, and took the disease so severely, that his life was despaired of. Soon after his recovery, he went to school of his own accord, and at first, without the knowledge of his parents, where, notwithstanding his tender years, he was allowed to continue to attend. By constant perseverance he became a fair scholar, though his want of verbal memory militated against his attaining much distinction in school. In 1769 he entered the United College of St. Andrew's, and was matriculated under the name of Andræus Bell. Dr. Southey marvels that he should then have Latinized his Christian name, as he is not known to have done so on any other occasion. We can solve this mystery. The matriculation is a signature to a declaration, in which the student promises to abide by the rules and regulations of the university. As the declaration is in Latin, of course the signatures are so also. More worthy of Dr. Southey's wonder would have been the fact that seems to have escaped his notice altogether, that, after being nearly thirteen years at school, he should have Latinized the Greek *Ἀνδρέας* into Andræus. At college, Mr. Bell considerably distinguished himself in the several classes, but particularly in those of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. "The professor of Natural Philosophy, Dr. Wilkie, particularly noticed him. 'Mind what I say, Andrew,' Wilkie would say, laying his hand on his head and stroking it; 'pursue your studies, and they will make your fortune. I never knew a man fail of success in the world, if he excelled in one thing. Mind what I say, Andrew; persevere in your scientific studies; mind this one thing, and you will be a great man.' This advice—to mind one thing, and persevere in it—was what Dr. Bell impressed upon others, in his course through life, and in his latter years, he adhered to it himself too literally and too long."

The mention of this Dr. Wilkie leads Dr. Southey into a long digression, in which he engages *con amore*, and in which we should like very well to follow him; but *we* have not three volumes at our command. "He was a great and an odd man," and moreover wrote the *Epigoniad*, which some of our readers may have seen, from the circumstance of its being included in some of the collections of British Poetry.

The non-professional course of literature and philosophy at St. Andrew's, and the other Scottish universities, occupies four years, so that Mr. Bell had gone through this curriculum at the close of the session 1772-3; and the world was all before him. Like so many thousands of his compatriots, of good education, and limited worldly means, he turned his eyes to the Colonies,

and soon received an offer of a situation in Virginia, which he accepted. It does not clearly appear what was the precise nature of this appointment, but it seems to have been in the educational department, at least he seems to have been engaged in teaching during the whole, or the greater portion, of the time of his residence in Virginia. In 1779, after he had been five years in the colony, "he was engaged as private tutor, at a salary of £200 a year, in the family of Mr. Carter Braxton, who was then a wealthy merchant of West Point, Virginia." But the division of labor principle was not then fully established in the Far West; and he seems to have been engaged in sundry dealings in tobacco on his own account, and also to have assisted Mr. Braxton, to some extent, in his commercial proceedings. In the beginning of 1781, he set out on his return to old England, leaving his savings to be remitted in the form of tobacco at favorable opportunities, and bringing with him his two pupils, the young Braxtons, who were to complete their education in England, under such arrangements as he should make for them, in conjunction with their father's commercial agents. The homeward voyage was diversified with the adventure of a wreck, the ship going ashore thirty leagues to the east of Halifax, where our hero and his companions had to enact the part of social Crusoes, from the 24th March to the 12th April, in the midst of deep snow, sleet and rain, frost, and again snow and sleet, and rain. Having at last managed, on the last-mentioned date, to reach Halifax, they remained there till the 10th of May, when they got a passage in another ship for England, and on the 6th June landed at Gravesend.

It was now 1781, and Mr. Bell, who, as we have stated, was born early in 1753, was therefore in the prime of his life; yet he hesitated not to give up several of his best years to the care of those two young men, with no certainty of any reward, and with no expectation of any thing like an adequate pecuniary recompense, and as it turned out, without his receiving any at all. Indeed, he had left the greater part of the £800 that he had saved in Virginia, in the hand of their father, and he does not seem ever to have received any portion of it. The arrangements that were proposed for the disposal of the youths having failed, he established them at St. Andrew's, where he went to reside with them, and continued till the end of 1784, to attend upon them literally night and day. The young men did full justice to his unparalleled exertions on their behalf. They were, by the testimony of all with whom they came in contact, model young men, and we doubt not, that they would have done justice to their disinterested tutor, had it been in their power:

but on their return to America, they found all things changed since they had left it, their father's affairs by no means in a prosperous condition, and, probably, they were ashamed to be continually acknowledging the debt which they had it not in their power to repay, and virtually confessing their father's misconduct in not having acted justly by their tutor and benefactor while it was in his power. After, therefore, one or two letters, full of expressions of affection and gratitude, all intercourse between them and Mr. Bell ceased.

We have no doubt, however, that these years were not lost. Scotch scholarship is not generally over-accurate; and it is very likely that Mr. Bell learned a great deal more, and learned it a great deal better, during this period of his superintending the studies of the young Americans, than he had learned while he was prosecuting his own studies at the university of his native city. It may well be questioned, whether a better course could be prescribed for young men generally, than that after they have finished their university studies, they should rough it for a few years in some such colony as Virginia was then, and then return and quietly resume their studies, as from the beginning, in the quiet college. Be this as it may, it was during this period that Mr. Bell became acquainted with the Rev. Dr. Berkeley, son of the celebrated metaphysician and bishop of Cloyne; and to this acquaintance was due the whole tenor of his future career. Dr. Berkeley was residing in St. Andrew's, for the education of his family. He seems to have conducted Divine Service in his own house, according to the episcopal form; and Mr. Bell appears to have adopted episcopal sentiments, or to have become habituated to episcopal forms, during his residence in Virginia; and thus he and his pupils, who probably by birth belonged to the Church of England, appear to have joined his little congregation. The interest that Mr. Bell excited in Dr. Berkeley's mind, is highly creditable to both;—to the one as capable of exciting it, to the other as capable of feeling it. No father could have been more energetic in his efforts to establish an only son in the world, than Dr. Berkeley was to procure suitable employment for Mr. Bell. It was through his influence that the scheme was matured, which seems to have entered Mr. Bell's mind even during his residence in Virginia, of taking orders in the English Church. After various schemes had been suggested, and had either broken down or been abandoned, this one was at last realized; and on the 12th September, 1784, Mr. Bell was admitted to deacon's orders, by the well-known Bishop Barrington, then bishop of Salisbury, afterwards of Durham, on a

nominal title, furnished by Dr. Berkeley, to the curacy of Cookham in Berkshire. He was at this time on terms for a tutorship in the family of a gentleman in the north of England; but from some unexplained cause, the negotiation broke down; and he was shortly after elected to the charge of the episcopal chapel at Leith, with a salary of fifty guineas, for one year certain, and the promise of an increase, provided the funds of the chapel should admit of it. "The congregation were pleased with their minister, and he with them. Almost immediately, and without any solicitation on his part, they raised his salary from fifty guineas to £70; and occasional presents were made him by the wealthier members." His ministry here, however, was speedily interrupted by his receiving, through the interest of Dr. Berkeley, an appointment as tutor to the second son of Lord Conyngham, on a salary of £150 while he should be employed, and an annuity of £100 for the remainder of his life. After this agreement had been definitely formed, it was broken by his Lordship: the matter was referred to professional arbitration, and £110 were awarded to Mr. Bell, as a compensation for the breach of the contract. On occasion of this visit to England, he was admitted to priest's orders by Dr. Law, Bishop of Carlisle. He then returned to Leith, and resumed charge of the congregation there.

And now that Mr. Bell is fairly and fully invested with the sacred office, this seems a proper place to interrupt our hurried sketch of his career, and to interpose an humble attempt at an estimate of his qualifications for this high office: and honesty compels us to say, that if the New Testament is to furnish the standard of qualification for this office, that of Mr. Bell was very low indeed. That he had sufficient scholarship is quite true; that his conduct was upright and unblameable, is cheerfully conceded; but that his sentiments of the nature of the Gospel that he had to preach were correct, either now or at any subsequent period of his history, or that he had any adequate feeling of the responsibility of his office, otherwise than as it involved the routine performance of certain stated duties, there is no evidence to make us believe; but enough to make us believe the very contrary. Were it not so common a case, it might well excite our deepest wonder, that a man so honest as Mr. Bell certainly was in other respects, should have taken on himself the ministry of a church, with the spirit of whose liturgy his own sentiments were certainly not in accordance. And yet, during the course of his long life, it does not appear that he was ever

visited with a single qualm of conscience on the subject. All this may be considered very illiberal; but we cannot help it. From the sentiments of Dr. Bell, constantly expressed throughout his long life, we are certain that he did not preach the *Gospel*, as it is set forth in the New Testament, and explained in the articles and liturgy of the English church. We shall have much to say as to the mental and moral character of Dr. Bell, before we have done with this paper; but on a subject of so much importance we thought it right that we should express our sentiments unreservedly in connexion with the very outset of his clerical career.

It was now proposed to Mr. Bell, "that he should go to India, where there was every probability that he might turn his talents and acquirements to good account as a philosophical lecturer, and in the way of tuition." "This opportunity of advancing himself, Mr. Bell thankfully took, with the advice and concurrence of all his friends." Thinking, that in this new capacity, a handle to his name would enhance his credit, he applied to the university of St. Andrew's, for the degree of L. L. D. Some rule of the university did not admit of this degree being conferred upon him; but the senatus, willing to accommodate him, invested him with the dignity of a Doctor of Medicine! In the course of the letter, in which Principal McCormick saluted him *Doctor*, which was written after he had been in India for some time, we find the following passage:—"I rejoice to learn that you are going on so rapidly in the path to wealth and fame. May you soon attain as much of the former as will enable you to enjoy many happy years in your *natale solium*!" Seven years after, on Dr. Bell's return to England, the same Principal McCormick wrote thus:—"I have to return you my own warmest thanks, and those of my nephews, for your flattering remembrance of us, after so long an absence from your *natale solium*." Now to us, deeply pondering over this unusual reading of a not unusual classic phrase, two things seemed manifest—*first*, that the fact of the one quotation being in the volume prepared for the press by Dr. Southey, and the other in one of those prepared by his son, precludes the supposition of an error in transcription or in typography; and *second*, that the Principal of a university must, of necessity, have been incapable of confounding two words so essentially distinct as *solum* and *solium*. We therefore came to the conclusion, that the Principal, in both these letters, made a very waggish allusion to the old barber's chair! A sly fox he must have been, this Principal McCormick!

Dr. Bell sailed from the Downs on the 21st February, 1787, on board the Ship *Rose*, Captain Dempster. He took with him an apparatus to illustrate the lectures that he intended to deliver. This, with his passage and out-fit, appears to have cost him £421-10; and he took with him a sum of £128-10, of which £90 were borrowed. We are particular in specifying his pecuniary resources at various periods of his life, as the vast fortune that he ultimately realized is one of the remarkable points in his history. He arrived at Madras on the 2nd June. He was destined for Calcutta, but before the *Rose* was ready to proceed on her voyage, a proposal was made to him to remain at the Sister Presidency. This was from a committee that had recently been appointed for establishing a Military Male Orphan Asylum. He saw little prospect of success in the path that had been originally marked out for him, the demand for philosophical instruction being then, as it is sixty-five years later, either non-existent or undeveloped. On the 10th of August, however, he was appointed to the chaplaincy of the 4th European regiment, stationed at Arcot. Knowing the Court of Directors' jealousy of local patronage, his object now was to procure a confirmation of this appointment by the Court. He therefore wrote to Mr. Dempster, a kind patron, to whom his father had rendered good election service, to Lady Dacre, for whose friendship he was indebted to Dr. Berkeley, and to Mr. Rudd, an episcopal clergyman in Edinburgh, requesting them to exert such influence as they could severally bring to bear on the members of the Court. Meantime, he was in rapid succession appointed by Colonel Floyd to the deputy-chaplainship of H. M.'s 19th regiment of cavalry, by Colonel Knox, to that of H. M.'s 36th regiment of infantry, and by Captain Hunter, to that of the 52nd regiment of infantry, of which he happened to be in command. The emolument of these deputy-chaplaincies was not large: but they had the advantage of being independent of the Court's confirmation; the chaplaincy of the Company's regiment was more lucrative, but the question was still undecided, whether he should be permitted to hold it.

Having now formed acquaintance with the leading members of Madras society, he was advised by some of them, and particularly by Mr. Petrie, to carry out his original intention of delivering a course of philosophical lectures. We are not told what was the number of these lectures, nor what was their precise subject: but only that he sold eighty-one tickets at twelve pagodas each, (about forty-two rupees,) so that he realized a sum equal to about £360. Cheered by this success, he gave a

second course; but the proceeds on this occasion were only about half the former. On the day on which this second course was concluded, he sailed for Calcutta, where he arrived on the 17th of October, where he received great kindness, where he gave his lectures, with a return of 1,277 pagodas (£473), remained two months, and reached Madras on the last day of the year. "In less than a month after his return, he was appointed deputy chaplain to the 74th (King's) regiment." Shortly afterwards, the senior chaplain of the Presidency having gone to England on furlough, the junior chaplain succeeded him, and Dr. Bell was appointed "junior chaplain in the room of Mr. Leslie, and to have charge of the superintendency of the undertaker's office." The Court of Directors annulled the appointment of Sir Archibald Campbell; but themselves appointed Dr. Bell a chaplain on their establishment. Thus the privileges of the Court were vindicated, and Dr. Bell retained his appointment.

In the course of 1789, he was grieved with tidings of the death of his excellent father, and we cannot refrain from inserting his answer to the letter that conveyed the intelligence:—

DR. BELL TO THE REV. DR. J. ADAMSON.

Madras, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received, July 27th, by the packet of the *Chesterfield*, the afflicting news of the death of as good a father, and as just and upright a man, as ever lived. You need not blush to call him friend, as I never shall to call him father.

I might have been better prepared, as you think I ought to have been, for this distressful report, had I construed superstitiously the alarming letter from him, with which my heart has been wrung of late. It has pleased God to follow me through life with His merciful chastisements, and to train me up in the school of adversity. I was flattering myself that my late letters would remove any distress that my poor father suffered on the score of fortune, and that I had attained the great object of my adventuring the East, being able to make some provision for the family, when news is brought to me that my ill-fated father, who had a heart that felt too much, and a disposition that led him to all goodness, and a genius and education that elevated him far above his condition in life, had fallen a sacrifice to a complication of misfortunes, entailed upon him in early life, in the inexperience of an academic education and the credulity of youth—misfortunes which you will pity, which every good man will pity, and thank God that it fell not to his own share to suffer as he did.

It is the never-failing effect of a depressed mind in this country to induce bilious complaints. I had not, even in point of health, recovered from the effect of my father's description of what he suffered on this occasion, when I was nominated junior chaplain at this Presidency, and thought to soften anew the complaints of European fortune, and hold out to my father the best consolation I could offer under his severe trials—the report of my private good success in life, and the assurance of my resolution, as soon as my fortune was settled, to make ample provision for him through life. But these hopes were scarcely formed when they are blasted for ever

by the melancholy account of his sudden death. After trying in vain to stand this shock, I have left my duty to my friend and colleague, Archdeacon Leslie, and retired to the country, where I am secluded from every European countenance. Here I am at leisure to indulge grief, and thereby to prevent its violent effusion; to survey my past life; to correct those errors that may have brought upon me such sufferings; and to lay down rules for my future conduct, from which, if I ever swerve, it must be from depravity of inclination, and not strength of temptation.

My poor sisters now claim all my attention—my affections now centre there. The only consolation I can now receive is a favourable report of them. I am much sensible of what they and I owe to you for your early attention. Your kindness to them cannot add to the opinion the world entertains of your goodness; but it will add greatly to the obligation I feel to that goodness; and it will, somehow or other, provide a benefactor to your own children. I beseech you then, for the sake of your own family, who must one day be deprived of so good a man and so excellent a father, to regard the situation of my sisters. I wish to devolve this duty, during my absence from home, upon you and Dr. George Hill. I ask it not on account of our past acquaintance—I ask it not on account of our future acquaintance—I ask it on account of the distress of my unfortunate sisters.

I trust that my father has done, what I often told him to do in St. Andrew's, and repeated to him at Leith, left the whole of his estate to my sisters, and that there will be no trouble in securing this for them. From what my father wrote to me about a will of my brother's in my favour, and a forged will in favour of others, I am apprehensive there will be much trouble in recovering what he always meant should fall to the family. The money in Mr Reid's hand, I trust, will not be lost to my sisters, to whom, as to my father, I will give the life-rent of whatever may be recovered and remain, after expenses are paid. I before sent a power of attorney to my father for this purpose; I now send one to you. I presume not to offer any instructions, nor need you refer to me at this distance. Act for them as for yourselves, and your conduct will meet with my support and approbation, and I will be answerable for the consequences.

It is unnecessary to remark, that I must insist, as a preliminary article, that every direct and contingent expense which may attend your acting for me, and correspondence with me, be charged to my account. Letters should always be sent by the Post. It is the only conveyance to be trusted to. There is no expense but in the postage to and from London, which is a mere trifle. I hope the school thrives. It is not my wish to raise my sisters above their present situation in life. This would not conduce to their happiness. What I wish only is to render them easy in their circumstances, and comfortable in their sphere of life; and I shall be glad of your opinion of what is necessary for this purpose.

I wrote to Professor George Hill, that there may be some provision for that mortality which reigns so much in my mind at present. I say nothing of Dean of Guild Kerr. I know he will not be wanting in his good offices and services, and I trust I shall be able to repay them.....

At the time he made a final effort to recover his American "outstandings," with a view to present the amount to his sisters; but his debtors "repudiated" his claims, and took no notice of his letters. The next matter in which we find him engaged, is a negotiation for a transference to Calcutta; but

this came to nothing. In anticipation of this removal, however, he had procured from England some additions to his philosophical apparatus, so that he was now "master of three air-pumps, three electrical machines, and a most complete set of experiments." With this improved apparatus, he gave a third course of lectures at Madras, in the course of which, "he performed the experiment of making ice, which was the first time it had been exhibited in India. He made also the first balloon there; it was of no great dimensions: for as the assistant did his part badly, and the thing failed, Dr. Bell (in his own words), threw it in a passion from the verandah. After which the heat of the sun rarified the enclosed air, and the balloon mounted in grand style, exciting no small commotion among the natives." In July of this year, he was appointed to do duty as chaplain to the army assembled before Pondicherry, and was present at the taking of the place.

It will be remembered, that Dr. Bell had remained at Madras, with the view of being appointed to the superintendency of the Military Male Orphan Asylum, whose formation was then in prospect. After various delays, that noble institution had been set on foot in 1789, and Dr. Bell, now in a very different position from that which he had occupied when he was first induced to pitch his tent at Madras, offered his services as superintendent gratuitously; and although the Directors pressed upon him the acceptance of a salary of £240, he steadfastly refused it, and continued during the whole period of his residence at Madras to receive no remuneration, except rent-free quarters in the Asylum at Egmore Redoubt. These services were thankfully accepted; and he entered with heart and soul upon the management of an institution which was destined to be the nursery of his future fame. His great discovery of the system of "mutual instruction" is so important, that we must extract at length Dr. Southey's account of its rise and early progress:—

When Dr. Bell took upon himself the superintendency, he found one master and two ushers employed in teaching less than twenty boys. These boys were not all arranged in classes, and of those who were, he was told that it was impossible to teach them to take places. One lesson a day was as much as could usually be exacted from them, and sometimes only one in two or three days. Indeed, the teachers themselves had every thing to learn relating to the management of a school. They were men who had never been trained in tuition, but were taken from very different occupations; he found it, he says, beyond measure difficult to bring them into his own views, and convince them how impossible it was that the school could be properly conducted; or the boys improve as they ought, without order, and inflexible, but mild discipline.

It was not less difficult to impress them with the necessity of an earnest and constant attention to the behaviour of the boys, and the importance of

inculcating upon them on all occasions a sense of their moral duties, as the only means of correcting the miserable maxims and habits in which most of them had hitherto been bred up. He found also, that whenever he had succeeded in qualifying a man for performing his business as an usher in the school, he had qualified him for situations in which a much higher salary might be obtained with far less pains.* These men, therefore, were either discontented with their situation, because they were unfit for it, or, having been made fit, became discontented with an appointment which was then below their deserts.

It was, however, mainly with their incapacity, and the obstinacy which always accompanied it, that Dr. Bell had to contend at first. He was dissatisfied with the want of discipline, and the imperfect instruction in every part of the school; but more particularly with the slow progress of the younger boys, and the unreasonable length of time consumed in teaching them their letters. They were never able to proceed without the constant aid of an usher, and, with that aid, months were wasted before the difficulties of the alphabet were got over. Dr. Bell's temper led him to do all things quickly, and his habits of mind to do them thoroughly, and leave nothing incomplete. He tells us, that from the beginning he looked upon perfect instruction as the main duty of the office with which he had charged himself; yet he was foiled for some time in all the means that he devised for attaining it. Many attempts he made to correct the evil in its earliest stage, and in all, he met with more or less opposition from the master and ushers. Every alteration which he proposed, they considered as implying some reflection on their own capacity or diligence; in proportion as he interfered, they thought themselves disparaged, and were not less displeased than surprised; that instead of holding the office of superintendent as a sinecure, his intention was to devote himself earnestly to the concerns of the Asylum; and more especially to the school department.

Things were in this state, when happening on one of his morning rides to pass by a Malabar school, he observed the children seated on the ground and writing with their fingers in sand, which had for that purpose been strewn before them. He hastened home, repeating to himself as he went *Ευρηκα*, "I have discovered it;" and gave immediate orders to the usher of the lowest classes to teach the alphabet in the same manner, with this difference only from the Malabar mode, that the sand was strewn upon a board. These orders were either disregarded, or so carelessly executed, as if they were thought not worth regarding; and after frequent admonitions, and repeated trials made without either expectation or wish of succeeding, the usher at last declared it was impossible to teach the boys in that way. If he had acted on this occasion in good will, and with merely common ability, Dr. Bell might never have cried *Ευρηκα*, a second time. But he was not a man to be turned from his purpose by the obstinacy of others, nor to be baffled in it by incapacity; baffled however, he was now sensible that he must be, if he depended for the execution of his plans on the will and ability of those over whose minds he had no command. He bethought himself of employing a boy, on whose obedience, disposition, and cleverness he could rely, and giving him charge of the alphabet class. The lad's name was John Friskin; he was the son of a private soldier, had learned his letters in the Asylum, and was then about eight years old. Dr. Bell laid the strongest injunctions upon him to follow his instructions; saying, he should look to him for the success of the simple and easy method

* The master had a salary of twenty pagodas a month, and each of the ushers fifteen.

which was to be pursued, and hold him responsible for it. What the usher had pronounced to be impossible, this lad succeeded in effecting without any difficulty. The alphabet was now as much better taught, as till then it had been worse than any other part of the boys' studies; and Frisker, in consequence, was appointed permanent teacher of that class.

Though Dr. Bell did not immediately perceive the whole importance of this successful experiment, he proceeded in the course into which he had been, as it were, compelled. What Frisker had accomplished with the alphabet class, might, in like manner, be done with those next in order, by boys selected, as he had been, for their aptitude to learn and to teach. Accordingly, he appointed boys as assistant teachers to some of the lower classes, giving, however, to Frisker the charge of superintending both the assistants and those classes, besides his own experience, and the readiness with which he apprehended and executed whatever was required from him. This talent indeed the lad possessed in such perfection, that Dr. Bell did not hesitate to throw upon him the entire responsibility of this part of the school. The same improvement was now manifested in these classes as had taken place in teaching the alphabet. This he attributed to the diligence and fidelity with which his little friends, as he used to call them, performed their duty, and from them a smile of approbation was no more wanting, and a measure sufficient punishment. Even in this manner, the school was more was wanting to bring the school into such a state as he had always proposed to himself, than to carry through the whole of the plan upon which he was now proceeding. And this, accordingly, was done. The experiment which, from necessity, had been tried at first with the alphabet, was systematically extended to all the others in progression; and the most important with scholastic improvement, moral improvement followed, in consequence of the system, is said to have kept pace. For the assistant teachers, being invested with authority, not because of their standing in the school, retained their influence at all times, and it was their business to interpose whenever their interference was necessary: and their interference prevented all that tyranny and ill-usage from which so much of the evil connected with boarding-schools arises; and all that mischief in which some boys are engaged by a mischievous disposition, more by mere wantonness, and a still greater number by the example of their companions. The boys were thus rendered inoffensive toward others, and among themselves; and this gentle preventive discipline made them, in its sure consequences, contented and happy. A boy was appointed over each class to marshal them when they went to church or walked out, and to see that they duly performed the operations of combing and washing themselves. Ten boys were appointed daily to clean the school-rooms, and wait upon the others at their meals. Twice a-week during the hot season, and once a-week during the monsoon season, they were marched by an usher to the tank, and there they bathed by classes.

As to any purposes of instruction, the master and ushers were now virtually superseded. They attended the school so as to maintain the observance of the rules; though even this was scarcely necessary under Dr. Bell's vigilant superintendence, who now made the school the great pleasure as well as the great business of his life. Their duty was, not to teach, but to look after the various departments of the institution, to see that the daily tasks were performed, to take care of the boys in and out of school, and to mark any irregularity or neglect either in them or the teachers. The master's principal business regarded now the economy of the institution: he had charge both of the daily disbursements and monthly expenditures under the treasurer.

The precise date of that experiment which led to the general introduction of boy-teachers, cannot be ascertained; but that these teachers had been introduced in 1791, or early in the ensuing year, is certain. In private letters, written to his friends in Europe, Dr. Bell relates the progress of his improvements step by step, and the impressions made upon his own mind by the complete success of his exertions in a favourite pursuit. These letters show also how soon he became aware of the importance of the system which he was developing and bringing to maturity.

Such was the origin of this discovery; and from this day, the one object of Dr. Bell's life was to recommend and introduce into all schools the principle of mutual instruction. To say that it was his hobby, were to say too little. It was his life, his vital breath, that in which and for which he lived. In all our observation of men and things, we have had occasion to notice that very little good is done in the world, save by men who thus give themselves up to the promotion of some one favorite scheme—men whom the world calls men of genius, or monomaniacs, or *bores*,—but men who, under whatever name, concentrate all their energies upon one point; and who, by dint of perseverance, overbear all opposition, and, (what is more difficult to overbear than opposition,) all lukewarmness and indifference. Such, henceforth, was Dr. Bell. Amongst children and amongst adults, mutual instruction was ever his theme—and this leads us to notice one point in his character, which would scarcely be expected to be found in it, that is, his tact in attaching children to himself. Dr. Bell was certainly a stern man, yet he seems to have had a wonderful faculty of gaining the affections of children, who cannot be bribed into attachment. Many instances of this occur in the course of the Memoir; but none more pleasing than the affection manifested by the family of Mr. John, a German Missionary at Tranquebar. We cannot deny our readers the pleasure they will receive from the following letter from this gentleman:—

THE REV. C. JOHN TO DR. BELL.

Tranquebar, 17th March, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your very obliging favour made us yesterday very happy. I was just going to our country church, where I spent the whole day, when I received and read it, surrounded by all my children, who were anxious with me to know how dear Dr. Bell was arrived, what he wrote, and how he had been satisfied, the more as we had heard that the wretched palanquin boys had tormented your soul and body throughout the road. I can hardly express what I have suffered for you that night. Such are our pleasures upon earth! mixed very often with very displeasing accidents. How happy will we be once in heaven, where palanquin boys, and all such like them, will trouble us no more! I hope the enjoyments of friendship, and better attention in the good family of our mutual friend, Mr. Toriano, will now repay all what you have suffered here.

My house resounds still of encomiums of our tender, beloved Dr. Bell.

Never I have felt so much, and never I have observed in my children such a great attachment towards a friend, after having lived with us for so short a time. May heaven bless us often with so happy days, and may my children meet often with so dear a children's friend, who wins the hearts so soon, spends every moment so usefully, and encourages the youth in so excellent a manner!

Mary Ann, Suckey, Jackey, the little female philosopher, Kitty, August, and every one cry almost after you, and complain why I have let you depart so soon. Alas! what shall I do? You may find out means to comfort us. If you could make us happy once more by your instructive and agreeable visits, my children will bear you upon their hands instead of black bearers, (but always within the bounds of Tranquebar,) to the milk-woman, to our gardens, and other places of our pleasures, which you not yet have seen. We must reluctantly submit to our fate; but the remembrance of your goodness, of your instructions, and philosophical experiments, will ever remain with us.

The above mentioned and all the other middle and little ones, press and entreat me to tender their best respects to you, so warmly as I am able to express. Messrs. Konig, Pohle, Rottler, Dr. Klein, Mrs. John, beg to be remembered to you in the best manner, not to forget my most obliging compliments and good wishes to dear Mr. Toriano and family.

May you long live for the benefit of the youth and of your friends! With the tenderest feelings I embrace you; and remain, my dear sir, yours ever sincerely, &c.

P. S.—Though the grapes are not yet entirely ripe, I send a basket with 50 bundles, to cause you the pleasure of distributing at the table of Mr. Toriano, as you did here.

We should like to insert some more specimens of this correspondence, but our space will not admit of it.

Dr. Bell's superintendence of the Asylum must have been admirable, and it produced its natural effect in training up a large number of boys, of so good a character, that their services began to be eagerly sought by the heads of departments, and others who had employment to offer. One of them was employed in rather a curious service. When Tippú's sons, who had been given up as hostages, were sent home, it was resolved that there should be sent along with them a present to their father, and that this present should include a set of philosophical instruments. Dr. Bell's apparatus was accordingly purchased by the Government; and one of the lads, Smith, who had recently left the Asylum, and who had assisted Dr. Bell in his experiments, was sent to exhibit and explain the different articles to the Sultan. It was found that Tippú was much better versed in experimental science than had been expected, and that he was not at all surprised at most of the experiments. However, Smith was well treated (after Tippú's fashion) and had a good offer made him, if he would remain in the country and superintend the construction of water-works, &c., at Seringapatam. But this offer he declined.

About this time, Dr. Bell was attacked by that most grievous of diseases, the ambition of authorship! He was induced by his own wishes, and "the pressing advice of friends," to publish a specimen of his philosophical lectures, the proceeds to be devoted to the benefit of the Asylum. But after sundry negotiations with the London "trade," the scheme was abandoned. A more pressing matter now occupied his attention. Although he greatly liked the climate of India, and the mode of life that he pursued at Madras, his health had been somewhat impaired; and so early as the beginning of 1794, he had contemplated a return to Europe. About two years, however, were spent in consultations with various friends, as to the fortune which was necessary for comfortable living in England. Of course, the opinions expressed were very conflicting. In the beginning of 1796, he applied for leave to return to Europe on furlough. This was granted; a successor was appointed to him in the Orphan Asylum; but he did not immediately take his departure, and it was not till the 20th of August, 1796, that he quitted the shores of India, carrying with him letters of high and well-deserved commendation from the Directors of the Asylum, from the teachers, also from his brother chaplains, and from the Government. Although he left India on furlough, it does not appear that he had any intention of returning. Before his departure, he had drawn up a full report of the method of education pursued in the Asylum, with its results, copies of which were sent by the Madras Government to the Bengal and Bombay Governments and the Court of Directors, and by the author to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta.

Having thus rapidly sketched Dr. Bell's Indian career, we shall now present our readers with a few specimens of the correspondence that passed between him and his Indian cotemporaries. His most regular correspondents seem to have been Col. Floyd, (the father-in-law, we believe, of the late Sir Robert Peel), Captain Dirom, and Captain Wight.

The following extract from Col. Floyd's first letter is painfully interesting, as shewing the state of religion in our army at this period:—

COLONEL FLOYD TO DR. BELL.

Chevilimodoo, November 28, 1787.

DEAR SIR,— . . . Favour me, then, with your company for a week the beginning of the month. We are, I hope, so near the right road, that we shall not deviate much during the short delay you desire; and at your arrival, you will find your flock disposed to follow whithersoever you shall lead.

I am ashamed to say I do not think I have either Bible or Prayer-book at this place, and I cannot answer for it that any body else has; so you

will please to take your measures accordingly. We have one or two little ones that we mean to present to you for baptism...

The possession of a Bible does not make a man a Christian ; but we believe few Christians, hearing that there was, probably, not a single copy of the word of God in a regiment, will fail to give thanks to God for the different state of things that obtains now, and to invoke a blessing on the Naval and Military Bible Society. The next extract we shall present, seems to indicate, that Dr. Bell's intercourse with Col. Floyd had not been without good effect ; and this is all the more pleasing, as the Colonel's resolution of amendment appears not to have been fleeting :—

COLONEL FLOYD TO DR. BELL.

Chevilimodoo, July 29, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,—Yesterday I was favoured with the dial, and with the instruments for ascertaining the hour and the level. Thank you very kindly for your useful labours, and, above all, for your obliging letter, giving very clear directions for placing the dial in its true position.

The Madras Almanac does not show the sun's declination. You will, therefore, accommodate me exceedingly if you will be so good either to procure and send me any table thereof, or let your writer copy several days out of your own tables. The pedestal whereon the dial is to stand, must first be erected. I have taken measures for its construction this day ; but, I dare say, it will scarce be ready this fortnight. I shall carefully preserve and send back again your brass instrument.

What now remains would be a favour of far more consequence than all, could it be accomplished. You have shown me how to mark the time, and it would cost you little trouble to show me how to employ it to the best advantage. Show but that which will overcome my habitual idleness, and I will raise deathless monuments to your fame. I am covered with confusion when I reflect to how little account I waste the fleeting hour. How infinitely more might be done ! Others are idle too, but that is a shabby consolation. A man, in truth, lives but so many hours as he employs. What children many are who die of old age !...

Here is a note from Lady Jones, addressed to Dr. Bell, during his visit to Calcutta. We insert it as a *nut* for our Calcutta antiquaries. Who was Dietrick ? What was the precise *locale* of his house ? Did Sir William Jones visit his shop near the Portuguese Church in person, or did he send for him to his own quarters in the Bow Bazar ?

LADY JONES TO DR. BELL.

December, 1788.

Lady Jones cannot yet discover any thing in the sixth edition of Ferguson which is not in the first. She will, however, examine it more fully when she has leisure. She now takes the liberty of sending Dr. Bell a work of Wesley's. He will immediately see it is little more than a compilation, but arranged so as to be amusing and interesting, and guides our investigation of the wonders of nature to the noblest and best use—admiration and gratitude to the great author of them. He mentions two

or three little experiments in chemistry, which, perhaps, Dr. Bell may not find unuseful, particularly the *arbor martis* and the *solution of alum*.

Dietrick is the name of the chemist who furnished Sir William Jones with some *pyrophorus*. He lives near the Portuguese church; and Sir W. Jones thinks him an intelligent, ingenious man.

Here is a piece of information, for which we trust our antiquarian friends will not be ungrateful, the introduction of tatties into Calcutta. Had they been previously used in the Upper Provinces? Were punkahs of a later date? It would certainly appear so from the manner in which Dr. Campbell writes:—

DR. JAMES CAMPBELL TO DR. BELL.

Calcutta, May 10, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,—... We have had very hot winds and delightful cool houses. Every body uses tattys now. They are delightful contrivances. My hall, you know, formerly Gregory's, by means of tattys, has been cool as in Europe, while the other rooms were uninhabitable, twenty and twenty-five degrees difference by Fahrenheit's thermometer; the consequence of which is, that Mrs. Campbell, who never went out in the day, is healthy and rosy. Tattys are, however, dangerous, when you are obliged to leave them and go abroad, the heat acts so powerfully on the body, that you are commonly affected with a severe catarrh.

The following recipe may be of interest to many of our readers; and at all events, it shews the wide range of Dr. Bell's enquiries. In fact, the correspondence inserted in these volumes, indicates an interest on Dr. Bell's part in various matters that would now be deemed sadly unprofessional, and some which we must be allowed to consider, as at all times, unsuitable to occupy any share of the attention of a Christian man, not to say of a Christian minister. We speak of various allusions to balls and private theatricals, of which it is evident from the letters addressed to Dr. Bell, that he had given accounts to his correspondents. But here is the extract respecting the composition of plaster:—

BARON REICHEL TO DR. BELL.

Ennore, August 10, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,—It is with pleasure that I here subjoin what I know of the composition of our plaster of Madras, in the employing of which (when thus prepared) lays all the art, in order to give it that fine polish which we observe.

1st. The quicklime made use of, is of burnt cockleshells, which were previously well washed, so as to cleanse them of all the salt and slime they might be covered with.

2nd. An equal quantity of this lime and pure sand is mixed together and formed into a heap, in the middle of which a sufficient quantity of water is thrown so as to create a gentle degree of ebullition, and the heap is left in that state twelve or fourteen days.

3dly. The heap, after this time, is well stirred about, and is then fit for mortar, by being well beat with pestles, in stone grooves made for that purpose.

4thly. This mortar, in almost a dry state, is carried to the place where the plastering is to be made. Previously to the laying on the first coat, the wall or floor is well swept and bathed with jagary-water, (in the proportion of one pound of jagary to a gallon of water,) the mortar is then made sufficiently liquid with jagary-water, to be laid half an inch thick upon the brick-work. It is smoothed and modelled agreeably to the form required, first with a common trowel and then with a wooden one, rubbing and moistening continually with jagary-water, till it becomes perfectly hard.

5thly. This coat is left to dry at least ten or twelve days.

6thly. A second mortar is prepared for a second coat in the following manner:—Two-thirds of the pure shell lime, well sifted, is mixed with one-third of pure sand, and this is ground upon a stone with as much water as will make it of the consistence of paste. It is then laid by in some large earthen vessels.

7thly. A quantity of pure shell-lime, without sand, is also ground exceedingly fine upon a stone, and again deposited in separate large earthen vessels, overflowed with clean water.

8thly. Thus having every thing prepared, the day that the fine plastering is to be made, the vessels which contain the grounded lime, without sand, is well stirred, and a few eggs, sour milk, and a pound of melted butter, are thrown in and well mixed with it; the consistence of this mortar is rather liquid.

9thly. Over the first coat of plastering, the second coat is given with the grounded lime and sand; and as soon as this is laid on smooth and well rubbed with the wooden trowel, the third coat with the grounded pure lime is immediately applied, not thicker than one-eighth of an inch. It is also rubbed lightly with a wooden trowel until it begins to refuse that kind of friction. The iron trowel or polisher is then used; and in the handling of this, as well as in the manner of giving it the fine and even polish, lays, as I said before, all the *delicatesse* of the art.

N. B.—Should you wish to colour the plastering, the desired colour, red, yellow, or black, must be ground separately, and mixed with the composition of the third coat.

The faces of the walls or floors thus plastered, must be wiped dry for several days with a very clean cloth; and when the moisture appears pretty near evaporated, they must be rubbed for two or three days with the palm of the hand quite clean and dry.

The following series of letters, affords a somewhat singular specimen of society in India, towards the close of the last century. Dr. Southey has concealed the name of the widow lady who seems so imperfectly to have known her own mind.

MRS. ——— TO DR. BELL.

February 27, 1793.

DEAR SIR,—I have a favour to ask you—If you would accompany me so far as Conjeveram at any time it is your leisure, and there I shall beg of you to perform a solemn ceremony. It is a serious one indeed. What do you say? Yes or no, is to *marry me*. Yours obediently.

MRS. ——— TO DR. BELL.

February 27, 1793.

DEAR SIR,—Upon reflection, I have changed my mind as to what I have wrote you. I beg you will not mention any thing about it. Yours truly.

MRS. ——— TO DR. BELL.

27th February, 1793.

DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your letter of this morning. Indeed I have such confidence in you that I am perfectly satisfied. You will think me an odd woman, perhaps, and I confess I am so. Adieu. Your most obliged.

If any should think this correspondence too light for insertion in Dr. Bell's biography, or in this our review thereof, we shall next extract

DR. BELL'S JOURNAL AT THE SIEGE OF PONDICHERRY.

Thursday, August 2, 1793.

Set out from Egmore. I found only six palanquin bearers when I arrived at Choultry, where a palanquin was posted; and, by the great failure of the head bearers, could not have proceeded but for horses—my own, Lieutenant Hughes's at Chingleput, and Mr. Welsh's at Permacoil.

4th. Visited the rock of Permacoil, taken by Tippú Sulthan in the late war, Lieutenant Brunton having capitulated.

5th. Arrived in camp to breakfast with Captain Wight, commanding 86th regiment; waited on Colonel Floyd, and accepted his invitation to be with him till the arrival of my tent equipage; and, on waiting on Colonel Braithwaite, received an invitation to be of his, the Commander of the army's, family. Dined with him.

6th. Visited the port at Arioncopaing, next the fort. Saw videttes within 200 yards over the river. Dined with Colonel Floyd.

7th. Visited the Engineer's Park, the Blancherie, and posts to the north. Dined with Colonel Nesbit.

8th. Visited the gardens, De l'Arches: saw Moravians: saw gabions and fascines, and general hospital.

10th. At night, enfilading battery begun of eighty yards long and twenty-four feet thick, about 750 yards from the north-west angle of the fort—eighty twelve-pounders and two mortars. Its progress very small the first night, but the working party undiscovered, the blue lights being thrown to the north.

12th. At night the approaches begun from the village of the Blancherie, about 1,300 yards, and a zig-zag of 750 yards completed.

13th. Parallel and battery now begun. Captain Thomas Galpine, of the 73d regiment, killed.

14th. Buried Captain Galpine.

15th. Lieutenant Macgregor and Ensign Todd, of the 73rd, killed; and at half-past eight o'clock at night, Lieutenant-Colonel Maule, chief engineer, going from the trenches to his tent in his palanquin, a cannon-ball killed three bearers behind, and carried off his head.

16th. Buried Ensign James Todd and Lieutenant D. D. Macgregor, and Lieutenant-Colonel George Maule. Rain all last night and this morning.

17th. Buried Lieutenant Henry Lane, of the 52nd regiment. Rain last night and to-day.

20th. Opened enfilading battery, which rendered the firing of the fort less frequent and less certain.

21st. Buried Ensign Home, of the 86th regiment.

22nd. Northern battery of fourteen twenty-fours opened at daybreak, and before seven o'clock silenced all the guns on that face of the fort. A flag sent in at four o'clock, from the fort, offering to capitulate.

23rd. Eight o'clock morning, capitulation signed. Private property sacred. Soldiers prisoners of war; Sepoys set at liberty. Colonel Floyd in command of Pondicherry. English flag hoisted at one o'clock.

25th. Walked all round Pondicherry. Enterable by the sea face from the south.

26th. Spent the whole day at Cuddalore, most pleasantly, with Mrs. Sheriff.

29th. Margaret, daughter of William Woolvin, sergeant, 52d regiment, and Sarah, his wife, baptized. Camp at Pondicherry.

We have referred to the fact of one of Dr. Bell's pupils being sent in charge of the philosophical apparatus that was sent as a present to Tippú Sahib. We had marked, for extract, his account of his reception and treatment by that singular man; but the length to which we have already gone in extracting, and a consideration of the amount of matter that still lies before us, compel us to alter our intention. The same considerations induce us to withhold all the letters which, at the outset, we intended to insert, relating to public events. We should imagine that the correspondence of Col. Floyd, Major Dirom and Capt. Wight, will be of very considerable use to the historian of the eventful war in which these soldiers did good service. The frankness and despatch, with which these officers communicate to Dr. Bell details of the various operations that they severally conducted, and the various actions in which they were engaged, indicate the high estimation in which they held him. And, indeed, it may not be out of place, at the close of his Indian career, to notice what we shall have to dwell upon at greater length hereafter, the strong attachment that subsisted between Dr. Bell and his friends. It is needless to repeat, what our previous remarks will have led our readers to anticipate, that the relation that subsisted between them was not in accordance with our *ideal* of that which ought to subsist between a minister of the Gospel and the members of his flock; yet we doubt not that his influence upon them, and especially upon Col. Floyd, was, upon the whole, beneficial. As we have stated, there seems a gradual improvement in the tone of this fine soldier's correspondence; and we can scarcely doubt that his intercourse with Dr. Bell had a considerable share in leading him to seriousness, and to the cultivation of an excellent mind, which it seems to have been not mere modesty that led him to confess was lying waste, up to the commencement of that intercourse. We may as well mention, that this Colonel Floyd (afterwards General,) was created a baronet in 1816, and died in 1818, and that his daughter is Lady Peel, on whose behalf so much of the sympathy of mankind was lately called forth, on the occasion of the sad bereavement which she and the country sustained, when that great statesman, her husband, was so suddenly removed from the midst of us. General Dirom retired to Scotland, and died a few

years ago, full of years and honors. Capt. Wight also retired to Scotland, but we do not know any thing of his history, except what we learn from the volume before us. We find that in 1797, he was actively employed in quelling a very serious riot in East Lothian; that he ultimately attained the rank of Colonel, and that after his death Dr. Bell had the satisfaction of being able to procure a cadetship for his son.

Dr. Bell, as we have already said, quitted India on the 20th of August, 1796. The Directors of the asylum asked permission "to provide a convenient passage for Dr. Bell to Europe, in any ship he might wish to go by," but this he declined. Mr. Southey (for we have now passed from the father's part of the biography to the son's) here introduces a detailed statement of Dr. Bell's income, during his residence in India; from which it would appear, that he received on an average, during the nine years of his residence in India, about £1,600 annually; but this we suspect must be an under-estimate of the droppings of that now extinct botanical product, the "Gold-mohur-tree;" inasmuch as we find, that on the eve of his departure from India, he estimated his assets at £17,030; a much larger sum than that at which Mr. Southey estimates his aggregate income. Now although, latterly, the interest on his previous savings, in those days when high interest could be obtained, might be sufficient to defray his very moderate expenses; this could not be the case in the earlier part of his career. But this is not all. Probably on account of a more favorable rate of exchange than he had calculated upon, we find that he actually brought from India £18,445-16-5, and left a sum invested, which, by 1820, had amounted to £7,490; so that the whole sum that he saved in India amounted to £25,935-16-5.

At first, Dr. Bell reported himself as visiting England on sick certificate, with the intention of returning to his duties as soon as his health should be re-established; but speedily he seems to have abandoned this idea, and set himself earnestly to secure a pension from the Court of Directors, founding his claim on the eminent services he had gratuitously rendered to India, in connection with the Orphan Asylum. He also asked permission to publish the report which he had drawn up previously to leaving Madras. This permission was immediately granted, and acted upon; and soon after a pension was conferred upon him of £200 per annum; but on the condition, that "if his health should permit of his returning to his duties as chaplain, at Fort St. George, and he should obtain leave to return, this pension should cease." In point of fact, however, he

lived in robust health, for thirty years after this, and might have gone any where from Pole to Pole ; but he still retained his pension.

From this time he began his efforts for the introduction of the Madras, or "mutual instruction," system of education into British schools, and these efforts he never relaxed till the end of his life. His first attempt seems to have been at New Lanark, then the property of Mr. David Dale, and afterwards celebrated as the scene of the first socialist experiment of his son-in-law, the well-known Robert Owen.

Hitherto his report, although printed, had not been published ; and he seems, at first, to have hesitated whether he should publish it at all. But as afterwards, when the controversies arose, to which we shall immediately have occasion to refer, concerning his merits as the inventor of the method, his opponents maintained that, even if it were granted that he was the first to practise the system, his delay and hesitation as to the issue of his report, indicated that he was not by any means aware of the importance of his discovery, and that it was only after the method was independently discovered by Lancaster, and when, under his auspices, its importance was evinced, that he cared for asserting his claim to be regarded as its discoverer,—his biographer is very properly solicitous to shew that this was not the fact. And in this, we think, he fully succeeds. Indeed, it is by no means difficult to show, that at no time was Dr. Bell blind to his own merits, or in danger of underrating the value of his own discovery. It ought to be remembered, in connexion with this matter, that he very naturally did not expect a pamphlet on such a subject to meet with an extensive sale, and that during the interval that elapsed between the printing and the publication, he had been busy in presenting copies to men of rank and influence, whom it was desirable to interest in the cause. He was doubtful of his power to induce the public to appreciate his discovery ; but not of the value of the discovery itself.

The next matter in which Dr. Bell was engaged, was the purchase of an estate in Scotland. The following is his memorandum of the transaction :—

"Dumfries, 13th of February, 1798—Purchase of land.
 ' Bought of William Copland, Esq., of Collieston, Northfield of
 ' Clarebrand and Southend of Halferne, amounting to about 56
 ' acres, on lease at £56. The farm of Ernamerie, and part of
 ' Upper Clarebrand, amounting to 150 acres, rent £170-14.
 ' The life rent pendicle of Robert Conchar, of 22 acres, rent
 ' about £5-6. Total rent, £232 for £4,120.

"16th. Bought Halferne, 182 acres, on lease at £146 per annum, for £2,300. Total acres 415—rent £378, for £6,420."

Thus Dr. Bell realized the ambition of almost every Scotchman, in being the owner of a portion of his *natale solum*. The investment was regarded as a very advantageous one; the neighbourhood was good; and the price was little more than seventeen years' purchase. The engagements in which he was speedily involved, however, left him little leisure to squire it in Galloway. Indeed, he visited his estate only at distant intervals, and on these occasions, he generally stayed for very short periods.

Two days after the date of the preceding memorandum, he proceeded to London, and accidentally met "D. P. Watts, Esq., who was then one of the trustees of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, the oldest Protestant parochial school in London, to whom he presented a copy of the Madras report." The result we must give at length in the words of Mr. Southey:—

This Mr. Watts immediately placed in the hands of Samuel Nichols, the master, and desired him to read and consider it, and to be prepared to give his opinion on it at the next meeting of the board. Shortly afterwards he wrote to Mr. Watts, informing him of the steps he had taken, which were highly creditable to his judgment. "I have perused Dr Bell's plan," he writes, "with much attention and pleasure, and do declare to you, that I conceive it to be the most facilitating, as well as the most effectual, mode of instructing children that can be adopted. The dividing the children into classes, and placing a senior boy over them, is productive of many advantages. It instructs the younger ones with more rapidity, because to the monitor they can read and spell twice or thrice in the morning and afternoon, when to the master not more than once. The elder boy, while he is teaching his class, is also instructing himself, by riveting in his mind by repetition those lessons which he had formerly learned.

"It is an infallible method for the preservation of order, to the almost entire exclusion of corporal punishment, by the monitor being responsible for the good conduct of his class, by the effect on the minds of the class, arising from the reproach or punishment which will fall on their monitor through their misconduct, and by the general competition of classes, each being numbered or descriptively named; and it renders the task of superintending a school thus regulated at once pleasant and easy.

"I am at this time trying the effect of teaching the alphabet with the finger on sand, which, for the short time it has been in practice here, promises the most marked success."

From this time the system appears to have been acted upon in this school; for in 1803, we find a letter from Nichols to Mr. Watts, in which he thus speaks of the use of sand as one of the auxiliary practices:—"The sand I continue to use, it being the most facilitating as well as the most saving method that ever was conceived. The following is an instance of its efficacy:—I had a boy, who is the dullest, heaviest, and the least inclined to learning I ever had, who, having for six months past wrote upon sand, and read alternately and constantly while at school, is now able, not only to spell every word, but can tell me any word, let me ask him where I will. And he appears now to have an inclination to learning, to which, when he first came, he had an utter aversion."

No further account of this school appears until 1807, when Dr. Bell visited it twice, and was so much pleased with an addition which Mr. Nichols had made to the minor practices, that of the boys counting the time of the stops in reading, that he immediately had the practice introduced into Lambeth school.

In 1811, we again find this school mentioned in a letter from Mr. Nichols to Mr Watts, where he says, "I hereby most respectfully inform you, that the parts of Dr. Bell's plan adopted in the above school have been—classing the children, and placing them under teachers and assistants, and writing with a pen upon damp sand;" and he adds, "I became an admirer of Dr. Bell's plan the moment you honoured me with its perusal, and have considered it ever since a most delightful and encouraging method of instruction." In another letter to Mr Watts, in 1812, he also says, "It would have been a happiness to me, as well as an incalculable benefit to the school, if you, sir, had continued an active trustee This school has been literally upon the Madras system from the time you first delivered the Rev. Dr. Bell's book into my hands, in the year 1798."

The latter part of 1798 and the former part of '99, seem to be the only year in which Dr. Bell enjoyed something approaching to a holiday. The winter he spent in Dumfries, in the neighbourhood of his property, and the summer in various trips and excursions undertaken with the joint view of seeing the country, and introducing the Madras system. In August, 1799, he visited Edinburgh, and was immediately applied to by Sir William Forbes, on behalf of the vestry of the English episcopal chapel there, to officiate in the chapel during the autumn. To this request he at once acceded, and officiated in the chapel until the following March, giving his services gratuitously, and securing the affectionate respect of the congregation, by whom he was presented with a silver tea-service. At this time he was also elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. But his great object, during his residence in Edinburgh, was to get the Madras system introduced into some of the principal schools there; however he found obstacles that he had not anticipated, and did not, at this time, succeed in his attempt. At the close of this year (3rd November, 1800), he married Miss Barclay, daughter of a clergyman of the church of Scotland. The marriage was a very unhappy one, and a separation took place in 1806, after which his wife and he seem to have had no intercourse. Mr. Southey leaves the curiosity of his readers altogether unsatisfied, respecting the causes of this breach; and we shall not attempt to withdraw the veil which he so closely draws.

The period that elapsed between Dr. Bell's departure from India and the end of 1801, may be considered as another epoch in his life. At the latter date, he was appointed by Mr. Calcraft to the rectory of Swanage, Dorsetshire, where he took possession

and preached his first sermon on Christmas day. There is a good deal of interesting information given us, respecting the inhabitants of Swanage, the greater portion of whom were engaged in the quarrying of Purbeck stone. Amongst his parishioners, Dr. Bell found several men of remarkable character, self-taught, intelligent, and even scientific. Some of these he converted into teachers, and got them appointed to various offices, from time to time; and they seem to have admirably realized the expectations that he formed respecting them. Dr. Bell's first care was devoted to the Sunday schools, which had been established before his appointment to the rectory, and into which he now, with great caution and judiciousness, introduced "the system." There were no less than thirteen day-schools in his parish; and as the population was under 1,500, the schools must have been poor affairs. Dr. Bell, instead of wasting his time upon all of these, seems wisely to have selected one of them as the field of his operations; but whether he selected the best, or whether he took the one to which he got readiest access, does not appear. The school was an exceedingly disorderly one, and gave a fine opportunity for an exhibition of the power of the system, to produce regularity and progress.

Another object that occupied Dr. Bell's attention, was the introduction of vaccination amongst his parishioners. Having brought some vaccine matter from Edinburgh, he prevailed upon a family to allow their two children to be submitted to the operation. He accordingly vaccinated the boy, and Mrs. Bell the girl; and they succeeded so well, that in the course of the spring, he and Mrs. Bell vaccinated no fewer than 300 persons. As he never did things by halves, we find him carrying his zeal for vaccination into all places and all times, even into some places and times which, according to our feelings and judgment, were scarcely suitable to it. Witness the following extract:—

On this subject, he thus speaks in a letter to a friend:—"Sunday the 15th, (June 1806.) I did what was never done before in Swanage—preached twice, and the same sermon both forenoon and afternoon, on cow-pock. The consequence is, that I have now this year vaccinated 211 subjects, which, added to the three former years' list, make 604 I have vaccinated. A mother has brought a second child from Portsmouth, on purpose for my vaccination, because the elder had resisted the small-pox in every way, whom, being accidentally here, I had vaccinated with my parishioners and neighbours; for I send none away. Among other causes I am detained by the vaccination (brought on before the usual period by the natural small-pox breaking out in the neighbourhood, from returning to London, so soon as I intended." And in the course of the next month, he writes:—"I have now almost finished my fourth annual vaccination for the cow-pock, amounting in all to 658 subjects, from seventy-eight years of age to twelve months; and have set old women, school-mistresses, &c., in neighbouring parishes, inoculating with vaccine matter."

In connexion with the subject of vaccination in Swanage, Mr. Southey, with a good deal of his father's spirit, introduces an account of a Dorsetshire farmer, who is said to have introduced and practised vaccination before Dr. Jenner. Dr. Bell made a statement on the subject to the Jennerian society, who sent for the old man, defrayed the expenses of his journey to and from, and his residence in, London, and had his portrait painted and hung up in their hall. Altogether it seems to be clearly established, that Benjamin Jesty was the first who discovered and practised vaccination; yet was Dr. Jenner fairly entitled to all the fame and emolument that he enjoyed as its discoverer, inasmuch as it was he who, having made the discovery without any communication with Jesty, made it available for the advantage of mankind. The only other matter on which we find Dr. Bell bringing his energies to bear, during his residence in Swanage, was the introduction of straw-plaiting as an employment for the girls of his parish.

It was while he was rector of Swanage, that the controversy arose respecting the comparative merits of Dr. Bell and Joseph Lancaster, in the invention and introduction of the method of mutual instruction. To enter into the details of this controversy, would lead us far beyond the limits which we must prescribe to ourselves in this article. We shall, therefore, only state generally, that we think it clearly established, that Dr. Bell introduced the system at Madras; that Mr. Lancaster, although he had made considerable improvements on the prevalent modes of tuition before he heard of Dr. Bell's method, derived the first idea of that method from Dr. Bell's report; that being a practical teacher and a man of lively fancy, he engrafted upon it various methods of discipline, some of which were manifest improvements, while others were of a somewhat questionable kind; that at first he willingly acknowledged the obligations under which he lay to Dr. Bell; and that he did not, at any time, deny that he had derived the method of mutual instruction from him, while he considered that the Lancasterian "system" was his own, inasmuch as it consisted, not merely of Dr. Bell's principle, but also of his own methods and details, which Dr. Bell's friends and supporters regarded as unseemly excrescences, only tending to mar the beauty and efficiency of the principle itself. The evil was, that the controversy became one between church and dissent, or rather between "high church" on the one hand, and "low church" and dissent on the other. The fact was, that the questions at issue between these bodies had no more to do with the systems of Bell and Lancaster than with the systems of Ptolemy and Copernicus. Dr.

Bell himself always maintained, that the sole peculiarity, which constituted the system for whose invention he claimed credit, was the method of mutual instruction. Now this method is clearly fitted for teaching either the church catechism or the formulary of any other church, or for imparting instruction on other subjects in schools in which no religion at all is taught. But in point of fact, Dr. Bell's schools, in Madras and in England, were conducted on church principles; while Mr. Lancaster's were founded on more latitudinarian views; and the partizans of Dr. Bell dragged in the controversy respecting the system of teaching in support of their views in regard to the subjects taught, and mixed up the controversy as to the monitorial system with the controversy as to the union of church and state. To us who, at this distance of time and place, may be supposed to be able to form an impartial judgment, this seems to be the real state of the case. Dr. Bell introduced the method of mutual instruction at Madras, and practised it with excellent effect there for several years. Mr. Lancaster, many years after, introduced various improvements into the discipline of schools. While he was endeavouring to bring his system to perfection, he met with Dr. Bell's book, and afterwards went down to Swanage, and spent some days in the Rectory. He immediately introduced Dr. Bell's method into his own school, fully and candidly acknowledging its importance, and then went on introducing more and more improvements, some of them undoubtedly such, and others of a very questionable kind. Thus Dr. Bell's friends said in substance, "The improved system consists exclusively 'in the method of mutual instruction; and Dr. Bell is the author 'of that method, therefore he is the author of the system;" while Mr. Lancaster's friends said, "True, Dr. Bell is the 'author of this method, but this is a very small, though not un- 'important, part of the system as practised in the Lancasterian 'schools, and of that system, as a whole, Joseph Lancaster is 'the author." Such appears to be the real state of the question, in so far as the real merits of the controversy are concerned; but by some means, it got mixed up with the controversy as to the connexion of schools with the church, and a great deal of unfair argumentation was used on both sides. For example, on the one side we find a great deal of personal abuse heaped on Lancaster, whom we believe to have been a man of great zeal and earnestness and simplicity of purpose, though not untinctured with vanity; while on the other side, it is only a short time ago, that we met with the following note in the writings of the late Rev. Sydney Smith. Having occa-

sion, in the course of an article on a different subject altogether, to introduce Dr. Bell's name, he explains in a note, that Dr. Bell was "a very foolish old gentleman, seized on eagerly by 'the church of England to defraud Lancaster of his discovery.'" Now this is unfair in many ways. Whatever Dr. Bell may have been, he was not at all what ninety-nine out of every hundred persons will understand by the epithet applied to him of "a foolish old gentleman;"—then it was not the church of England, but a particular section of its members that entered warmly into this controversy, as is indicated by the fact that Bishop Porteus was never at all cordial towards Dr. Bell, and was at one time, apparently, rather in favor of Lancaster; while Mr. Sydney Smith himself was at once a dignitary of the Church of England, and a zealous partizan of Lancaster;—and then, in point of fact, the supporters of Dr. Bell did not attempt to defraud Lancaster of his discovery in favor of Dr. Bell. They only claimed for him what was really his own, and said, that all the rest was either useless or worse. It is as if A. claimed to be the inventor of roast goose, and B. the inventor of apple sauce, and A.'s friends should say,—“His is, in reality, the dish; you may add to it what sauce or seasoning you like, the substantial dish is not 'affected thereby.'”—“No,” say the advocates of B., “the roast 'goose is, indeed, a valuable part of the dish, when taken along 'with the sauce, but the sauce is good in itself, and good as 'capable of forming a part of other dishes as well as of this, 'while the goose would be but a dry and insipid dish without 'the sauce; while therefore it is admitted that the simple and 'poor dish, roast-goose, is the invention of A., it is contended 'that the composite and excellent dish, roast-goose-and-apple-sauce, is that of B.” Now here the controversy should stop, and it should be left to each epicure to determine whether in reality greater praise were due to him who roasted the goose, or to him who prepared the sauce; whether the goose were good without the sauce, and whether it were better with it. But unfortunately the controversy turns upon the propriety of eating roast goose at Michaelmas; A.'s supporters maintaining that on that day every table should be graced with the dish; while B.'s advocates aver that the dish, as prepared by their client, is good for all seasons, and that there is no more reason why it should be on the table on Michaelmas than on every other day, and no less reason why it should be eaten in Lent than at any other season. And then the controversy branches out into the propriety of the observance of saints' days and fasts and festivals generally; and so the controversialists lose sight

of A. and B. altogether, while yet they firmly believe, and try to persuade others also, that they are still engaged in discussing the merits of these gastronomic *artistes*!

The principal controversialists on Dr. Bell's side were Mrs. Trimmer, a good woman, the editor of an educational magazine, and the authoress of many good school-books; but so high in her church principles, that she could not allow any good to exist without its pale;—Dr. Marsh, a man of great learning and great power, who was first known as the author of a very violent attack on the Bible Society, and afterwards as Bishop of Peterborough, and translator of Michaelis's Introduction to the study of the Scriptures. Even his own party thought he had gone too far in his assault on the Bible Society; and Dr. Bell regretted that his advocacy of his claims should have come so speedily on the back of that controversy; because he knew that his advocacy would do prejudice to his cause in the estimation of the friends of that noble institution;—and Lord Radstock, a blunt and warm-hearted sailor, who shewed more zeal than discretion in his conduct of the controversy, and led even those on the same side to silently exclaim—"Save me from my friends."

Meantime the system was introduced into various schools of importance in England and Ireland. The details are interesting to the professional teacher, but can scarcely be so to the public in general. We shall, therefore, pass them over, and shall only quote Dr. Bell's account of his interview with the Duke of York at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, and of his report of the interview to the archbishop of Canterbury:—

Dr. Bell remained at Chelsea till about the end of October, when, having succeeded in organizing the Asylum to his satisfaction, he thought it proper to return to his duties at Swanage. Hardly, however, had he arrived there, when he was recalled, for the purpose of showing the fruits of his labour in the Asylum to the Duke of York. This summons he at once obeyed; and some time after, in writing to General Floyd, gave the following account of his visit:—"When I left the Royal Military Asylum, . . . which I had attended for two months to remodel it, I was sent for by the Duke of York, to meet his Royal Highness there, and to exhibit the machine which I had put in motion there. Next morning, when I had paid my duty, and reported progress to the Archbishop, he asked me how I was pleased with my interview, and what the duke, the president of the institution, thought of my proceeding. I said, I was so little acquainted with the language of great men, smiling and bowing to his Grace, in whose presence and at whose table I had so often sat, that I did not know how to interpret any of the praises of simplicity, &c., which his Royal Highness was pleased to bestow upon it; but when he said, not only to me, but to my friends in my absence again and again, 'he only wondered that it had not been found out before,' I was sure 'we had him.'

"I had the impudence to say I had borrowed my system of his Royal

Highness, that is, of his army—that in India, Generals Floyd, Knox, Nesbit, &c., had infused into me some of their military spirit; and that my teachers and assistant-teachers were my sergeants and corporals, and my reports their orderly-books. It has often occurred to me of late, that it was insensibly in that school I learned what I taught."

In 1807 Dr. Bell received a complimentary letter from his former pupils at Madras, which he had printed and distributed amongst his friends, while he submitted the original to the Court of Directors. The subject of his claims was incidentally introduced to the House of Commons on occasion of the discussion of a measure introduced by Mr. Whitbread, respecting the poor laws. It was tacitly assumed by Mr. Whitbread and his supporters, that Lancaster was the author of the improved system, and "no mention of Dr. Bell's name appears to have been made in the debate, except by Mr. Calcraft, (the patron of the living of Swanage) who rose and said, that the system of education so much recommended was solely and wholly attributable to his near neighbour and respected friend, the Rev. Dr. Bell, rector of Swanage." This led to an interview between Dr. Bell and Mr. Whitbread, which, however, issued in no material consequences, except a public acknowledgment, on the part of Mr. Whitbread, of the priority of Dr. Bell's use of the method of mutual instruction.

Dr. Bell and his friends now felt it desirable that he should receive some appointment, which should leave him more at liberty to prosecute the object of working the system in those schools into which it had been introduced, and effecting its introduction into other schools, than was compatible with the duties of an extensive parish. An opportunity soon occurred. Bishop Dampier, on his promotion from the see of Rochester to that of Ely, resigned the mastership of Sherburn hospital, in the diocese of Durham, which he had held in conjunction with the former office; and Bishop Barrington, who had long been one of the most zealous, and, at the same time, one of the most judicious advocates of Dr. Bell's claims, agreed to confer on him the mastership of the hospital. He appears to have originally contemplated the retention of Swanage, although it was on the ground of the weightiness of its duties that he professedly sought preferment. He, however, resigned it, the bishop making it a condition of his appointment to Sherburn Hospital that the nomination of a successor at Swanage should be given up to him; to which arrangement Mr. Calcraft agreed. He was told that the clear income of his new office would not be less than £1,188; but it appears that it generally exceeded this sum considerably, although he introduced changes in the system of management,

which materially increased the expenses, and lessened the clear income. He received £3,000 from his predecessor for "dilapidations."

Sherburn hospital is one of those relics of the piety of popish times, of very questionable utility. It seems to have been originally a leper asylum; but when the disease of leprosy was happily banished from England, it was converted into an asylum for old men, of whom thirty were maintained, in a state of what we should call vegetable enjoyment, but that we have too much respect for vegetables, to compare to them a set of discontented old fellows, who were perpetually wrangling about the quality of their beer, and the exact point to which the roasting of their beef ought to be carried.* The revenues belong to the master, on the condition of his clothing and dieting the "brethren" according to certain scales. Dr. Bell, shortly after his appointment, considerably increased the allowances of the brethren, and really did all that could be done to content them; and he did succeed to a considerable extent, in smoothing the troubled waters of their idle minds.

For several years after this period, Dr. Bell was incessantly employed in correspondence respecting the system, and in tours and visitations of schools in England and in Ireland. The next matter of special moment that attracts our notice, is the formation, in 1811, of the "National Institution" for education on the Madras system, in connexion with the established church. This society commenced in London, soon radiated into the provinces, and greatly promoted the diffusion of the system. This year he also received a second communication from his Madras pupils, accompanying a resolution passed at a meeting, to the effect that a service of sacramental plate, and a gold chain and medal, should be presented to him, and that a hundred copies of a copper-plate engraving of a miniature portrait of him should be purchased for distribution amongst the subscribers. These resolutions were carried into effect, and Dr. Bell returned a long answer to the address, which is admirably written, although we are painfully struck with that absence of evangelical sentiments which we have already noticed as pervading Dr. Bell's correspondence. At this time the Duke of York, having witnessed the success of the Madras system in the Royal Military Asylum, resolved, with the sanction of the Prince Regent, to introduce it into the regimental schools throughout the army; and requested Dr. Bell to draw up a manual of instructions for establishing and conducting these

* An interesting account of Sherburn hospital may be seen in Howitt's *Visits to Remarkable Places*. Some portions of this account we should quote did our space permit.

schools. This manual, contrary to his usual habits of literary composition, he completed in the course of five days.

The current of Dr. Bell's life ran on smoothly till the autumn of 1813, and success attended his efforts every where; but at this time, it was interrupted by certain discontents on the part of his Sherburn "brethren,"—"a little more than kin, and less than kind"—who complained to the bishop of their treatment. A long correspondence ensued between the bishop and Dr. Bell; and it seems that the bishop was satisfied that Dr. Bell's conduct in the matter was unexceptionable, and that the complaints of the brethren were either groundless, or that they applied only to the conduct of the contractor who supplied the provisions.

We must pass over the immediately subsequent events in Dr. Bell's life, including his interview with the Grand Duchess and the Emperor of Russia, and a visit which, in the autumn of 1814, he paid to Ireland, on the invitation of the bishop of Derry, for the purpose of introducing the system into the Foundling hospital at Dublin, in the course of which visit he held conferences with the directors of various other institutions, and with Mr. Peel, who was then Secretary for Ireland. We find nothing but schools and schoolmasters' correspondence and visitations, until October 1815, when he treated himself to a well-earned holiday, and proceeded to Scotland, where he had not been for several years. He remained there until the end of December, when he returned to England. His account of this trip, contained in a letter written from Carlisle, is too characteristic not to be extracted:—

I have just finished a tour of three months in my native country, to visit friends—not its curiosities, interesting scenery, or natural beauties, but its scholastic institutions. Nothing is curious, or interesting, or beautiful in my eyes, but the face of children—but the infant mind—but the spiritual creation. Though I have been in America, Asia, Africa, as well as Europe, and in a country notorious of late, (let the Bonaparteans say where,) beyond the limits of them all, I have, in my present visitation, been carried in the line of my vocation, further north than ever I was before. I have been in a city which has as many universities as all England.

In the summer of next year (1816), he carried into execution a long-cherished design of a tour on the continent. He spent some time in Paris, then proceeded rapidly to Geneva, Lausanne, Yverdon, where Pestalozzi's school engrossed his attention, Hofwyl, where Fellenberg established his celebrated industrial school, Friburg, Basle, and down the Rhine into Holland. This tour occupied from June to September; and having now contracted a love of foreign travel, he contemplated a visit to America, but was dissuaded by his friend Lord Kenyon, on the ground that there "was not, and (so his friend

ship feared) never would be, enough of principle in America, to work upon to do good, even by Dr. Bell's almost all-powerful system!" He therefore went about in the north of England, entirely engrossed, as usual, with schools and school-masters. In June 1817, he visited Windsor, at the request of the good old Queen Charlotte, and was much gratified at the reception he met with from Her Majesty and the Princess Elizabeth.

Again Schools! Schools! in England and Scotland, until the end of January, 1818, when he received at St. Andrew's a note from the archbishop of Canterbury, offering him a prebendary's stall in Hereford Cathedral. He was accordingly appointed by the archbishop, and admitted by the bishop of Hereford; but he soon found that the office required longer residence than he had anticipated, and that the mastership of Sherburn hospital prevented his holding several of the appointments that were attached to the stall, and from which its income was mainly derived. He was therefore anxious to effect an exchange, but in this he did not succeed until March of next year, when he had the choice of two preferments, a prebend in Westminster, and the wardenship of Manchester. The income of the latter office was higher, ranging from £1,200 to £2,000 a year, while the former was valued at from £700 to £1,100; but he preferred the former, probably because he thought it would be more advantageous to reside in London than in Manchester. He was accordingly installed prebendary of Westminster, and entered on the duties of his office. We may mention, as an instance of his constant desire to do every thing in the best manner possible, that on his appointment to metropolitan duty, "he became very desirous of correcting 'his Scotch accent'—rather a hopeless task, we should suppose, for a man in his sixty-seventh year. He accordingly employed his secretary "to note down during sermon those words 'in which it most evidently appeared; and on returning home, 'he would endeavour to acquire from him the proper pronunciation of them." This was a somewhat novel application of the *mutual instruction* principle, the clergyman instructing his auditor in the doctrines and duties of Christianity during sermon, and the auditor instructing the clergyman in elocution afterwards! His secretary was also required to sit in the most distant parts of the chair, to ascertain whether the preacher's voice was audible at a distance.

An event now occurred, which greatly disturbed Dr. Bell's peace of mind. We have already alluded to the complaints that were made by the Sherburn brethren in 1813. These were renewed from time to time; but in 1819, they assumed

a serious aspect. Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor, of Chancery-Reform celebrity, having heard of the complaints made from time to time by the "brethren," saw that the hospital would furnish him with a "grievance" that would "tell" admirably. He therefore entered into correspondence on the subject with the bishop of Durham, threatening to expose publicly the abuses that he professed to have detected in the management of the trust. The Bishop agreed to set an enquiry on foot, and appointed as commissioners the Rev. D. Durell, and the Rev. H. Philpotts, who has since attained so much notoriety as bishop of Exeter. Their report was very favorable to Dr. Bell; they only recommended a few improvements, which he was very willing to adopt. The commissioners, however, had only enquired into the treatment of the brethren, whose complaints led to their appointment; and the bishop had consulted his temporal chancellor respecting the whole management of the trust. This gentleman gave as his opinion, that Dr. Bell had not properly expended the £3,000 that he had received from his predecessor for dilapidations, and that he had appropriated to his own use the money received for timber sold from the estates belonging to the hospital. Against these charges Dr. Bell vindicated himself, by showing that he had actually laid out, or was then laying out, on the repairs of the dilapidations, a sum that would be no more than covered by the £3,000 and the price of the timber together. He admitted that this work had been carried on more slowly than it might have been, but maintained that he had all along had the full intention of devoting the whole sum in question to the benefit of the hospital. The bishop now determined on holding an official visitation of the hospital, which he carried into effect in the month of August. The result of the examination of the brethren was highly favorable to Dr. Bell, and the bishop expressed his satisfaction as to their treatment. But by the advice of his temporal chancellor, he issued an ordinance, requiring the master to apply the proceeds of the sale of timber to the erection of additional buildings, for the purpose of converting the fifteen "out-brethren" into "in-brethren." As the former cost the master only about £5 each, while the latter cost £35, this involved a considerable diminution of his income. But the worst effect of this matter was the irritation produced by the discussions in the mind both of Dr. Bell and of the aged prelate, who had, for so long a time, been his kind and faithful friend. The bishop's ordinance was of course complied with, although Lord Kenyon, Dr. Bell's constant adviser in all matters, expressed a strong opinion that it was unjust.

Dr. Bell now returned to his favorite work, and was busied in receiving and answering innumerable communications respecting schools and the selection of schoolmasters, the bestowal of prizes upon teachers, and the examinations necessary to ascertain their several merits. Thus passed the time till midsummer 1822, when he paid a visit to Galloway, where he found that his estates had been much neglected. "He now read books on farming, rode and walked frequently over his property, and questioned his tenants on every imaginable point, that he might be the better able to set on foot all necessary improvements." He did not, however, neglect the great business of his life, but "took much pains with the schools at Castle Douglas, Dumfries, (where he occasionally assisted in the episcopal chapel) and Crossmichael; and at the latter place, he found an able and zealous co-adjutor in the Rev. D. Welsh,* who cordially seconded his efforts to establish a Madras school, which they ultimately succeeded in doing."

Another period of about seven years passed in the usual manner, occupied with incessant correspondence on the great subject, visits of inspection, with occasional intervals of nominal rest, but really only varied labour, at Cheltenham, where he had purchased a very elegant villa. This brings us to 1829, when Sherburn hospital was visited by a parliamentary commission. Dr. Bell denied their right to make any official enquiries, as the bishop of the diocese was the sole visitor of the hospital; but willingly furnished them with all information as individuals. From their report it appears that the average expenses amounted to about £1,373, and Dr. Bell's clear income to £1,164 per annum.

Hitherto Dr. Bell had enjoyed such a measure of health and strength as falls to the lot of few of the human race; but at last he was obliged to succumb to the influence of old age. "As early as September of the present year, (1830), while he was staying at Sherburn house, a slight indistinctness and thickness in his voice was perceptible, and when he preached at Westminster Abbey in October, it was evidently with great exertion. It was not, however, till some time after his return to Cheltenham, that he became at all alarmed about himself. Finding the difficulty of articulation increase, medical aid was called in—Mr. Seagur, from whose advice he had formerly received much benefit, and Dr. Newell, who had

* Author of the Life of Dr. Thomas Brown, and afterwards Professor of church history in the University of Edinburgh, and one of the leaders in those movements, which issued in the disruption of the Scottish establishment, and the formation of the Free Church of Scotland, in 1843.—ED. C. B.

attended him thirty years before, when at Cheltenham, being his present attendants." The opinions of Sir Henry Hallford and Sir Benjamin Brodie were also taken, and he patiently submitted to the course of treatment which they recommended; but it was of no use; his voice became gradually more and more inarticulate, and at last his vocal organs refused their functions altogether; and it was only by means of a slate and pencil, and by signs, that he was able to communicate with his attendants and friends. On this warning he proceeded to "set his house in order." He had made many wills from time to time; but had continually changed his intention respecting the disposal of his property, as new objects from time to time presented themselves. Now, however, it was necessary to act decidedly; "and on the 11th of May, without saying a word to any one else, he desired Mr. Davies to write as follows, to his bankers in London for his signature. 'It is my wish for you to transfer into the joint names of William Haig, provost of St. Andrew's, North Britain; Robert Haldane, D. D., first minister of the parish church of St. Andrew's aforesaid; George Buist, D. D., second minister of the said parish church; and Andrew Alexander, A. M., professor of Greek at the university of St. Andrew's, the sum £60,000 (sixty thousand) three per cent. consolidated Bank Annuities, being part of the stock now standing in my name; and I will thank you to send me the necessary power of attorney for that purpose; and another (I suppose will be necessary) for the transfer of £60,000 three per cent. reduced, &c.

"Let me entreat you to make all dispatch, as no time must be lost."

The powers of attorney were sent to him next day, and immediately signed. Perhaps £120,000 were never conveyed away in so laconic a manner. Previously to this, he had purchased some pieces of ground in St. Andrew's, and these he directed to be conveyed to the same trustees, for the purpose of erecting school-rooms and other buildings.

This transfer being effected, there naturally succeeded a period of intense excitement. No trust-deed was as yet executed, and if he had died in the meantime, the trustees might have devoted the funds to any conceivable purpose; they might have thrown them into the sea, or expended them on a thousand-fold Ellenburghian quantity of lollypops. Hence the necessity of hastening the execution of a trust-deed; but then on the other hand, he had not definitely made up his mind as to the precise destination of the funds. After various fluctuations of opinion and intention on

this point, it was at last determined, that £50,000 should be appropriated to the foundation and endowment of a "Madras College" at St. Andrew's; £50,000, in equal Shares of £10,000 each, for the establishment of "Madras Schools" in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Inverness, and Leith; £10,000 as a subscription to a Royal Naval School, which was about to be established in the neighbourhood of London; and £10,000 to the provost, magistrates and town-council of St. Andrew's, for moral and religious purposes, and for useful and permanent works for the benefit and improvement of the town. A deed to this effect was drafted, and two of the trustees proceeded to Cheltenham. It was discussed and re-discussed for several days,—Dr. Bell, though unable to utter a word, taking a warm and animated part in the discussion. It was then forwarded to a London lawyer of eminence: and at last it was signed by Dr. Bell and the two trustees, they binding themselves under a penalty to procure the signatures of the other two. As to the disposal of the remainder of his property, we cannot make out a very distinct account, as he so often made and cancelled wills; but so far as we can understand the matter, he left his villa at Cheltenham to his sister, and his estate in Galloway and property in Edinburgh, (burdened with certain annuities to his sister and other relatives) to the town of Cupar in Fife, for the promotion of education on the Madras system. He also gave £2,000 for the endowment of a lectureship, in connexion with the episcopal church in Edinburgh, on educational subjects. Altogether it would appear that he made over property for the purpose of promoting the work of education, that would yield about £4,000 a year for ever.

Dr. Bell was now sadly distressed by what he deemed the remissness of the St. Andrew's trustees. He had been all his life of a hasty and impatient temper, which was, of course, not lessened by his confinement and the loss of his voice. He could not, therefore, understand why buildings should not be erected, and schools established, in a space of time, which almost any other man would have admitted to be far too short for the purpose; and the trustees were not men of very extraordinary activity. He, therefore, attempted to infuse fresh blood into the trustee-ship, and nominated a set of "extraordinary visitors." He also nominated Dr. Gillespie of St. Andrew's, under the direction of the trustees, to the office of "special visitor" on a salary of £100 a year. The trustees strenuously objected to what they represented as an unwarrantable infringement of the trust-deed; and an angry correspondence ensued, in which Dr. Bell certainly uses very bitter language, especially charging the

trustees with having hurried the execution of the trust-deed, while his mind was naturally in a state of considerable excitement;—a charge which was certainly without foundation. He received from the most eminent Scotch lawyers opinions, that he had the power to modify and supplement the trust-deed; and, accordingly, executed another for the appointment of the visitors and special visitor; but eminent English lawyers gave the contrary opinion, and so this supplementary deed became a dead letter.

At last, on the 27th of January, 1832, Dr. Bell closed his long and laborious life, and on the 12th February, his remains were deposited in Westminster Abbey.

If our space permitted, we should now give some extracts from the correspondence addressed to Dr. Bell in England, as we did at the close of our notice of his Indian career. But the length to which this article has extended renders this impossible; and this is the less to be regretted, as it almost all relates to schools, and consequently has a good deal of sameness about it. There is one rather remarkable exception, which we should like to quote as an amusing instance of two thorough enthusiasts on different points coming into contact with each other. The Rev. T. Sykes of Guilborough was the very model of a High-church clergyman, rich and charitable, learned and zealous,—for religion moderately, for the church enthusiastically. He endeavoured, with wonderful earnestness and perseverance, to draw Dr. Bell into a controversy on ecclesiastical matters, respecting the relation of the episcopal church in Scotland to the church of England; but this Dr. Bell as pertinaciously refused, on the ground that it lay altogether beyond his province. Mr. Sykes rejoined that a subject of such importance as the faith in the “holy Catholic Church” could not be beyond the province of any minister, or any Christian; and Dr. Bell begged him, in the most polite terms possible, —*Suavissime in modo, fortissime in re*,—not to bother him any more about a matter that did not interest him in any degree. The correspondence is one of the most amusing that we ever met with, but is far too long for insertion here.

Perhaps the most enthusiastic of Dr. Bell's admirers, and the most attached of his friends, was Lord Kenyon, the son of the first Lord, a highly respectable man, and an admirably consistent Tory. Dr. Bell paid him many visits, and received from him, and wrote to him, innumerable letters, applied to him on all occasions when he required advice, and kept him informed of all his proceedings. His Lordship's seat at Gredington was the place where he seems most to have delighted to pay a visit; and his Lordship's schools, thorough Madras ones, he regarded as the best examples

of the application of the system to village schools. His other most frequent correspondents were Mr. Marriott and Mr. Watts, with the lake poets, Wordsworth, Southey, and S. T. Coleridge. From Dr. Southey, especially, he received very valuable advice on several important occasions, his appreciation of which is shown, not so much by his acting in accordance with it, (for this was a stretch of compliance beyond his power,) as by his sometimes expressing regret afterwards that he had not taken it, and by the anxiety he manifested to secure his services as his literary executor.

And now it may be expected that we should attempt an estimate of the character of Dr. Bell, and of his influence on the men of his age and of future generations. This we shall do very shortly. We have already more than once alluded to what we regard as the fatal defect of his apprehension of the grand distinguishing truths of that Gospel which he was commissioned to preach; and we cannot doubt that this defect made him both a less useful and a less happy man than he would otherwise have been. The grand distinguishing feature of his character was that which is essential to all greatness, and which we believe goes more than any other one quality to the constitution of greatness,—the power of concentrating his whole mind upon one object. No man who can do this is a little man; and if the object be good in itself, no man who can do this will fail of accomplishing much good. If we have at all succeeded in communicating to our readers any considerable portion of the impression produced on our own mind by the study of Dr. Bell's history, they are fully aware how thoroughly he consecrated every faculty of body, soul and spirit, every hour of his time, and every waking thought and sleeping dream, to the advancement of education; and how effectually he succeeded, is shewn by the wide diffusion of the Madras system all over the civilized world.

But this kind of character has its disadvantages. Dr. Bell was in earnest, and he could not afford to *papilionize* with mere idlers. The man of one aim is generally, to a greater extent than is desirable, a man of one idea;—and there is no doubt that Dr. Bell judged of men and things solely with reference to their bearing upon the Madras system. He was unquestionably dogmatic and overbearing when his own system was touched, and it could not but be always touched, since it radiated forth, in his apprehension, into all the regions of human thought and human affection. Hence it was that, notwithstanding the immense extent of his acquaintance and correspondence, his friends were not very numerous; but those who were his friends were attached to him in no ordinary degree.

His manners were not much fitted to attract the merely

casual observer ; his appearance was rather gruff and ungainly, and he had but little sympathy with, or interest in, the matters that occupy the attention of the generality of men. Like most of his countrymen, he was of a very argumentative turn of mind, and he had neither the tact nor the temper to make him a good arguer. Thus, although our sympathies are entirely with him in his controversy with his St. Andrew's trustees, we cannot but perceive that he entirely sacrificed the advantages of the better cause and the right side of the argument, by his violence of temper and virulence of invective, while his adversaries preserved their coolness unruffled, and had, undoubtedly, the best of the argument. This was in his latter days, when it may be supposed that old age, and disease, and speechlessness, had much ruffled his temper ; but the same infirmity must have attached to him in his younger years. We might refer to various little incidents that go to demonstrate this ; but the following short paragraph, in a letter from his kind friend, Colonel Floyd, evidently alluding to some self-accusation on his own part, will stand in the place of more detailed illustration :—"I pray you" (writes Colonel ' Floyd, in 1789) "not to be cast down, however often you may ' be worsted in conversation. But I am of opinion it may be ' safer to proceed by collateral applications, rather than, con- ' fiding in your courage and strength, by direct attack in full ' front. This way is more magnanimous ; the other more ' prudent ; and we have all heard that discretion is the better ' part of valour." In connexion with the subject of his argumentativeness, we may also quote a short extract from the life of the celebrated Dr. Chalmers, now in course of publication by Dr. Hanna. It is part of a letter from Dr. Chalmers to his wife, without date, but written in 1820. "In the ' morning of Sunday, too, before breakfast, and when I was ' still in bed, there came in an aged clerical looking personage, ' whom I had not before seen, and who asked if he was in ' the apartment of Dr. Chalmers, to which I replied in the ' affirmative. He announced himself to be Dr. Bell, founder ' of the Madras system of education, and he spoke with great ' vehemence and volubility in behalf of his method. In the ' course of the day I handed him over to Mr. Collins, who you ' know is the stout antagonist of the new system, and they have ' had a good tough controversy upon the subject. He spoke ' himself hoarse to me about it, on my walk from the church to ' the bath ; and on the Monday morning, at breakfast, I got him ' and Mr. Collins to have a further engagement thereanent : ' I believe he has left us in some degree of dudgeon." A few pages further on, we have a report of Dr. Chalmers's conversational account of the set-on between Dr. Bell and

Mr. Collins at the Monday's breakfast. The report is evidently somewhat inaccurate, as it assigns to the Monday Dr. Bell's expression of surprise at the humility of Dr. Chalmers's apartment, which must, evidently, have been uttered on occasion of his first visit, on the Sunday. We could almost venture to say also, *nostro periculo*, that Dr. Chalmers, in repeating Dr. Bell's exclamation, did not insert the epithet which Dr. Bell is represented as prefixing to his name. This must have been the conjectural emendation, introduced by the narrator, *suo periculo*; and it is probable that Dr. Bell made use of the expression, or at least indicated by his voice and manner that the contrast between the greatness of the man and the humility of the apartment excited his surprise; all that we say is that we are confident that Dr. Chalmers, in narrating the occurrence, eschewed the repetition of the ascription of greatness to himself. Otherwise the report is undoubtedly correct. Dr. Chalmers's guests were Mr. Edward Irving, at that time his Assistant, and Messrs. Aitken and McGregor, teachers of his parochial school. One of these gentlemen is probably the narrator. "Tales of the school and out of school followed close upon each other."*** Mr. Aitken mentioned that Dr. Bell, from India, had called the previous day between sermons, desiring to see the class-room. 'I had a call from him' (said Dr. Chalmers) this morning. I was lying awake in my old woman's room,* cogitating whether I should get up or not, when I heard a heavy step in the kitchen, and the door opening and the speaker entering, a rough voice exclaimed 'Can this be the chamber of the great Dr. Chalmers?'—'And what did you say?' enquired Mr. Irving, who enjoyed exceedingly the ridiculousness of the question. With a quiet smile and inimitable archness, accompanied by frequent shuttings of the eyelids,—'I even told him' (said Dr. Chalmers) 'that it was, and I invited him to stay and breakfast with me. I knew that Mr. Collins was to be out with a proof, and was glad to think that the discussion between the merits of his school system and the Scottish, which I knew was soon to follow, would be supported by one who, I suspected, was more than a match for him.'—'Well,' said Mr. Irving, 'and how did it turn up?' 'Mr. Collins arrived as I expected, and to it they set, tooth and nail.'—'And the result?'—'Collins was too many for him.'"

As his exceeding earnestness rendered him impetuous and violent in his arguments with his equals, so we fear we must

* Dr. Chalmers had rented an apartment in the house of an old woman in his parish, in order the better to carry into effect his noble views with respect to parochial superintendence. Mrs. Chalmers and his family were at this time absent on a visit to his relatives in Fife, and he seems to have shut up his house, and to have lived altogether in his "old woman's apartment."

admit that the same cause frequently rendered him exacting and overbearing towards his inferiors. His teachers had no mercy to expect if they did not do full justice to the system. His private secretaries had no sinecure. Unconscious of fatigue himself, he had no idea that human muscles and human brains could be overtaxed. Nor did it diminish the severity of the task that he imposed upon them, that he seems to have continually represented to them the magnitude of the privilege that was conferred upon them, in being permitted to be his fellow-workmen in introducing "the system" which was destined to regenerate the human race. We know not whether to impute to a similar cause the unhappiness of his married life. As we have already said, Mr. Southey draws an impenetrable veil over this part of his history, which we have no wish to withdraw.

The mere fact that a clergyman accumulated a fortune which must have amounted to at least £150,000, has very naturally given rise to a very general impression that Dr. Bell was of very parsimonious, or even miserly habits. But from Mr. Southey's minute details in regard to his income and expenditure, this does not seem to have been the case. It will be remembered that on his return from India, he was possessed of upwards of £25,000. Considering the very advantageous terms on which he invested a portion of this capital in the purchase of land, it is evident that the interest on his Indian savings would amply suffice for his annual expenses. Then during almost the whole of the thirty-five years that he spent at home, his professional income, including his pension, his hospital, and his prebend, must, on an average, have considerably exceeded £2,000. His early training had accustomed him to simple habits, and he had no tastes of an expensive kind. But he lived in a style suitable to his station. He sent about £160 a year to Scotland for distribution amongst his relatives; and he made many donations to religious, and especially educational objects, which, in those days, must have appeared munificent, and which would not be deemed small even now, when liberality is measured by an expanded standard. He seems from the first to have resolved to promote the diffusion of "the system" by means of posthumous benefactions; and we doubt not that this resolution led him to be more solicitous than he would otherwise have been as to the obtaining of lucrative benefices; but we do not think that even this resolution caused him to be particularly chary as to his expenditure. As it was, the distractions and annoyances of his last days must surely have taught him, (and if they did not teach him, they may

well teach others,) how much better it is for men to lay out their money in the service of God, and for the benefit of their fellow-men, as they receive it from year to year, or from month to month, than to accumulate it in the hope of accomplishing great good by means of posthumous benefactions.

We cannot possibly enter into any dissertation on the merits of the system of instruction of which Dr. Bell was the author. We believe that almost any system will work well in the hands of enthusiastic and energetic men; and in other hands no system that can be devised will be of much use. Still it appears to us that the Madras system has one advantage over all others; and that is its cheapness. There is no country in the world where this is not a cardinal merit; since this, as we believe, is the point on which must hinge the question whether the whole body of the people can be educated, or whether a large and important class of the population in every country must be left without education altogether, or with such a scanty portion as is very little better than none at all.

One sentence in conclusion as to the execution of the biography. We do not remember that we ever met with any criticism on this work; but it is no new charge upon Dr. Southey, that his writings, and especially his biographical writings, are unnecessarily full and diffuse. And we doubt not that those who have brought this charge against his lives of Wesley and of Nelson, may have found the same fault with the present joint work of himself and his son. We are not, however, disposed to uphold the charge. For any one particular class of readers, the work may be too large; but for a work of this kind there are various classes of readers, some one of whom would have felt a deficiency had any considerable portion of these three volumes been left out. It was a noble characteristic of Dr. Southey's mind, that he was never satisfied with a one-sided view of any event, or any character; and this characteristic his son seems to have inherited. And then it ought to be considered, that if the biographers have inserted more of Dr. Bell's correspondence than some may deem necessary, the amount that they have rejected, (seeing that Dr. Bell had a more than Moslem horror of the destruction of any scrap of paper), must have been something immense.

"The ill that's done we haply know,
But not the ill resisted."

For ourselves, we are free to say, that we have read every word of the three volumes before us with unflagging interest.

ART. IV.—*Life in Bombay and the Neighbouring Out-stations*.
—London. Bentley. 1852.

THIS is a very handsome volume ; “ got up ” with a prodigality rare in these degenerate days. There is a profusion of paper and a parade of type ; which in these days of cheap publication, when the grand object is to crowd the largest possible amount of the latter on to the smallest possible superficies of the former, is something really refreshing. It is pleasant reading—at least for the eyes. But we do not limit our praise to its external adornments. It is altogether a very agreeable book—well printed,—well illustrated, and—well written.

It would be easy to tell the reader what the book is not ; but as we believe that it is very much what the writer intended it to be, we feel no disposition to blame him for not making it something else. It is a descriptive account of Anglo-Indian society in Bombay and some of the neighbouring stations, as Poona, Mahabuleswar, &c., &c., with graphic sketches of some of those places. There is nothing very novel in its pages, and nothing very profound. But it is written in an easy, animated style ; there is no vulgar pretence about it ; the anecdotes with which it is interspersed, if rather apocryphal, are amusing and well-told ; the reflexions are sensible and acute ; and the descriptive passages lively and picturesque.

But though sufficiently lively and amusing, the book is harmless and inoffensive. The motto on the title-page will, probably, prepare the reader for something more highly seasoned than he will find in the subsequent chapters. When an author parades on the first page of his book the novel inscription—

“ If there’s a hole in a’ your coats
I rede you tent it :
A chiel’s amang you takin’ notes,
And faith he’ll prent it ; ”—

one naturally feels prepared to find something rather spicy and personal in it. But the author of *Life in Bombay* assures us in his preface, that “ though conscious of the very imperfect manner in which he has in other respects executed the task he has assigned himself, it is a great satisfaction to him to feel that he has steered clear alike of politics and personalities, and has not introduced a single anecdote which can offend or wound the feelings of a single individual.” This is, doubtless, extremely amiable. But amiable people are not always the most piquants. A little naughtiness is sometimes more entertaining.

There are unfortunately too many readers to whom this disclaimer will be any thing but a recommendation. Some even of the lady-readers of *Life in Bombay* would not like it the less for eliciting from them occasional ejaculations of "Oh—fie! Mr. G." We will not answer for it, however, that such exclamations may not be heard, in spite of the author's confident assurances, that there is nothing personal in his book, and nothing offensive in his anecdotes. If the anecdotes are true, they are, certainly, personal anecdotes. If the persons initialised in them are mere myths—if they are intended to typify whole classes of society—some of the stories may be considered rather offensive, as they are of a character to convey an unfavorable opinion of society at large. But this latter hypothesis, indeed, is hardly to be considered for a moment. The author of *Life in Bombay* has declared his personal cognizance of the incidents which he has narrated. He heard, or saw, or was, in some way, mixed up with what he records;—and we are not quite sure that if we thought ourselves the individuals pointed at in one or two of our author's anecdotes, we should not be inclined to regard them as undeniably personal, and, perhaps, a little offensive.

However, the general character which is here given of life in Bombay, is sufficiently favorable to reconcile the residents at that presidency to the exceptional anecdotes with which the author has interspersed his work. The following picture, for example, of the general aspects of society in the Western settlement, is not likely to give offence:—

The society of Bombay may be cursorily described, as consisting of two grand divisions, usually distinguished in local parlance, as "those who belong to the service, and those who do not." Under the former head are classed all members of the civil, military, and naval departments. The latter comprises the gentlemen of the legal profession, private medical practitioners, and last, though not least, our large and wealthy merchant community.

But before entering into any details of the various ramifications of Bombay society, we must beg permission to offer a few observations relative to the most striking points of distinction between "men and manners," here and in England.

Foremost in the list, we would particularise the absence of all approach to broad vulgarity in the circles of an Indian salon; and startling as this fact may appear, it is clearly deducible from, firstly, the circumstance that we have neither "parvenus" nor "nouveaux riches" among us to shock one with their upstart airs; and, secondly, that with very few exceptions, no one comes to this country without either having laid the foundation, or completed the accomplishment, of a gentleman's education. The youngest ensign; who frequently enters upon his career at the early age of sixteen or seventeen, comes straight from his school, or college; and though we must admit that this early plunge into the independence and temptations of a military life, is too often detrimental to the scarcely-developed intellectual

faculties, yet to a moderately well-constituted mind, the abundant leisure now at his disposal, opens a wide field for exertion and improvement. With all the pride of opening manhood, he feels that he is no longer considered as a boy, but entitled henceforth to association at the mess-table, on terms of equality, with men whose services and talents command universal admiration and respect.

It is notorious that from this class of half, or rather self-educated youths, have sprung some of the most efficient officers in the Company's service; and one instance is more especially before us in the case of a gentleman, now the able commandant of a corps of irregular horse, who came to this country about five or six-and-twenty years ago, a raw, unfledged boy of fifteen, with no other advantages than those of the mere rudiments of education, good principles, and indomitable spirit. His subsequent career has been that of a dashing soldier, an upright magistrate, and a good man. Applying every leisure moment to the acquirement of those practical mechanical arts, which have proved invaluable blessings in the distant and half-civilized districts of India, he is at once the father of his corps, and a most useful servant to Government.

The foregoing observations do not apply to the civilian, who rarely arrives in the country before he has attained to the age of twenty-one; and after a course of severe study, and passing through the ordeal of a collegiate examination, it is to be presumed that he makes his *début* in India, a scholar in attainment, and a gentleman in address.

We repeat, therefore, that absolute vulgarity, or gross ignorance, is rarely if ever encountered in our circles; and though different degrees of refinement doubtless exist here, as elsewhere, the man of cultivated mind will, perhaps, meet with less to shock his fastidious tastes, than in the necessarily mixed society of England, where the aristocracy of birth, and the aristocracy of wealth, alike struggle for pre-eminence. With neither of these have we anything to do; our aristocracy is that of age, and precedence is strictly regulated according to the degree of seniority attained in 'the service,' beginning with the civilians, as the judges and law administrators of the land.—*Pp.* 29—32.

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the personalities of Bombay society, to be able to identify, with any great certainty, the model officer here introduced. We hope that the passage does not refer to the one, who recently exemplified his goodness and uprightness by maligning the whole Bengal army. When we come to sketch a model officer for ourselves, we shall not introduce into our sketch the words, "he maligneth the army of the presidency to which he doth not belong, and calleth them all rogues and vagabonds." But we have no right to assume the identity of these two officers, simply on the ground that their standing in the service must be about the same (about 25 years), and that both are commandants of corps of irregular cavalry.

Au reste, the passage is sufficiently true of Indian society in general. There is not amongst us much obtrusive vulgarity. There are vulgar-minded men among us—and women too—but their displays are not very offensive. There is, sometimes, among the men a little official *hauteur*, which is not

magnanimous ; and our ladies over-dress a little, are sometimes a trifle noisy, and do things, as the author, indeed, himself has shown, not always in the best possible taste. But take us for all in all, we may "pass muster." Elsewhere the writer says :—
 "Although we do not pretend to say that the general tone of conversational society in India could stand any competition with the 'full flow of talk,' which the literary circles of London exhibit, yet we have no hesitation in unscrupulously stating that it is incomparably superior to what is usually met with in the provincial coteries of England. This assertion is referable to the before-mentioned facts, that every one is in a measure an educated man before he sets his foot upon the shores of Bombay." "We do not answer," he continues, "for the other Presidencies. We know nothing of them; and it is highly probable that Calcutta alone may offer a wider field for the incursions of penniless speculators, who, in the engrossing pursuit of riches, have neither time nor inclination to remedy the deficiencies caused by early neglect; and when at length the acquisition of wealth may entitle them to enter the precincts of society, their uncultivated minds can shed no lustre on the scenes they frequent but do not adorn. We are merely supposing the possibility of the case, as deducible from the actual insignificance of Bombay when compared with Calcutta, and the consequent slighter inducement which it offers as a settling point to the needy or ignorant adventurer."

On the part of Calcutta we are not quite prepared to "own the soft impeachment." Needy and ignorant adventurers seldom find their way amongst us. As to the "full flow of talk," which the literary circles at home are said to exhibit, we believe that it is very much a delusion. In England, the society in which the best *talk* (we like the good old word, and it is Johnsonian) is to be heard, is mixed society—society in which men of all professions and no profession are gathered together. Of purely literary society we have no very exalted notion. Mr. Thackeray, who knows something about it, says, that "there is no race of people who talk about books, or, perhaps, read books, so little as literary men," and arrives at the opinion that generally they are rather a dull tribe. Our belief is that literary men, when they congregate together, either do not talk literature at all, or talk it in such a manner as to edify the hearer to the least possible extent. Sometimes, indeed, they talk about their literary brethren; and with an overflowing of gall and bitterness anything but refreshing. The

conversation of literary men in mixed society is sometimes both instructive and amusing; but literary society, of which, indeed, there is very little in England, is altogether a different affair. It is either entirely coterie-ish; and the conversation of literary coteries is intensely personal and egotistical on the one hand, and supremely ill-natured on the other; or it is of that antagonistic and irreconcilable character, which generates mistrust, reserve, and silence. At the tables of some of the leading London publishers, it is possible that you may see gathered together half-a-dozen, or, perhaps, half a-score of professed critics—the editors of, and principal contributors to, the leading literary journals of the metropolis; but about such a party there is an uncomfortable kind of restraint. Every man is, or is supposed to be, taking the measure of his neighbour, and so he either talks for display,—which is the worst possible kind of talk—or else, as the easiest and safest course, he holds his tongue altogether. No society is really good which has “a stamp exclusive and professional” upon it. The charm of good society in England consists in the diverseness, and yet the reconcileableness of the social elements.

But it is time that we should pass on to other matters. Our author, though commending the general hospitality of Anglo-Indians, grumbles at the disinclination which he encountered, on the part of ladies with whom he was but slightly acquainted, to invite him to remain to tiffin after a morning visit:—

The breakfast hour, in most families, is seldom later than ten o'clock; after which, the gentlemen betake themselves to their offices or occupations, and the doors are thrown open for the reception of visitors, who continue to pour in, with little intermission, until the clock striking two, warns the strangers to depart, and summons the family to tiffin. It is considered an act of glaring impropriety in a lady, to invite any gentleman to stay and partake of this meal, who is not either a relative, or an intimate friend of the family; and we must confess it impressed us rather unfavourably touching the hospitality of the good people of Bombay, when, upon the memorable occasion of our first visiting tour, and after undergoing the fatigue of paying numerous calls, at far distances, during the hottest hours of the day, not only did we find ourselves everywhere, minus the eagerly anticipated offer of refreshment; but at the last house, we actually listened, with parching throats, to the jingling of glasses and plates, which betokened the preparation of the tiffin table in an adjoining room, without these sounds producing any other effect upon the lady of the house than giving us, by suddenly dropping the conversation, a pretty significant hint to decamp: and accordingly, in a state of utter exhaustion, we made our parting bows.

This is one of the weaknesses of our social system, but its counterbalancing virtues are manifold; and foremost amongst them, we would place that universal cordiality of manner which greets the stranger upon his first arrival in India, and almost induces him to believe that the stigma of national coldness and reserve which is attached to the English, can extend

no further than the foggy precinct of their native isle. It may be, that our icy natures are thawed beneath the genial influence of a milder clime, or (alas ! for the poetry of the idea !) it may be, that as every creature's position is here at once marked, the characteristic suspicion of our countrymen is never excited by fruitless endeavours to ascertain who such a person is, and what he has ?—*Pp.* 84—85.

There are some excellent reasons why the ladies should not invite their morning visitors to tiffin. Having, already, given up the forenoon to the reception of their acquaintance, it would be hard upon them, indeed, if they were compelled to give up their afternoons too—and such is generally the inevitable result of asking one's friends to tiffin. In England, visits are not paid till after luncheon, so the tax is necessarily avoided. We think it would be very hard upon householders if they were expected to pay it here.

The following remarks on dinner etiquette contain nothing absolutely new, but they are expressed in a lively manner :—

In a place where the rules of etiquette are so strictly enforced as in Bombay, it may easily be surmised that a tolerable amount of tact is an essential requisite in an aide-de-camp, to carry him with "éclat" through the delicate intricacies of his position. His duties are both manifold and important on the occasion of a large party ; involving not only the selection of names for invitation, but the arrangement of all those finer minutiae of details, upon which the success of a fête so materially depends. For instance, in this country, where ladies are so greatly in the minority, it is considered of higher importance than elsewhere, that their companions for the dinner table should be previously appointed, in order to avoid confusion, and repress presumption in those, whose youth or standing do not entitle them to the privilege of escorting a lady.

A list is therefore prepared beforehand by the aide-de-camp, which is rigorously acted upon, and adjusted with the nicest regard to the distinctions of rank, or rather seniority. Thus it frequently happens, that the most charming women are allotted to some prosy old civilian, or mumbling old colonel, whose sole merit consists in his length of service ; which would seem to their lively partners, as qualifications entitling them much more consistently to admission into an alms-house, than to a seat by their side.

Oh ! vivid is the recollection of our first public dinner at Government House, when, having steered our way by slow but skilful approaches towards a lady, whose lively sallies and animated conversation had, only the night before, rendered a dinner party enchanting, we were in the very act of eagerly petitioning for the happiness of escorting her, when up rushed an A.D.C., accompanied by a toothless old colonel, with "Mrs. R——, permit me the honour of presenting Colonel —— to you."

With an expression of comic dismay, she threw a parting glance over her shoulder, as she accepted the arm of her venerable escort ; and, "paired not matched," the couple descended to the dining-room. Every other attempt to obtain a congenial companion was similarly frustrated ; and we were at length forced to the mortifying conclusion, that being antique neither in age nor service, we were consequently "nobody ;" so falling back as resignedly as might be, into the ranks of the "awkward squad" who brought up the rear, we yawned through three mortal hours of dinner, in

the enlivening society of a couple of juvenile middies fresh on shore, and blushing like peonies if a single word were addressed to them.—*Pp.* 52—54.

The less there is of this kind of restraint in private society, the better. It is nothing more than an elaborate device to make dinner parties disagreeable. There are reasons for it beyond a doubt; but every body's experience teaches him, that the most agreeable parties are those at which people are suffered to take care of themselves.

From dinner-parties, the transition to balls is an easy one. Here is an anecdote illustrative of the heroism of an aide-de-camp, which on every account is worth quoting :—

“A pleasing instance once came under our immediate notice, at a ball given on the occasion of some public rejoicing, when, consequently, admission was afforded to many, who would not otherwise be entitled to an *entrée* at Government House. Among this class, a rather extraordinary-looking woman made her appearance, whose apparent age and unwieldy figure, would certainly never induce a suspicion that they could belong to a votary of Terpsichore; and the good lady remained sitting as the band struck up the first quadrille. Every couple had taken their place, when one of the aides-de-camp standing near us, was suddenly accosted by a brother aide-de-camp, with—

“‘D—, my dear fellow, what on earth is to be done? That fat old woman says she wants to dance, and there's not a man in the room I would venture to ask to shew off with her.’

“‘I will dance with her myself,’ was the immediate reply; and in less than two minutes, the dashing-looking young officer had made his bow, presented his arm, and led his bulky, but elated partner, within the circle of the dance; paying her throughout such respectful attention, as effectually to keep within due bounds the merriment of his tittering *vis-à-vis*. Absurd as this incident may appear, it yet marks the innate refinement of the real gentleman; and it gave us as much pleasure then to witness, as it now gives us to record.”—*Pp.* 55—56.

And it gives us pleasure to peruse such an incident. The gallant officer who achieved this feat, deserved a companionship of the Bath. We would, at least, have promoted him to a brevet-majority on the spot, if we had had the dispensation of military honors.

Not forgetful of the principle, that the best society is mixed society, having introduced our readers to literary men and soldiers, we now launch them among the lawyers :—

A tropical country does not admit of that field for the display of forensic eloquence, which the crowded law courts of England present. There the graces of elocution may well be cultivated, with the certainty of exciting the plaudits of an admiring audience; but no such reward, no such beacon of encouragement, awaits the aspiring barrister in India. Excepting on rare occasions of deep or general interest, few would expose themselves to the oppressive heat of a court-house thronged by natives, to listen to the details of any case; and it can scarcely be a matter of blame or surprise, that the actual business should be hurried onward, and brought to a conclusion as rapidly as the administration of justice will allow.

The most wealthy clients are usually found amongst the Parsees, who, as a general rule, cannot certainly be designated as a talkative race; though possessed of as much acuteness and intelligence as the European. As an exemplification of their ideas of unnecessary oratorical display, we annex a rather amusing instance, which came under our observation not very long ago.

A well-known and influential Parsee was endeavouring to impress upon a young barrister the most effectual means of distinguishing himself, and gaining both clients and popularity.

"We do not," said he, "care for too much plenty words, but we like this thing you know," throwing his arms about with the funniest imitation of declamatory action.

But where the glorious gift of eloquence exists, though for a time it may be dimmed, it cannot be extinguished; though obscured, it cannot be quenched; and when repressed in public, naturally finds for itself a vent within the limits of social life. Did we not desire to avoid all invidious distinctions and personalities, we might easily particularise how often the refined wit of a H—, the irresistible humour of a C—, and the provokingly incontrovertible arguments of a D— have contributed to render the dinner-table a 'Feast of Reason and a flow of Soul.'—*Pp.* 59—60.

This is worth knowing—although it might be thought that, especially where the judge is judge and jury, the "plenty this kind of thing" is not of much substantial value.

From the lawyers we pass on to the clergymen. There is a well-earned tribute to the zeal of some of our Anglo-Indian ministers:—

Great, indeed, is the privilege, though deep the responsibility, of the Indian pastor! In using his utmost efforts to cultivate the good seed implanted within our hearts, and in striving to arouse us alike from apathetic indifference to our religious state, or too great an indulgence in the pleasures of this life, which are given us "to use, but not to abuse;" his career as a faithful minister of Christ's flock, must be one continued round of anxious labour and love.

Thanks be to God! we have such men among us—men equally well fitted to awaken from the pulpit our slumbering energies, by teaching us, in the words of one of our most zealous chaplains, that "God works in us, and with us, but never without us," and to cheer the closing hours of the dying sinner, by showing him where to cast his burden; and by imparting the Saviour's assurances of pardon and peace to the true penitent, so dispelling the terrors of death that even amidst the struggles of decaying mortality, "The face grows beautiful, as the soul nears God."—*P.* 63.

And from the men of God, we may pass on, not inappropriately, to those of whom it has been said that "of such is the Kingdom of Heaven":—

It has often struck us, with reference to these little creatures, that although everywhere engaging, they are here peculiarly objects of passionate love, whether from the consciousness that they must so soon disappear, or that they are actually more attractive from the circumstances which are inevitable in an Indian household. Unshackled by the discipline of an English nursery, and the tyranny of a head nurse, both of which tend to engender a spirit of reserve and even cunning, they roam at will through

every part of the house, prattling with all the artlessness of fearless childhood, and effectually twining themselves round the affections of every member of the family, and visitor to the house; whilst to the native servants they are objects of positive idolatry. Great care and watchfulness are requisite on the part of a mother, to prevent the evil effects which might result from the overwhelming indulgence which the ayahs especially are too apt to bestow upon their little charges.—*Pp.* 82—83

There are evils, doubtless, in this companionship of native servants; but there are advantages, too, the loss of which people feel very sensibly, on their return to England. Many an English mother has longed for her old native bearers, whose sole duty, from morning to night, it has been to watch the movements of their little charge, and whose tender and assiduous zeal is not to be matched by the care of the best of English nurses. Our native servants are a thousand times more patient than the nursery domestics of Great Britain, and patience is one of the first—if not *the* first essential qualification of a good nurse. Our children are a source of amusement to our native servants, who attend the little ones, for hours and hours together, with a look of unvarying cheerfulness—always gentle, and tender, and playful; for they are little more than children themselves. Talk as we may, of good English servants—and we are far from undervaluing their worth—few English nurses so love, or are so beloved by, their little charges, as the native bearers who attend them in this country.

But these little ones must go home in time, to return to us after the lapse of many years, as writers and cadets, or as “young ladies on their promotion.” We, by no means, undervalue the advantages of respectable matrimonial connexions; and do not altogether believe those parents, who profess themselves to be indifferent whether their daughters marry or not. But India is not the marriage-mart that it once was; and it is no longer the one object of parents, and guardians *pro tem.*, to marry off their interesting charges to the wealthiest suitors, with the utmost possible despatch. Wherefore, we feel a strong inclination to reject, as something (to say the least of it,) rather apocryphal, the following amusing story:—

We recollect once witnessing a scene, which certainly could not occur at the presidency, under the present existing forms of etiquette, and which, though strictly speaking, not altogether “à propos” of the subject under discussion, we yet venture to introduce, from a grateful recollection of the hearty amusement it afforded us. Well then, once upon a time (to commence in approved story-telling style), it so fell out, that we were on a visit in a most agreeable family, residing temporarily at Mahabuleswar, and comprising, besides the host and hostess, a young lady recently arrived from England, consequently in all the flutter of her début in the Indian world. Now although, as we before remarked, every one’s

position, and even family circumstances, are usually well understood in this country, yet it does sometimes happen that a sanitary station like Mahabuleshwar is honored by the presence of officers from the sister presidencies of Bengal and Madras; or occasionally some perplexity may arise by a visitor making his appearance, whose card proclaims him the possessor not only of a rather common-place name, but of the very common-place title of Captain. Just such a case occurred upon the occasion to which we allude.

A card was presented to the lady of the house, bearing the address, "Captain Smith, — Regiment;" and a stranger made his bow, with exterior so pleasing, and manners so fascinating, that the chord of sympathy was touched between the parties; and they were speedily on the happiest footing, engaged in that genial flow of conversation which naturally results from the contact of good breeding, refinement, and intelligence.

After an unusually long visit, Captain Smith reluctantly rose to depart; and then it was, that inspired, as we suppose, by the air of Mahabuleshwar, the host (Mr. G——) actually committed the daring solecism, of inviting a stranger to join the family circle that evening at dinner, before even his visit had been returned! We need scarcely say that the reply was a gratified assent.

The door had scarcely closed, when Mrs. G—— exclaimed to her husband —

"Well, my love! without any exception, that is the most delightful man I ever met in India! Did you observe his glances of admiration towards our dear girl?"

Then followed a grave discussion upon the question of his identity with one Captain Smith, who was reported to be a rich bachelor, *ergo* undeniably eligible: or another, notoriously a married man with an incalculable amount of children: or a couple of Madras Captain Smiths, of whom nothing at all was known: or half a dozen Captain Smiths, bachelors to be sure, but not worthy of mention, possessing nothing but their laced jackets to settle upon a wife.

The arrival of other visitors interrupted the conversation; and various engagements succeeding, the important point remained undecided at the hour of dinner, when the eagerly expected guest again appeared.

Matters went on most swimmingly. The ball of conversation was kept up with unflagging spirit; now bounding and rebounding in the hands of the lively hostess; anon, propelled with deliberative aim by the grave, but well informed host; occasionally receiving a gentle impetus as it glanced past the modest debutante; but always revolving with double rapidity and brilliancy, when caught up and circulated by the animated guest.

This was all unaffected enjoyment; but a chance observation suddenly called our hostess to order, by reminding her of the morning's perplexity, and with exquisite tact she threw out a feeler by enquiring:

"How had Captain Smith passed the last cold season?"

"Oh!" he replied, "in the most delightful sporting excursion, in company with four or five pleasant fellows, as idle as myself."

"It's all right," soliloquised Mrs. G——, "he is a bachelor."

A few more skilfully put questions elicited the information, that money was no object to this favoured individual.—"Then he is the Captain Smith, and no mistake," she continued in momentarily increasing elation. But as the night wore on, and his evident admiration of the young lady became more and more conspicuous, the spirits of the fair hostess rose to absolute

exuberance, and seizing her delighted visitor's hand, she shook it cordially, exclaiming :

"Captain Smith, we already look upon you quite in the light of an old friend ; and insist that you will make our house your home, during your stay at the hills."

"Oh!" replied the grateful man, as he made his parting bow, " what would I not have given for such friends on my last visit to this place, when I could procure no other shelter than a miserable unfurnished bungalow for my poor sick wife, and three young children."

As the door closed, Mrs. G—— fell upon her sofa, faintly repeating " sick wife, and three young children !" but speedily recovering herself, she sprang up with indignant energy, thus emphatically addressed her husband, whilst natural fun struggled powerfully to gain the mastery over mortification and disappointment.

" I will trouble you, Mr. G——, when next you invite a total stranger to your house, to ascertain beforehand whether he is, or is not, a married man, and never again impose a doubtful person upon me."—*Pp.* 107—112.

We do not say that this is an old "Joe Miller"—but we have a shrewd suspicion that it is an old "Theodore Hook." The readers of *Gilbert Gurney* will remember the charming story of Mr. Wells and his daughters (one of whom became, if we mistake not, Mrs. Gurney), and the dreadful blow which the reverend husband-hunter sustained, when he discovered, that a certain captain, who had come into the neighbourhood to recruit, and whose attentions to one of the Miss Wellses, had raised a belief in the minds of papa and mamma, that he was about to propose to the young lady, was in reality a husband and a father. Certainly the two stories are very much alike. But as the author of *Life in Bombay* "recollects witnessing" the above scene, we are bound to believe either that the same thing happened twice, or that his is the original and Hook's the copy.

Here is something more, illustrative of this same subject of husband-hunting :—

The bachelor civilians are always the grand aim of manœuvring mammas ; for, however young in the service they may be, their income is always vastly above that of the military man, to say nothing of the noble provision made by the fund for their widows and children. We remember being greatly amused, soon after our arrival in the country, at overhearing a lady say, in reference to her daughter's approaching marriage with a young civilian : " Certainly, I could have wished my son-in-law to be a little more steady ; but then it is three hundred a year for my girl, dead or alive !"

The ball-rooms in India always present a very gay appearance, from the vast majority of red-coats and handsome uniforms amongst the gentlemen. Here, the very reverse of England, a black coat is the rarity, and is held in high estimation as the distinctive mark of a civilian in full dress ; consequently, few mammas object to the introduction of a stranger in plain clothes to their daughters, whilst they would look rather discouragingly at any young red-coat who presumed to make his bow.

We once witnessed, with considerable glee, the discomfiture of a lady of this class, on the occasion of a public ball, when, for a wonder, there was a superabundance of the fair sex present, and for a few minutes her daughter remained unasked for the approaching dance. She was beginning to look uneasy and fidgety, when one of the stewards quickly made his way to them, accompanied by a gentleman dressed in plain clothes, who was speedily introduced, and graciously received by both mamma and daughter. The dance went merrily on, and "La Madre" watched with delight the apparently animated conversation going on between the young couple, when it suddenly occurred to her to ask of her neighbour :

"Who is that gentleman-like looking person dancing with Fanny?"

"Oh! don't you know him?" said the friend; "he is Mr. ———, the artist, just arrived from Bombay, who takes such excellent likenesses"

The good lady started with dismay. A stranger from England since her childhood, she was totally unconscious that the exercise of the fine arts, as a profession, is not there considered incompatible with the position of a gentleman, or that the possession of talent is an universally acknowledged passport to the highest circles of society. With a face inflamed with anger, she hastily bounced from her seat, and seizing upon the unfortunate steward, who had introduced the ineligible partner, she exclaimed :

"Why, Captain ———, how could you think of bringing such a person to dance with my daughter?"

"What can you mean, Madam?" said the poor frightened-looking man; "I mentioned his name, and thought you seemed pleased with the introduction."

"You make me lose all patience," retorted the indignant lady. "Of course, from his dress, I supposed him to be a civilian;" and watching for the termination of the dance, she approached her daughter, and with a stiff bow of cool defiance to the petrified partner, she marched her off to the other side of the room.—*Pp.* 171—174.

Certainly, the first part of this contains a colloquialism, stereotyped in all the presidencies of India. The joke, indeed, of the "three hundred a year, dead or alive"—a ghastly joke, by the way—is so old and so current, that we doubt, whether any lady in India would venture to make use of the words, except in jocular reference to the old story—in fact, as a *quotation*. If the author of *Life in Bombay* had heard the words used, as we have, there would hardly have been in them *vis* enough to amuse. As to the second story, we cannot help thinking that we have heard something, too, very much like *that* before.

Our next extract is something of better quality. The truths contained in the following bear repetition better than an old story:—

The lavish expenditure bestowed upon the table equipage and mess kit in general, has lately been the subject of much and deserved animadversion. However, too many voices cannot be raised in deprecation of this fast spreading evil, equally unnecessary for the present, as it is ruinous for the future. In most of the Company's regiments, the senior officers are married men, and consequently only frequenters of the mess-table upon

rare and stated occasions; others again are permanently absent upon staff appointments; and thus it often occurs, that the only "habitués," for whom this magnificent display is prepared, and so large an expenditure is incurred, consists of a few junior lieutenants and young ensigns, whose enjoyment of a good dinner might possibly survive the shock of even seeing it served in less costly array.

In corroboration of these remarks, we will mention a circumstance which came under our own observation not very long ago. We were invited by a juvenile ensign to inspect the unpacking of a very splendid dessert service just received from England, by the mess of the —th regiment; the glass centre-piece of which, alone, cost seventy guineas; and upon enquiring what number of officers daily attended the mess to enjoy the sight of so much grandeur, we were answered: "Oh, most of our fellows are married men, or away upon staff appointments; there are only about five or six of us youngsters who dine here every day. But," said the youth, with an 'esprit-de-corps' look flashing from his dark eyes, "I suppose you think we might put up with something less expensive?" We must candidly admit, such a thought did occur to us; but with reference to the fiery glance which we felt was upon us as we modestly cast down our eyes; and fortunately calling to mind that "discretion is the best part of valour,"—that "truth is not to be spoken at all times,"—and various such Sancho-Panza-like aphorisms, we meekly received the inferred rebuke, and took refuge in silence.

It is all very well to laugh; but the evil is a crying one, and too serious in its nature to be overcome by mere ridicule. But we earnestly hope the day is not far distant, when the subject will be taken steadily in hand by the commanding officers of regiments, and a stop put to this excessive and unnecessary display, which is the leading cause of many a career of irretrievable involvement and consequent unhappiness. Some instances have occurred within our own knowledge, in which the junior officers of regiments, thus shackled by heavy mess expenditure, have actually not received one rupee of their pay for several months! The small surplus remaining from the inevitable items of Mess Bill, Military Fund, Library, and Band, being totally absorbed in the extra charges for "guest nights," balls, and "contributions for new mess kit."

It is evident that a regiment, taken collectively, must suffer from this system. In a well-principled mind the horror of debt is inherent, and when even the strictest self-denial is found insufficient to avert it, can it be a matter of surprise, that the most honourably disposed amongst the young men should eagerly seek for any post which would remove them from the never-ending demands, and harassing difficulties of a regimental life. And thus it happens, that many a noble heart, whose example might diffuse a salutary influence on all around him, becomes alienated for ever from his corps, who are consequently deprived of the benefit, which his talents and excellencies bestow elsewhere.—*Pp. 175—178.*

We may doubt whether there are many infantry regiments in the service, whose mess establishments are of the expensive character here indicated; but still the expenses of a mess, where there are very few members to contribute towards them, do fall very heavily upon young officers, who often get a very Flemish account of their *tullaub*, when pay-day comes round. An occasional examination of the mess-bills (including

all regimental funds) of a regiment, would not be beneath a Division General, or even a Commander-in-Chief; and commanding officers of regiments ought to be held responsible for any excess in the mess expenditure of the officers serving under them. The mess system is too good a one on the whole, for us to wish to see it abolished; but it has its abuses as well as its uses, and we would fain see the former reformed.

Here is something of another kind:—

A lady of our acquaintance, in pathetically lamenting the great waste of time incurred by receiving morning visitors, gravely assured us that she had come to the determination of never relinquishing her crochet needle, but, to continue working undisturbed by all the entrées and exits of a reception day, as though her livelihood depended upon the velocity with which she plied her needle. Now this would be by no means an agreeable system to establish universally in society. It is all very well for the ladies thus to employ themselves, whilst spending a morning at each other's houses; but for the poor gentlemen, uninitiated in the mysteries of crochet, and deplorably ignorant upon the subject of knitting and netting, it would become a positive hardship; if, during the short half hour of their visit, they were to find the attention of their fair hostess distractingly divided between the reception of her guests, and the number of long stitches to be squeezed into the large space, or the amount of chains to be crammed into the small space. Thanks to "Punch," we begin to be rather scientific in the technicalities of the art, and boldly defy all criticism upon the correctness of these expressions.—*Pp.* 199—200.

For our own parts we are rather inclined to commend the lady, who did not wish entirely to sacrifice her mornings to the "strenuous idleness" of receiving visitors. We have a notion, too, that ladies' fingers and tongues can work pretty well together.

Our next extract contains another of the author's reminiscences:—

One luxury is found in the great cave of Elephanta, which Bombay with all its advantages, does not possess; that is, a spring of delicious water, which gushes through the black rock in one of the compartments of the cavern, where the sun's rays have never penetrated, and falls sparkling and bubbling into a stone-basin beneath. It is so cool, so pure and refreshing, that it is positively well worth an expedition to Elephanta only to drink of this fountain, especially after being long doomed to the brackish waters of Bombay. In fact, before the happy introduction of ice, few people were so rash as to venture upon a draught of unadulterated Adam's ale; consequently the consumption of wine, beer, &c., was in a much greater proportion than in the present day, when we possess the inestimable advantage of obtaining in a glass of iced water all the refreshment of a stimulant, without any injurious results. Hence the custom—now almost universal in Bombay—of handing round a tray covered with glasses of this simple beverage alone, previous to the breaking up of the family party for the night; and often, with great amusement, have we watched the dismayed faces of out-station visitors, or newly arrived guests from

England, as this intoxicating draught is presented to them ; whilst in vain they cast an exploring eye over the tray, in the hope of detecting a stray bottle of sherry lurking in one of the crowded corners.

On one occasion in particular, we remember dining at a small party in company with an English gentleman just arrived from China, and of course still unemancipated from the board-ship habits of taking brandy and water at nights. Rather taken by surprise at the colourless appearance of the fluid, which a servant was offering him, he seemed for one instant a little puzzled, but in the next a bright idea appeared to flash across his brain, and looking benignantly into the attendant's face, he touched one of the glasses, and said, inquiringly :

"Milk-punch?"

"Na, Sahib," replied the man.

The countenance of the thirsty interrogator visibly fell, but as speedily brightened as a new thought suggested itself, and with a feverish eagerness he exclaimed :

"Noyau?"

"Na, Sahib," was the imperturbable reply.

"Then, what the deuce is it?" roared the half-frantic man.

"Sahib, peena ka panee hy." (It is drinking water, Sir).

"Oh!" groaned the victim of a hopeful delusion, sinking back exhausted into his chair; but with an expression of irresistible fun, he soon sprang up, and accosting the lady who was next to him, politely entreated her to partake of some refreshment, after the heat and exertion of the evening, waving his hand with an air of comic importance towards the long array of tumblers, and as if in anticipation of her refusal, he added: "Pray, don't be alarmed, Madam; it is not by any means strong; the refreshment consists of 'cold water!'" and in a similar strain he did the honours of the tray round the room.

But the most amusing part of the story is, that after an absence of twelve months from Bombay, we were dining on our return with the same family; precisely as the clock struck ten, the host exclaimed:

"Butler, bring the refreshment," and to our intense delight, the summons was peremptorily obeyed by the appearance of the majestic Mussulman bearing with solemn deportment his tray of cold water!—*Pp.* 215—218.

We cannot say much more for the good taste of the "victim of a hopeful delusion." He certainly had not learnt good manners in China.

The next story that we find in the volume does not illustrate any greater amount of good breeding:—

We remember some time back being present at a farewell entertainment, given to an officer on the eve of his departure for Europe. Now whether the spirits of the guests were affected by the heat of the weather, or that the coming separation "cast its shadows before," we cannot pretend to decide; but certain it is, that the party could scarcely, with truth, be designated as "lively;" in fact, we might almost venture to pronounce it "deadly lively:" as during the hour of dinner no one seemed inclined to open their lips; a solemn silence would pervade the whole assembly for five successive minutes interrupted only by the lulling hum of the punkah, as it swayed to and fro over our heads.

The unusual taciturnity of the host at length attracted our attention, and on looking towards him, we plainly perceived from his abstracted air, that

some mighty thought was at work within the temple of his brain: even whilst we gazed, the spark of intellect kindled in his eye, spread rapidly into a glow of light over his countenance, and finally exploded in a burst of emphatic eloquence, as he rose to propose the health of his "honoured guest." Now, had this speech been of anything like reasonable duration, doubtless, the unfortunate "dénouement" we are about to relate would not have occurred. We all bore up manfully through the laudatory introduction; experienced a degree of mournful resignation as the orator dilated upon the loss we must so soon sustain; but one and all abandoned ourselves to utter despair, as he proclaimed his intention of giving "the deeply interesting details of this respected individual's career in India."

It was notorious to every one in the room, that nothing could well be more common-place than this "respected individual's career in India;" and moreover, an uneasy consciousness stealing over our minds that his society had been generally considered rather an infliction than otherwise, and that it was just possible his departure might not be regarded exactly in the light of an affliction, the reader may imagine the consternation of the company when, after an impressive pause, followed by a preliminary hem, our host thus proceeded:

"Gentlemen, I have ascertained from undoubted authority, that my esteemed friend landed in this country on the 24th of March 18—, and early distinguished himself by his urbanity of manner, and mildness of disposition: qualities, gentlemen, which must ever endear a man to those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance. (Here a faint snore was audible.) It does not appear that any circumstances arose during the succeeding ten years, calculated to give him an opportunity of taking a conspicuous part: doubtless had such occurred, he would have been foremost in the path of glory; but, gentlemen, a day was approaching—" at this interesting moment, the voice of the orator was fairly overpowered by such a chorus of loud snores, that, with a look of consternation, he suddenly pulled up, and gazed aghast at the sight before him.

Out of twenty guests, twelve were in a sound sleep, and the remaining eight fast lapsing into a state of unconsciousness.

To this day, we have always sturdily protested that 'twas the punkah "did it."—*Pp.* 227—230.

Bad manners, decidedly, to say the least of it—but the following is still worse:—

Upon one occasion, we remember arriving, under similar circumstances, at a friend's house, and detecting speedily, by the uncomfortable looks of the host and hostess, that something was wrong. The rooms did not appear to be as brilliantly lighted as usual; and it struck us that the lady's dress—though we do not pretend to be a *connoisseur* in such matters—was of a more simple description than is customary at a dinner-party, for which a week's invitation had been issued. There was, apparently, much confusion going on in the adjoining room; sounds like shifting of furniture and rattling of crockery were distinctly heard; and when, after a long solemn sitting, dinner was at length announced, we discovered with dismay, that beyond our own party, no other guests seemed likely to make their appearance, while the host's temper was too visibly discomposed to enable him long to conceal the fact, that calculating with certainty on the state of the weather being such as not even a dog would unnecessarily face, he had given orders two hours previously for the arrangement of a dinner *en famille*, with the snug anticipation of a quiet evening, and the enjoyment of

a new *Quarterly*.* This was pleasant! but determined to make the best of a bad business, we set to work indefatigably to render ourselves as agreeable as possible; praised every dish upon the table; pronounced the wines superb, and patted the heads of a couple of odious, ill-managed children, protesting they were the living images of their papa; and even smiled with a kind of ghastly hilarity, when one of the imps inserted his dirty fingers into our soup-plate, declaring he was 'playful as a kitten.' But it was all in vain; the host still looked surly and the hostess frightened, so there was nothing for it but to decamp the moment dinner was over, breathing a solemn vow never again to venture forth on a wet night to fulfil an engagement, unless, indeed, we were pretty well acquainted with the tempers of our entertainers.

Our Bombay readers are the best judges of the probabilities of this story. We need not say, that the incident could not have occurred in Calcutta. Rain, or no rain, dinner parties go on here; and if a gentleman invites friends to dinner, he is civil to them when they come. Perhaps they manage matters differently in Bombay—we are sorry for it, if they do.

With these extracts we conclude our notice of what is really a very agreeable, as it is a very handsome volume. Our extracts have been principally of an anecdotal character, and have related to different aspects of Anglo-Indian Society. But there is much good descriptive writing in the book—many graphic sketches of Indian scenery, and some snatches of history, which are not without their value. On the whole, we are thankful to the anonymous (but not unknown,) author of *Life in Bombay*, for the pleasure his volume has given us in perusal, and the opportunity it has afforded us of transferring to our pages matters of a somewhat more lively character than those of necessity form the general staple of the articles in the *Calcutta Review*.

* Perhaps it was the *Calcutta* that had just come in; in *that* case, of course there was some excuse for his desiring to have a quiet evening; and we all know how unconsciously "the wish is father to the thought."

ART. V.—1. *East India : Superintendence of Native Religious Institutions ; and Discontinuance of Pecuniary Payments to the support of the Idol Temple of Jagannáth : Parliamentary Return : August 9, 1845. Pp. 109.*

2. *Idolatry (India) : Parliamentary Return : August 1, 1849. Pp. 555.*

3. *Idolatry (India) : Parliamentary Return : May 7, 1851. Pp. 48.*

THE temple of Jagannáth has obtained notoriety throughout the extent of Christendom. Years ago it became known in Europe, that upon the sea-coast of Orissa, among the sand-hills of Púri, stood a pagoda with a lofty tower, which millions of Hindus regarded with the profoundest reverence ; and that this sacred temple, with its halls for worship, and portal guarded by colossal griffins, had been erected centuries before, by one of the great rulers of Orissa, at a cost of more than half a million of pounds sterling. Men heard with astonishment, that the object of worship in this stately temple, was a hideous idol, seven feet in height, without legs, with huge flat eyes, a peaked nose, and stumps of arms projecting from his ears, adorned with the emblems of the great Vishnu, and dignified with the high-sounding title of “Lord of the whole world.” They heard, that about three thousand brahmins were supported in connection with the temple, of whom more than six hundred were enrolled as the idol’s immediate attendants ; while a majority of the others were employed in travelling through all parts of Hindustan, to celebrate the fame of their deity, and invite pilgrims to his shrine. They heard that, in extolling the wonders of this Indian Mecca, the wandering priests would declare, that the whole country, within a distance of ten miles, is so holy, that all who die upon its sacred soil, are carried straight to the heaven of Vishnu ; that the whole ground is strewn with gold and jewels ; that there is no shadow to the temple ; that the sound of the roaring sea, so loud at the temple-gate, cannot enter within the enclosure ; that, of nine rice-vessels placed one above another in the temple kitchens, only the uppermost will have its contents cooked, while the others remain raw ; that the idol himself consumes a thousand pounds of food every day, and that all can see him propel his gigantic car. But pity took the place of astonishment in Christian minds, when it became well understood, that in consequence of these lying tales, and the extraordinary merit supposed to be acquired by a visit to the “Sacred Land,” vast numbers of

pilgrims, varying from 70,000 to 300,000, were annually drawn from all parts of India to this celebrated spot; and that of these, nearly a third part (of whom two-thirds, or two out of every nine of the whole body of pilgrims, were widows), journeyed through Bengal alone at a most dangerous season of the year, for one particular festival. Imagination pictured, what the eyes of Englishmen had often beheld, these streams of pilgrims pouring into Púri, visiting with devout earnestness its sacred tanks, and dipping their feet in the rolling surf, which their eyes now beheld for the first time; subjected to the grasping exactions of the "vile pandas" or priests; journeying homewards, laden with heavy baskets of "holy food;" travelling in heat and rain and storm, weary and foot-sore; sleeping, like sheep, upon the bare road or on the soaked grass; supplied but scantily with food, and suffering deeply from fatigue and disease. Attention was roused in the most indifferent, by tales of pilgrims crushed as a voluntary sacrifice beneath the wheels of the idol's ponderous car; while the more thoughtful dwelt with horror upon the fearful amount of disease, which was drawing from this celebrated pilgrimago, an annual sacrifice of more than ten thousand lives. Indignation was superadded to pity, when Christians awoke to the fact, that the destructive system of idolatry, in the pagoda of Jagannáth, was maintained in efficiency by the English Government in India; that they had constituted themselves the special guardians of the idol; that they had laid a tax upon the pilgrims, from the proceeds of which they repaired the temple, paid the salaries of the idol's servants, and furnished the supplies for celebrating his great festivals; that their protection had made the pilgrimage safe, their patronage increased the idol's influence; that in consequence of their favor the pilgrims had greatly increased in number, and the annual profit become large.

All this was true. But the pagoda of Jagannáth was not the only temple in India, whose services and resources were maintained by the gifts of the Government. This was only one of numerous temples, which had, by degrees, been taken under its fostering care; and which exhibited that Government to the Christian world, not merely as the royal protector, but as the intimate friend and patron of the Hindu and Mahommedan religions. There was, however, great advantage in having the attention of the public fixed especially upon a single instance of the evil, and in rendering them familiar with all its details. The principle which proved the support of idolatry wrong in that instance, was applicable to all others. The evils which

sprang from that support in the case of Jagannáth, found their parallel and new illustrations in that of other temples; and the separation required between the Government and idolatry in the town of Púri, was the same as was needed in other parts of Hindustan. It was only natural, therefore, that the case of Jagannáth should prove, throughout its history, a fair representative of the whole question. When the Government connection with idolatry at Púri was in its worst condition, it was worst elsewhere: when it diminished there, it diminished in other places; and the unsatisfactory position, which the connection has recently assumed at Jagannáth, is but an illustration of that which it now occupies over the whole continent of India.

We propose to lay before our readers a brief statement of the rise of this Government patronage of the native religions, the extent to which it was carried; the effects which it has produced; the measures employed for dissolving it, and the position in which the question now stands.

During its early history, the Government of India appears scarcely to have patronized the Hindu and Mahomedan religions at all. Their patronage has grown with their empire, especially in the Madras and Bombay presidencies. We see little of it, therefore, before the present century. The power of the Government was at first based purely upon military force; but it was felt desirable to secure by love what had been obtained by fear. Dread of conspiracy continually haunted our rulers; and it was considered that the least slight to the native religions would at once rouse the fanaticism of the people, and set the country in a blaze. Various means were therefore adopted to conciliate the people, and amongst them, a readiness was shown to honor their temples, to endow their worship, and do what the natives thought necessary to promote its prosperity. It must be remembered also, that the chief officers of Government, when the connection began, belonged to a peculiar class. Those who, between 1790 and 1820, possessed the greatest experience, and held the highest offices in India, were, on the whole, an irreligious body of men; who approved of Hinduism much more than Christianity, and favored the Korán more than the Bible. That class of men was in power, who numbered in their ranks the bigoted Prendergasts, Twinings and Warings, the Hindu Stewarts and Youngs, that have since been reckoned such a reproach to the Christian name: some who hated Missions from their dread of sedition; and others, because their hearts "seduced by fair idolatresses, had fallen to idols foul."

It was by just such a man, that the Government was first led

to take Hindu shrines into their favour in the presidency of Madras. Many of our readers have probably seen or heard of the great pagodas in the town of CONJEVERAM. This town, the "golden city" as its name implies, lies about forty miles to the south-west of Madras; it contains broad streets, which cross each other at right angles; has several tanks, the sides of which are faced with stone; and bears unusual marks of neatness and prosperity. In Great Conjeveram is the pagoda dedicated to Mahadeva. Amongst other massive buildings, made of stone and engraved with all kinds of figures, it contains an immense tower, sixty feet broad, and two hundred feet high. From this tower, which is built over the gateway, and is ascended by nine flights of stairs, an extensive view is obtained across a wide-spread plain, skirted by a line of distant hills, covered in parts with villages and rice-fields, and ornamented in others by shady woods and a sheet of water. Within the sacred enclosure is a large tank, faced with stone, in the centre of which is the great hall or *mondop*, supported by numerous pillars. At Little Conjeveram is the second pagoda, the temple of Vishnu, or, as he is there termed, Devarájswámi, 'lord of the gods.' Though not so high, nor so massive as its rival, it is built in a superior style, and is much more carefully finished. To the worshippers of Vishnu, it is of course an object of far greater attraction than the former pagoda, and has obtained a greater name in Southern India. The hall within its enclosure, which is used as a resting place for travellers, is of immense extent; the roof is said to rest upon a thousand pillars, which are curiously carved with figures of Hindu deities in various groups. Near the pagoda are laid out large gardens, adorned with beautiful trees. At a particular festival in the year, the presiding deity in this temple, we believe, goes to visit his powerful rival in Great Conjeveram; and a hundred thousand worshippers are usually assembled to take a part in the ceremonies of that august event. Sometimes the idol walks in solemn procession; sometimes he is floated round one of the sacred tanks, amidst the discharge of fireworks, or accompanied by music and songs: sometimes he mounts his immense car, and is drawn by some two thousand votaries to the pagoda of his rival. In 1795, these two pagodas attracted the notice of Mr. Lionel Pláce, the collector of the Company's jaghire at Madras. He found, on examination, that their funds had been misappropriated; that the magnificence of their festivals and processions had decayed; that the rich ornaments, which decked the idol, had been lost; and that the pagoda of Little Conjeveram was threatened with total destruction, by the roots of a tree

which had "insinuated" themselves into its walls. Sighing over the decay of idolatry, and, apparently thinking, that a temple and church were synonymous terms, Mr. Place laid a report before the Board of Revenue, and earnestly entreated the Government to take the temples under its own charge: since "in a moral and political sense, whether to dispose the natives of this country to the practice of virtue, or to promote good order by conciliating their affections, such a regard to the matter," he deemed to be "incumbent" upon them. His letter so thoroughly illustrates the notions of his day, that we quote it almost entire. It is but little known, and at one time the Court of Directors put this high estimate on it, that they refused to allow its publication: a reason for which our readers will, doubtless, be doubly anxious to peruse it:—

The pagoda marah explains itself to be for the support of religious ceremonies and public worship. In Tripassore, it amounted to 48-64ths; in Caranguly, to 53-64ths; and in Conjeveram, to 48-64ths: the principal pagoda of Conjeveram receives a general marah throughout the jaghire, except in three pergunnahs; and that of Tripassore in three of them; all the lesser pagodas enjoy manniam where they are situated, and many also shotrums.

The management of the church funds has, heretofore, been thought independent of the controul of Government; for this strange reason, that it receives no advantage from them; but, inasmuch as it has an essential interest in promoting the happiness of its subjects, and as the natives of this country know none superior to the good conduct and regularity of their religious ceremonies, which are liable to neglect without the interposition of an efficient authority, such controul and interference becomes indispensable. In a moral and political sense, whether to dispose them to the practice of virtue, or to promote good order and subordination, by conciliating their affections, a regard to this matter, I think, incumbent. So forcible was the effect of even a short attention which I was able to give to it, that at the late Conjeveram feast, which, from a want of it, had always been interrupted by feuds and competitors, the greatest harmony subsisted; opposite pretensions were accommodated and compromised; and no part of the festival, to which crowds from all parts of India assembled, suffered the smallest obstruction. Testifying so fully as the circumstance does, the good effects of indulgence to the religious prejudices of the natives, I do not hesitate giving, as my opinion, that the managers of the church funds should be chosen from among the most respectable and substantial natives that are to be found, and who, I imagine, are the most ready to accept the trust; that several of the present, although appointed by the Board, and because being men of no property, they embezzle the funds under their care, should be set aside; that the accounts of expenditure should be, at all times, open to the inspection of the circar; and that the Board should take into their serious consideration the repairs that are absolutely requisite to the principal pagodas of the country, particularly those of universal resort at Conjeveram. In every country, although funds may be assigned for keeping in repair and preventing the decay of places of public worship, they will occasionally require and receive the effectual aid of the existing Government; yet none of those now in allusion, have participated of its bounty since the English have had a footing in India. That they

are in a ruinous condition may, therefore, be inferred from hence ; but the fact cannot be more clearly demonstrated : and how loudly relief is called for, when I mention that the sacred temple, where the idol is deposited, at Little Conjeveram, is threatened with total destruction by the roots of a tree which are insinuating themselves through the walls, and cannot be eradicated, but by incurring an expense, for a necessary ceremony, of, perhaps, 500 pagodas, which the funds are not able to bear. Several of the other buildings are also in an equally ruinous condition, and some utterly destroyed.

I cannot take a more proper occasion than this, to represent a subject which, I should hope, only required it in order to obtain the relief which I am about to solicit. The Little Conjeveram pagoda formerly received, and continued to receive, after the accession of the present Nabob, and even after the grant of the jaghire, a very considerable marah and some shot-rums in many parts of his country ; but since the war of 1780, these have been entirely taken away from it. Whether or not, this circumstance may be known to the Nabob, I am not informed ; but as I can hardly think that he would withhold, on a proper representation, what has immortalized proceeding princes,—that he would be the first to destroy the benevolent end for which it was instituted—and that he is not sensible of the self-satisfaction which so laudably arises from promoting the general happiness of the people whom he governs ; so I would wish to engage the good offices of the Board and of Government, to intercede for a restoration of the advantages which these pagodas anciently enjoyed. The magnificence of the festivals, and processions of this celebrated pagoda, is miserably fallen off for want of them, and the rich ornaments which decked the idol, but were lost during the war, have, on account of the poverty of the church, never been replaced.

The gifts of pilgrims and others, at the anniversary festivals at Triyalore and Peddapollam, have, heretofore, been collected and appropriated to the uses of Government : they are, however, trifling, together not amounting to much more than 600 pagodas per annum ; and it would be a liberal sacrifice to allow them to be added to the church funds, or disbursed in such a manner, for the benefits of the church, as the circle may direct ; with whom, I would, nevertheless, recommend that the collection should remain.

I have already said much upon the subject of repairing the pagodas, and, perhaps, no stronger inducement could be held out for the attainment of the end proposed, (the re-building of towns.) When completed, the tanks will, for many years, be monuments of British dominion in India ; and it would be a pity that the same spirit of liberality should not be extended to other objects, uniting to accomplish the same public benefit.—*Friend of India*, 1839.

We need not comment upon this lamentable letter, nor on the principles which it advocates. The Government listened to Mr. Place's recommendation ; and the chief pagoda, in 1796, was, with some others in the same district, taken under the collector's charge.

Not content, however, with securing this high patronage, Mr. Place endeavoured, by personal exertions, to render its services efficient. He laid out the garden still attached to the temple ; he himself presented offerings at the shrine ; and to this day, the brahmins there (who call themselves " church-

wardens,"!) exhibit his offerings to their visitors. The principle once established, that the Government might, and even ought to interest itself in the prosperity of Hindu temples, the application of it to other cases, as their territory extended, was easy and natural. Step by step, therefore, they proceeded, without misgivings, without qualms of conscience, committing themselves more and more to the support and maintenance of idolatry, compromising their consistency, and bringing disgrace upon their name. We shall not enumerate the particulars of this course; but shall merely refer to a few illustrations of its working, and the extent to which it was carried.

In the Presidency of BENGAL, the temple of Boidyonáth or *Deoghur*, in Bírbbhúm, was the first to which the attention of Government was drawn. This temple is one of the largest in Bengal; at one time three hundred and fifty priests were supported in ease and plenty from its gains; in ten districts its endowment included the rent of ninety-five villages; and its total revenues were estimated at forty thousand rupees a year. When the English took the country, they found that two-thirds of the income belonged to the Government, and accordingly received their share, as the Mahomedan rulers had done before them. But in 1791, the priests wishing to secure the whole for themselves, pleaded that their temple was very poor, and requested the Government to give up their share to them. No doubt fraud was employed in the transaction, but their request was acceded to. Still the Governor-General retained a veto on the appointment of the *gjah* or chief priest: this veto was, however, rarely exercised; and when, on one occasion, a quarrel arose about the appointment of a priest named Sorbanondo, Lord William Bentinck withdrew altogether from the strife. In 1837, this priest died, and two claimants appeared for the office. An enquiry into the matter was instituted by the collector, Mr. Stainforth; he found that an extraordinary amount of speculation and villainy had been committed by the late priest and his family; that they had taken offerings worth a lakh of rupees, had alienated twenty-two villages from the temple endowments, had assaulted pilgrims, broken down the houses of their opponents, and engaged constantly in affrays. After ascertaining these facts, the Governor-General adhered to the resolution of his predecessor; refused to exercise his power in the appointment of the priest, and thus left the temple and its votaries to manage their own affairs.

The first place, at which the Government connection with idolatry was rendered complete and profitable, was *Gayá*.

This spot is considered, by every Hindu, sacred in the highest degree, and pilgrims visit it in immense numbers. Here they offer funeral cakes to the manes of their ancestors, and perform a variety of ceremonies calculated to secure their complete happiness in the heaven of Vishnu. It is fabled, that here an immense giant, from whom the place is named, was attacked by Vishnu, but could not be conquered. He consented, however, to go down to hell, at Vishnu's request, provided he pressed him there with his foot. The god did so, and the mark of his foot (called the Vishnu-pad) remains upon the rock to this day. Near this mark, the object of their devout adoration, the Hindus place their cakes and other offerings: and when doing so, repeat the name of some dead friend or relative, who passes, in consequence, direct to heaven. Considerable gifts are sometimes presented. On one occasion, the Raja of Nagpore filled the small silver enclosure round the foot-mark with rupees, thus making a gift to the temple of about £30,000. There are said to be in Gayá, 1,300 families of priests, having 6,500 houses, where the pilgrims lodge. These priests, called *Gayáwáls*, conduct the pilgrims to all the holy places about the town; they are said to be very oppressive, and to take from the pilgrim not only what he has, but to demand promissory notes for payments at future periods, after his return home. As they have travelling pilgrim-hunters, who journey to the boundaries of Northern India, and become acquainted with all the chief villages and towns which it contains, they readily obtain the money, and induce thousands of other pilgrims to visit the shrine. It is not known, at what period, or under what circumstances, the Government first laid a tax upon the Gayá pilgrims. It must, however, have been fixed very soon after their possession of the country, for we find it in operation in 1790. Mr. Harrington, in his *Analysis of the Bengal Regulations*, speaks of it thus:—

In a statement from the collector at Gayá, dated July, 1790, the rates of duty paid by pilgrims for permission to perform their religious ceremonies, chiefly in honour of deceased ancestors, at the river Phulgo or adjacent places, were stated to vary from six annas to twelve rupees, eleven annas, three pie. The duty of Government is independent of donations to the *gayáwáls*, or priests. Ever since the city of Gayá became famous for its sanctity, it has been the custom of its brahmins to *travel through all countries where the Hindu religion prevails, in search of pilgrims*, whose donations are considered the property of the *gayáwál*, through whose means they are brought. These contributions have ever been a source of considerable wealth, and are the property of those, *who, but for them, would, probably, never have visited Gayá*. When a pilgrim arrives, his *gayáwál*, or religious father, conducts him to the daroga, or superintending

officer of the *sayer* collections (viz., pilgrim-tax, &c.) and explains to him the ceremonies which the pilgrim is desirous of performing; after which an order, specifying the names of the pilgrim and *gayáwál*, as also the ceremonies, is made out *under the official seal and signature of the collector, authorizing the performance of the ceremonies.* At the time of delivering this order, the duty (to Government) is paid, which varies according to the number and nature of the rites performed.

From the very outset, the Government made a large profit out of this pilgrim-tax. From 1790 to 1805, the pilgrims were on an average 18,000 annually; immediately after they rose to 28,000: and are now said to be at least 100,000 a year. The security of the roads, under the English rule, the introduction of the English police system, the regulation of the payments, with other causes, tended to produce this increase. The net receipts of course rose with it. They increased from about £16,000 to £23,000, and eventually to £30,000 a year. At one time, Mr. Law reduced the rates, as a tradesman lowers the price of his goods to increase the number of his customers. As a consequence "he had the *satisfaction* of seeing that his efforts 'were not unsuccessful; while *great and progressive increase* in 'the amount of the *sayer* collections, *under the circumstance of 'diminished rates*, evinces the sound and *attractive* policy of the 'measure he adopted." The only charges upon the gross receipts were the small expense of collection; a commission to the Collector of one per cent.; to the *Raja* of ten per cent.; and an annual donation (after 1815) of £1,200 to a native hospital in Calcutta. The tax, therefore, yielded from the first almost pure gain, and that to a large amount.

The pilgrim-tax at *Púri* was first established by the Mahomedan rulers of the country, whose antipathy to Jagannáth, and dislike of his worship, were peculiarly strong. The Mah-rattas, who were Hindus in religion, adopted the same system, and for nearly fifty years, realized from the tax a profit, varying from two to five lakhs of rupees a year; the expenses of the temple, taken from that income, amounted annually to about twenty thousand rupees. In 1803, the province of Orissa was taken possession of by British troops, whose conquest of the country was 'a very easy achievement.' Aware of the estimation in which the temple of Jagannáth was held, Lord Wellesley, then Governor-General, commanded Colonel Campbell "to employ every possible precaution to preserve 'the respect due to the pagoda, and to the religious pre-judices of the brahmins and pilgrims; to afford the pilgrims 'the most ample protection, and to treat them with every mark 'of consideration and kindness." Anxious to deal tenderly with the religious institutions of the country, he added: "it will not be

‘advisable, at the present moment, to interrupt the system which prevails for the collection of the duties levied on pilgrims At the same time, you will be careful not to contract with the brahmins any engagements which may limit the power of the British Government to make such arrangements with respect to the pagoda as may hereafter be deemed advisable.’ The troops shortly after entered Púri; the greatest order prevailed, and the brahmins were perfectly satisfied. A few days later, Mr. Melville, the Civil Commissioner of the province, wrote to the Governor-General, explaining the system which had prevailed in the management of the temple during the rule of the Mahrattas, and enquired what were the orders of Government in relation to them. Lord Wellesley replied in general terms, that if the tax had ceased, he did not wish it to be renewed; if it had not ceased, it was to continue under the control of the civil local authority: he declined, however, to “form a *final arrangement* for the regulation of the temple,” until he had been “furnished with a detailed statement” of the system that had formerly prevailed. Before that statement could be furnished, the brahmins of the temple came forward in a body, and begged that the “customary advance” might be given for the approaching festival; that the ‘usual donation’ might be continued; and that the former tax might be renewed in order to reimburse the Government. They apprehended that if these donations were denied, “in addition to the great distress it will occasion, the pagoda will be deserted.” The reply of the Governor-General, (May 4, 1804,) contained in the “Parliamentary Return” of 1845, so clearly states his views upon the whole question, that we quote the paragraph entire:—

In His Excellency’s instructions to you for the establishment of the authority of the British Government in the province, he directed that all the collections levied on the pilgrims proceeding to Jagannáth should be abolished. Great oppressions had been exercised by the Mahratta Government in levying these collections, and as it was impracticable to inquire into them, or to reform them, during the progress of the British army in the conquest of the province; his Excellency in Council, judged it to be preferable to order a general abolition of these duties in the first instance, instead of attempting to regulate them under the principles of their original establishment, leaving it for future consideration whether these duties should be wholly or partially established under a better regulated system of collection. From the information of the first commissioner on this subject, His Excellency in Council is satisfied that it will be, in every point of view, advisable to establish moderate rates of duty or collection on the pilgrims proceeding to perform their devotions at Jagannáth. Independently of the sanction afforded to this measure by the practice of the late Hindu Government in Cuttack, *the heavy expense attendant on the repair of the pagoda, and on the maintenance of the establishment attached to it, render it*

necessary, from considerations connected with the public resources, that funds should be provided for defraying this expense. His Excellency also understands, that it will be consonant to the wishes of the brahmins attached to the pagoda, as well as of the *Hindus in general, that a revenue should be raised by Government from the pagoda.* The establishment of this revenue will be considered, both by the brahmins and the persons desirous of performing the pilgrimage, to afford them a permanent security that the expenses of the pagoda will be regularly defrayed by Government, and that its attention will always be directed to the protection of the pilgrims resorting to it, although that protection would be afforded by the Government under any circumstances. There can be no objection to the British Government's availing itself of these opinions for the purpose of relieving itself from a heavy *annual expense*, and of providing funds to answer the contingent charges of the religious institutions of the Hindu faith maintained by the British Government. His Excellency in Council therefore desires you will proceed without delay to establish duties, to be levied from the pilgrims proceeding to Jagannáth, taking advice of the principal officiating brahmins attached to the pagoda, as to the rates which may be collected from the several descriptions of pilgrims without subjecting them to distress or inconvenience. Previously, however, to the collection or arrangement of any duty on pilgrims proceeding to Jagannáth, you will report the rates of duty, and the rules under which you may propose to levy them, for the consideration of the Governor-General in Council, under whose further instructions you will be empowered to regulate this important question."

Thus was established the celebrated PILGRIM-TAX; and thus was begun a system, which has done more to make the East India Company unpopular among religious men in Europe, than any other proceedings of their Government. It has given them a surplus of about £200,000; but this large sum has been far outweighed by the vexation and trouble to which it gave rise; by the obloquy which fell upon their name, and by the insult they have offered by their patronage of idolatry to the God of Providence, who had placed them in their throne of power. It has been urged by some, that Lord Wellesley pledged himself to endow the temple for ever, without specifying as a condition that the expenditure of Government should be repaid by a tax. This question has, however, been finally set at rest. In the "Return" for 1845, it appears, that excepting two individuals, all the highest officers of the Bengal Government, including the Supreme Council and the Board of Revenue, decided after an ample discussion of both sides of the case, that no unconditional pledge was given; that the annual donation and the pilgrim-tax were parts of the same system, being mutually dependent upon one another; and that when the Government gave up the one, it could, at the same time, give up the other. The letter of Lord Wellesley above quoted, taken in connection with the petition of the temple brahmins, can, we think, admit of no other construction.

A system of Regulations was soon after framed, and became

law in 1806. Entrances into the sacred city of Púri were established, and barriers built up. A superintendent of the temple was appointed, and various managers, called *purchas*, were associated with him in his duties. The priests of the temple were registered. All the various officers and servants of the idol were duly organized; lists of them were made out; and their salaries settled. It may be interesting to know what duty these officers were required to perform. Among them were the *khát sáj mecápá* who makes Jagannáth's bed; the *ákhánd mecáp*, who lights his lamps; and the *talab purchas*, who guard him while he sleeps. There were the *pasupálak*, who wakes him; the *chángra mecáp*, who keeps his clothes; the *mukh prakhyalok*, who washes his face and presents his tooth-pick; the *pandas*, who give him food and prepare his betel-nut, and the *khantiyá*, who tells him the time of day. There were the *daitya* to paint his eyes; the *nagadhya* to wash his clothes; the *chattarna* to carry his umbrella, and the *tarasi* to carry his fan. There were the priests to worship him, waving his lamps and holding his looking-glass; the poor degraded dancing girls; the cooks that prepare "holy food," and the musicians that play for his delight. All were appointed, maintained, and paid under the direct authority of the East India Company: apparently without one qualm of conscience, or one thought of what the Government was *really doing*! The pilgrims, by the same regulations, were divided into classes, and the fees and privileges of each class defined. Even the low castes, who are not permitted to enter the temple, but can only visit the holy places in the neighbourhood, were also duly pointed out by Government authority. Certificates and passes were all provided, in the most business-like manner; and exceptions to the tax distinctly defined. Here is a copy of the pilgrim's pass:—

A B, inhabitant of ——— in the district of ———, is entitled to perform the customary ceremonies, under charge of ——— during ——— days, that is to say, from the ——— day of the month of ——— until the ——— day of the month of ———; and for that period you will afford to the holder hereof free access to the temple of Jagannáth. At the expiration of the period granted, you will return the license into the office of the collector of tax.

It was soon found that the *pandas*, or priests, who officially conducted the pilgrims about Púri, required a special fee for themselves, apart from the usual tax: and with the consent of the Governor-General, a scale of fees was fixed and published for general information. This plan having been abused, the Government resolved that the pilgrims should pay the *pandas'* fee to the collector; and that the total amount

thus gathered should be divided among the purharis and pandas, in such proportion as they were entitled to, from the number of pilgrims which each had induced to undertake the pilgrimage. This was a direct premium upon the pilgrimage, and it soon increased the number both of agents and of victims. Colonel Phipps says of it: "One of the principal natives related, that a purhari, in 1821, *detached a hundred agents* to entice pilgrims, and had the ensuing year received the premium for *four thousand* pilgrims. He was at that time busily employed in *instructing a hundred additional agents* in all the mysteries of this singular trade, with the intention of sending them into the Upper-provinces of Bengal." The custom of the pandas was to go and stay a while in a place, and provide themselves with lists of all the rich men and of their incomes; that on a visit to Puri, they might be made to pay properly. It is said that they possess registers of rich men all over India, prepared in this way.

As at Gayá, from the time when the Puri pilgrim-tax fell under the charge of the Government, the number of pilgrims began steadily to increase. It varied much in different years, according as the time of the great festivals fell more or less into unfavourable seasons of the year; but the average can be seen to have steadily enlarged. The opening of the new road in 1813, and the additional security given to travellers under the English Government, greatly contributed to it. In some years it was 70,000: in others 1,30,000. In 1825, an extraordinary year, the number is said to have been 2,25,000 at the car festival alone; and the nett receipts of the tax were £27,000. At present the number of pilgrims varies between 80,000 and 2,50,000. The Government revenue from this tax was never very great, the expenses being comparatively large. The total gain from 1812 to 1828 seems to have been nearly £100,000; or about £6,000 a year. We need not detail the items of expense, on which part of the proceeds of the tax was consumed: the total cost seems to have been about Rs. 50,000 annually, in addition to the red, yellow, green, and purple broad-cloths sent from the Company's ware-houses in Calcutta. We will only add, that the Collector's care was extended to the brute creation, as well as to the Hindu priests; and that on one occasion the following humiliating letter was forwarded by him to the Supreme Government:—

I have the honor to acquaint you, that Ram Buksh and Ram Hutgur, pilgrims, presented a serviceable elephant to Jagannath, and two hundred rupees for its expenses, which last about six months. *The god's establishment*

is six elephants ! At or before the end of six months, it will be necessary for Government, either to order the elephant to be disposed of, or appoint some fund for its support, *should it be deemed advisable to keep it for Jagannáth's use !*"—*Parliamentary Papers*, 1818.

A *third* pilgrim-tax was established by the Government at *Allahabad*. This place, called by the Hindus *Prayág*, is deemed peculiarly holy, being situated at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna rivers. Here the Hindus assemble in great numbers to bathe, under the guidance of the brahmins of the place, called *prayágwáls*, who instruct them in the requisite ceremonies. They also have their heads and bodies shaved, believing, that for every hair which falls into the stream, they are promised a million years' residence in heaven. At one time four hundred barbers were supported by this shaving-system. About the year 1810, the Government began to levy a tax on the crowds of pilgrims that gathered at this place. The tax was one rupee for a man on foot ; two rupees for a pilgrim in a carriage, and twenty rupees for one with an elephant. All other fees were prohibited. The barbers were registered, and bound, under a penalty of fifty rupees, or *three months' imprisonment*, not to shave any one, who was without the collector's pass. Gates and barriers were erected at various parts of the town : and even a military force stood prepared, on the collector's application, to prevent pilgrims entering the place without paying the fee. Unlike the willing brahmins of *Púri*, the *prayágwáls* of *Allahabad* were very much dissatisfied with the tax ; and in various ways endeavoured to thwart the plans and purposes of the Government. Their opposition, however, was futile: the tax remained till 1840. The nett receipts for sixteen years, from 1812 to 1827, amounted to £160,000, or about \$10,000 a year.

It is a singular fact, characteristic of the Government connection with idolatry in the Bengal Presidency, that the above pilgrim-taxes were almost the only religious sources from which the Government obtained a money profit. It will be useful, therefore, to settle the question of profit at once. The exceptions are the Pagoda of *Tripetty*, and a small pilgrim-tax at *Dharwar*, of which we shall speak when we refer to the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The exact sums received year by year, cannot be stated exactly in every case ; as even the "Parliamentary Returns" have failed to draw the secret from the archives of the India House : but the receipts of several years have been published, and from them the average of unknown years can be calculated. After careful examination of different accounts, which, on the whole, well

agree, we have drawn out the following table, and believe it to be a fair approximation to the real truth :—

GOVERNMENT PROFIT FROM IDOLATRY.

		Sa. Rs.	
1.— <i>Jagannáth.</i>			
From 1810 to 1830 inclusive	.....	12,83,130	
" 1831 " 1839	" at an aver- }	5,49,909	
	age of Sa. Rs. 61,101... }		
		<hr/>	£
		18,33,039	= 203,871
2 — <i>Gayá</i>			
From 1803 to 1830 inclusive	.....	53,49,579	
" 1790 " 1802	" at an aver- }	24,83,728	
	age of Sa. Rs. 1,91,056 }		
" 1831 " 1839	ditto 2,10,000	18,90,000	
		<hr/>	
		97,23,307	= 1,080,367
3.— <i>Allahabad.</i>			
		£	
From 1812 to 1828 inclusive	.....	159,429	
" 1810 " 1811	" at an aver- }	18,000	
	age of £9,000..... }		
" 1829 " 1839	ditto ditto...	99,000	
		<hr/>	= 276,429
4.— <i>Tripetty Pagoda.</i>			
		£	
From 1812 to 1828 inclusive	.....	205,600	
" 1800 " 1811	" at an aver- }	20,000	
	age of £10,000		
" 1829 to 1842	" of £ 8,000	112,000	
		<hr/>	= 437,600
5.— <i>Dharwar and Púna.</i>			
Pilgrim-tax and offerings for 30 years, at £900.....		29,700	
		<hr/>	
	Total...	£ 2,027,767	

In other parts of the Bengal presidency, the Government has troubled itself very little with the direct patronage of Hindu temples. One or two facts, however, may be noticed here, especially as they do not appear in any of the "Parliamentary Returns." About the time when the Púri pilgrim-tax was first established, the temple of Sitarám, at *Cuttack*, was also taken under Government patronage, and received an annual donation. In 1837, the Government hesitated to pay the sum any longer, and enquired into the ground upon which it was claimed. The Collector acknowledged that there was no record of how or why it was first granted, but recommended that, as its discontinuance would appear like a breach of faith, it should still be paid. A brahmin told the Rev. W. Bampton, in 1823, that there were eighty priests, including himself, in the city of *Cuttack*, who each received five rupees a month from the Government.

Another instance, but perfectly singular in its character, was furnished at *Hidjeli*, near the mouth of the Ganges, one of the great depôts of the Company's salt manufacture. A missionary travelling through the district, in 1843, came to a market, where there were eight or nine salt golahs or store-houses, with a Hindu temple. The pujári or priest was very civil, and shewed him in one of the golahs an image of Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of fortune, which he was about to worship, in order to secure the Company's trade in salt against loss. He said, that both his orders and his pay came from the Agent, and that the custom of offering worship in the empty store-rooms had existed for years. Enquiry having been made by the authorities, it was found that among the regular payments of the salt agency, were included monthly payments to a number of brahmins, whose names were duly registered; and that among the advances for the manufacture of salt, were advances to those brahmins for Hindu worship. It was found also, that at the opium agency in *Behar*, the same custom had prevailed; that among the advances to the cultivators at the beginning of the opium season, payments to brahmins were regularly included; and that when the first opium boats of each season were despatched to Calcutta, a special donation was made to brahmins to secure their safe arrival. These items had been paid for many years as mere matters of course. It gives us great pleasure to add, that very recently they have been entirely put a stop to.

So far the cases described refer to the support of idolatrous shrines, by regular payments for their current expenditure. A few cases of a different nature have occurred. It has sometimes been a custom for the *Governor-General*, and other high officers of State, when arriving in the neighbourhood of celebrated shrines, to *visit them*, and offer them presents. Thus Lord Auckland, in 1839, visited Brindában, and other places in that sacred neighbourhood, so well known as the scenes where the chief events in the history of the idol Krishna are laid. At Brindában he is said to have given Rs. 200 to one idol, and Rs. 700 to others: at Muttra to have given Rs. 1,500; at Radhakund, Rs. 500; at Govordhon, Rs. 500. Other Governor-Generals, and their highest officers, have followed this example when visiting Amritsir, Jwálamukhi, and other similar places. It has been said in defence of such donations, that they are only a fee to the temple officers, who obligingly conduct the authorities over the shrine: and stand on the same footing as the world-renowned fees at Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. We admit that they may be made

with the best intentions, and in accordance with English custom. But the question to be examined is, what do natives think of them? We must look at the gifts from *their* point of view, and not from our own. In the case of Lord Auckland, this was made very clear. The *Chandrika* newspaper boasted of his visits: described His Lordship as accompanied by a large train of officers, and elephants and troops; as standing at a proper distance to inspect the idol through a telescope, and as having given "thousands of rupees for the service of the idol." The editor also praised His Lordship for his holiness; hinted that he had gone to the temples because of the war in China; and declared that such a ruler must conquer every thing. Surely no Governor-General can wish for such an interpretation of what he considers to be an act of English courtesy.

Another illustration of an indirect maintenance of the Hindu and Mahommedan religions is furnished by the *Oriental Colleges* established by the Government. The Madrisa College in Calcutta was established by Warren Hastings. He had in view the preservation of Mahommedan literature in the Persian and Arabic languages; the instruction of young men who were willing to study that literature; and especially the production of a body of men who should be qualified expounders of the Mahommedan laws. As the administration of justice was, in his time, in the hands almost entirely of Musalman officers; and as the Company's Criminal Regulations had not yet superseded the ancient modes of administering justice and the principles of Mahommedan law, one object of the establishment of the College was truly practical. The Benares Sanskrit College was the first that was established for the promotion of Hindu learning, and was intended to conciliate the Hindus, by providing means for prosecuting the study of their ancient shastras. In 1811, the members of the Supreme Council recorded it as their opinion: "That there ' could be little doubt that the prevalence of the crimes of ' perjury and forgery were in a great measure ascribable, ' both in Hindus and Musalmans, to the want of due instruction in the moral and religious tenets of their respective ' faiths;" they therefore resolved to support two new colleges, at Tirhút and Nuddea. These colleges were confined exclusively to the promotion of Oriental studies for many years: their value in the practical improvement of the minds and language of the natives at large diminishing with their age. English studies were, for a time, introduced into the Calcutta Sanskrit College; but were again expelled, to the great joy of all

the pandits and stipendiary students. The medical classes of that college and the Madrissa gave place to the Medical College. Lord William Bentinck next abolished the stipends of the students: but his successor, fearing the utter destruction of both institutions, partially revived the stipend system by founding numerous scholarships to be held by deserving students. The measures of Lord W. Bentinck produced great excitement among the Calcutta Musalmans, and they presented a petition to Government, signed by 8,312 persons, praying that their college might not be destroyed; but that the Government, to preserve its own fame, and to *ensure its own stability*, would maintain it still. As philological institutions, tending to preserve a knowledge of the ancient languages of India, and the literature existing in these languages, none can object to their preservation. As to their utility in improving the vernaculars, in raising up a better class of teachers for village schools, or books for the use of such schools, many who know their past history will doubt. But as far as they become means of teaching the errors and follies of the Korán, the Vedas and the Puráns; as far as they tend, by the conveyance of their musty learning, to pervert men's reason and moral powers, and to turn them into living mummies, they can only be viewed as positively perpetuating an injury to society. So much for the lower Provinces of the Presidency of Fort William.

In the North Western Province, or Presidency of AGRA, the Government was singularly free from interference with native religious institutions. In a few cases, however, such interference was more or less exercised down to the year 1845.

In the city of Dehli, a few mosques were placed under the collector's charge, and his attention was occupied with much detail in the management of servants and arrangements for lights. He also had to gather the revenue of certain shops, and superintend its expenditure. In Chunar, the Government had a share in appointing the head múllah of a mosque; and at Mirzapore bore the "troublesome responsibility" of guaranteeing the payment of some pensions connected with the Thug temple of Bindáchal. Near Agra, the collector retained, under his charge, the beautiful tomb of Sheikh Suleim Chistí, the friend of the Emperor Akbar. He interfered, however, in no way with the religious ceremonies carried on there; the engineer officers attending solely to the repairs of the shrine, one of the finest specimens of architecture in Upper India. In Kumaon, the rawuls of the temples of Badrináth, Kedarnáth and Gopeswar, received a kind of investment to their office, on political grounds. The temple of Srinágur, with its numerous dancing women,

and that at Badrináth, with its marble idol dressed in gold cloth, received gifts of money: and at a few shrines a small sum of money was collected, which was devoted to a dispensary for the poor. From a letter of H. M. Elliot, Esq., Secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue in 1841, it appears that the sum of money paid by the Government to institutions connected with the Hindu and Mahommedan religions, amounted to £11,047 annually. Of this, £10,321 were given in continuation of grants bestowed by former Governments. The money was thus distributed:—

Payments in the North West Provinces.

DIVISION.	British Grant.	Former Grant.	Total.	Mahomedans.	Hindus.
Delhi.....	5,476 15 0	4,215 1 0	9,692 0 0	8,596 9 0	1,095 7 0
Mirut ...	300 0 0	41,020 2 8	41,320 2 8	30,333 9 4	10,286 9 4
Kumaon ..	... ..	11,816 7 7	11,816 7 7	... ..	11,816 7 7
Rohilkund	994 6 5	11,985 9 5	12,979 15 10	7,702 4 6	5,277 11 4
Agra .....	... ..	17,991 11 7	17,991 11 7	1,747 15 4	16,263 12 3
Allahabad	175 0 0	8,582 0 9	8,757 6 9	1,085 5 1	7,072 1 8
Benares...	249 3 0	3,209 4 0	3,458 7 0	2,008 2 0	530 5 0
Saugor ...	63 0 0	4,396 4 0	4,459 4 0	843 8 0	3,598 12 0
Total, Rs.	7,252 8 5	103,216 15 0	110,475 7 5	53,894 5 3	56,641 2 2

In the Presidency of BOMBAY, the connection was much more complete than in that of Fort William; and was carried much more into details. Various documents, published in Bombay, amply illustrate the degrading part, which the Government of that place had, by degrees, assumed in relation to the Hindu and other religions of their native subjects; and are fully confirmed by the statements made in a "resolution" of the Governor in Council in 1841, which is contained in the "Parliamentary Return" for 1845. The chief points in this connection are thus described in a memorial addressed to the Governor, Sir Robert Grant, by numerous Christian gentlemen of Bombay, at the commencement, we believe, of 1837:—

The countenance and support extended to idolatry, and the violation of the principles of toleration to which we refer, consist principally in the following particulars:—

1.—In the employment of brahmins, and others, for the purpose of making heathen invocations for rain and fair weather.

2.—In the inscription of "Shree" on public documents, and the dedication of the Government records to *Gonesh* and other false gods.

3.—In the entertainment in the courts of justice of questions of a purely idolatrous nature, when no civil right depends on them.

4.—In the degradation of certain castes, by excluding them from particular offices and benefits not connected with religion.

5.—In the servants of Government, civil and military, attending in their official capacity, at Hindu and Mahommedan festivals, with a view to partici-

pate in their rites and ceremonies, or in the joining of troops and the use of regimental bands in the processions of Heathen and Mahomedan festivals, or in their attendance in any other capacity than that of a police, for the preservation of the peace.

6.—In the firing of salutes by the troops, or by the vessels of the Indian Navy, in intimation and honour of Heathen festivals, Mahomedan idols, &c.

We, therefore, most respectfully solicit that inquiry may be made, by your Excellency in Council, into the topics to which we have adverted; and we would further suggest that the following particulars ought also to be included in the inquiry, as it may often be found that, where justice or charity was intended, an unnecessary and criminal support of native superstition has been, or is liable to be, afforded.

1.—The support given to Hindu temples, mosques, and tombs, either by granting endowments, pensions, and immunities, or, by the collection and distribution, by the officers of Government, of the revenues already appropriated to them.

2.—The granting allowances and gifts to brahmins, and other persons, because of their connection with the Heathen and Mahomedan priesthood.

3.—The present mode of administering oaths in the native courts of justice; and whether it be such as is proper for a Christian Government to allow and sanction.

4.—The endowment and support of colleges and schools for inculcating Heathen and Mahomedan ceremonies, and practices.

The following extract from an able paper on the subject, published in 1840, in the *Oriental Christian Spectator* at Bombay, describes the reasons for which sums of money paid by the Government to the support of temples, and other religious establishments, have been given, and the objects on which they have been spent:—

A great part of this sum is composed of *grants*, which our predecessors viewed as *entirely discretionary*, and which varied with their own caprice; of *taxes* for the support of the devasthâns in the *Dekhan*, which are raised under the denomination of *gram kharch*, or village expenses, by our own authority, and *which the natives themselves would thankfully see us remit*; and of *endowments* for obsolete purposes, and for temples which have no proprietors! Our Government, in fact, has sometimes already taken this view of the case, by *curtailing* the amount granted to temples, as to that of Parvati at *Puna* and *Pashan* in its neighbourhood; and by the same argument that as it has done this, it may go farther. In many instances we collect the revenue of temples; while their proprietors should be left to do the needful for themselves. The contributions directly made to the shrines in the collectorates of *Gujarat* are extensive. In the case of *Dakor*, we not only collect the endowed income of the temple of *Ranchod*, but actually employ a native to see to its regular disbursement, in the *feeding, clothing, scrubbing, illuminating, perfuming, and amusing the idol*! The contract of the *Phurza Ghât ferry* over the Nirmada at Baroch, contains the following clause: "Judicial and Revenue Commissioners, and their servants, peons, and articles passing and re-passing under their charge, are exempted [from the usual rates], as are mendicants, fakirs, gosains, brahmins, and bhats." This order conveys the unhappy minister of superstition gratuitously across the river, while it leaves the preacher of the Gospel, bent on an errand

of mercy throughout the country, to pay the established hire. At *Nirmal*, near Bassein, in the Northern Concan, our Government, with a zeal which does not fall short of that of Baji Rao, the Ex-Pashwa, annually expends the sum of Rs. 300 in the very meritorious work of feasting brahmins during the jattrā. The Company pays for the "sounding of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music," at some other festivals celebrated throughout this collectorate.

In the *Southern Concan*, the connection of the Government with idolatry is so intimate and extensive, that we have neither space nor time at present to describe or characterize it. We confine our notices to the Anjanwell and Severndrug Talukas. In the former Taluka there is a temple named Shri Bhagava Rāma, and in the latter, another named Shri Hareshavar, in connection with which several clerks are employed by Government. They collect the revenues derived from the *inams* held by the temples, and from the offerings which are presented. They regulate all disbursements, such as the payment of the servants of the idol, and the expenses incurred on feast-days; and that under the control of the Mamlatdar, or Company's district native collector, and a committee of trustees appointed by the European collector. They make regular periodical returns relative to their proceedings to the collector's office; and their accounts find the same place in the general duffer, or record, as those connected with the regular business of Government. The Mamlatdar, or his substitute, makes a regular visitation of the temples, as the "master of ceremonies." The clerks appointed by Government have charge of the idol's property, and hire dancing-girls, and engage readers of the Purānas, when they are in requisition!! The temples, of which we now write, are, from time to time, repaired by order of the European collector; and there are instances on record of the orders having been issued for the European assistant collector to proceed to the temples to see that the repairs were executed! It is a well-known fact, and one observed both by Natives and Europeans, that the present prosperity of the idols' estates, the neat conservation of the shrines, the regularity of the attendance upon them, and the zealous performance of the heathen rites, are principally to be attributed to the services of the Government!

At *Surat* there is annually celebrated a great festival called the *cocoanut* festival. For many years the Government took a conspicuous part in this festival, while some endeavoured to show that all the ceremonies were harmless, and merely in honour of the season of the year. The Rev. W. Fyvie thus describes the manner in which they were conducted in 1837:—

The festival was introduced in the usual manner by a salute of guns from the castle, which was returned by a salute from the Honorable Company's vessel in the river. The flags were hoisted about the same time, and continued flying till sunset. The ceremonies in the court-house were the same as last year. Some Hindus said the prayers in Sanskrit for the occasion. Then the Nawab threw the cocoanut into the River Tapti. A plentiful supply of cocoanuts, ornamented with yellow and water-coloured leaf, in twelve baskets, had been provided for the occasion, which were now handed round among the company. After the identical cocoanut had been thrown, the castle guns and those on board the Honorable Company's ship in the river began firing. The prayers used in presenting cocoanuts are in substance: "O Tappi Goddess, daughter of the sun, wife of the sea, pardon all our sins. As thy waves follow each other, so let happiness follow us. Send us a flood of money, and preserve us in the

possession of wealth and children." It appears very evident to me, that while the ceremony is performed in a Government office; while cocoanuts are provided and ornamented for the occasion, and guns fired by authority, the natives will justly consider Government as taking part in the Tapi puja.

The city of *Púna* was the capital of the Mahratta empire; it was only natural, therefore, that the Peishwa, who was a Hindu, should patronize old temples, erect new ones, grant endowments of money and land for their support, and in other ways, contribute by his example and influence to the stability of the Hindu religion. It could only be expected that the city and district should be filled with temples, and the brahmins be found in the enjoyment of large incomes. When the British Government conquered the country, this circumstance attracted their attention; and with a view to conciliate the religious classes, they promised not only protection to their rights and property, but a continuance of their endowments and gifts. These donations were made without change till a recent period. The following report will show how numerous they were, and how great was the interference exercised with the temples in this collectorate in former days. The substance of the report is printed in the "Return" for 1845.

I beg leave to state, that Government exercises an entire control in the management of the temple of Parbutti near *Púna*, and other subordinate temples, the allowances for which are included in the sum of Rs. 18,617, annually allowed by Government. The whole management of the concerns of the temple are under a Government Carcoon, acting under the principal collector's orders, who renders to Government monthly accounts of the expenditure. The only village in this Zillah, the revenues of which are collected by Government, and paid from the treasury for the purposes of the temple or "musjid," is Mouza Nowli.

There are several temples and idols, and other religious ceremonies in this Zillah, in which the Government, in some way, interfere as follows. In the Anusthán * of Bihma Sunker Mahadeo, at *Mouza Bowargira*, Purgunna *Khair*, the sum granted as Anusthán is Rs. 865, which is expended under the control of Moro Dixit Munbhor, who held the office of manager during the Peishwa's time, and it was continued to him by the British Government. There is, besides, an allowance of Rs. 101 on account of Pujah Navid, † to the same temple, which is paid monthly by the Mamlutdar of the district to the "Pujaris" or officiating priests, who expend it according to custom. The idol of Shri Wittoba at the Mouza Alundi, Purgunnah *Khair*, was annually covered with clothes of the value of Rs 111 by the Mamlutdar, till prohibited by Government order. The "Chau Gurrah" ‡ at the temple of Kundoba, at *Mouza Jajuree*, Byroba at

* Performance of certain ceremonies in propitiation of a god.

† Offering of something valuable to the idol.

‡ An assemblage of four little kettle-drums beaten by two men, two by each.

Sassur, and *Moreswar* at *Mouza Maregaum*, are paid monthly their salaries by the Government revenue officers.

In the *Bhimturry district* the "Cháu Ghurras" at the temple of *Gumputti* at *Theur*, and at the temple of *Feringhi Devi*, at *Kurkoomb*, are also paid by Government Rs. 1,690. In the *Havailees district*, the temple of *Mahadeo*, in the *Mouza Pashan*, receives an annual allowance of Rs. 4,466-8. The "Anusthan" is under the management of *Vedeshwur Shastri Tokakur*, and has been some time in his family, having been given to *Ball Shastri*, the uncle of the present manager, and continued to *Vedeshwur Shastri* by the British Government. He renders accounts to the Government, and is subject to the control of the Government officers. The sum of Rs. 1,056 is granted on account of *Sivaratri*, and is expended under the management of *Sewram Bhut Chitrow*.

In the same talúka, the Deo of *Chinchor*, *Dhurnidhur Deo*, when he stops at *Púna* on his way to the temple at *Eoregoan*, is presented by the *Dufterdar* in the collector's office, with a pair of shawls, and rupees equivalent to five Gold Mohurs annually, amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 166-8. In the time of the *Peishwa*, his Highness himself presented shawls and mohurs to the Deo, according to his pleasure; but on the accession of the British Government, the amount of donation was fixed at the sum above recorded.

In the *Barsi district*, the temple of *Bugwunt* (*Vishnú*) receives the sum of Rs. 1,304, which is expended under the management of the Government officers.

In the *City of Púna*, the *Cháu Ghurra* of *Shri Ramechundra* in the *Túlai Bhag*, receives monthly Rs. 69-10 annas, and annually Rs. 800 from the Government treasury; and there is an allowance on account of *Ramnowmi* of Rs. 454 per annum, part of which is expended in clothing the idol, and part in putting ready money before the idol, by the Government officers; or if the idol require no clothes, the money is spent in making ornaments, or any thing else which may be necessary!!

In the *Cusba Púna*, the sum allowed for *Ouchas*, at the temple of *Gunputti*, is Rs. 280-8, which is spent under the control of *Sewrambhut Chitrow*, who had the appointment in the *Peishwa's* time, and to whom it was continued by the British Government.

One special endowment, called *dakshina*, was bestowed by the *Peishwa* on learned brahmins. It amounted annually to Rs. 35,000. The British Government, in imitation of his superstitious bounty, continued the donation. In 1836, the plan for distributing it was modified, and a resolution expressed by Government to continue it only to the present incumbents. In relation to this *dakshina*, and another form of Government connection with brahminism, the maintenance of a Sanskrit College, the *Spectator* says:—

In the *Púna* collectorate, our connexion with idolatry is more intimate than in any other district of the country. The *Púna* Sanskrit College, though greatly improved of late, and restricted to the teaching of the ancient literature of the Hindus, is still an organ for upholding the superiority of the Brahmins, as no youths of any other class are permitted to enter within its walls; and to make it extensively the instrument of good, to prevent it from being the means of propagating the errors and absurdities.

ties with which the Hindu literature, in its best estate, abounds, it should be united with the Government English school in that city. In such a connexion, it might contribute to the cultivation and improvement of the Maratha language, which is closely connected with the Sanskrita; and thus enable the students of English effectually to communicate the stores of knowledge which they acquire, to their benighted countrymen. The annual *dakshina*, the distribution of about Rs. 25,000 to brahmins, we believe, is now so regulated as to encourage the study of the branches taught in the Sanskrit College; but as long as it is confined to the priestly class, it must be considered objectionable. The Government share in the Dhabi collections at *Jijuri*, has been properly abandoned; but the *Government gifts to that infamous shrine*, (of which an account is given in another part of this number) *have been in no degree diminished*. The Government connexion with other temples is such as no Christian can contemplate without the deepest sorrow. Under the head of *gram kharch*, or village expenses, it makes *an annual remission from the revenue for the support of some thousands!* Of many others it retains the management.

We might add other items, illustrative of our subject, from the "Parliamentary Returns," but these will suffice to show, with how little scruple the Government of India, at the commencement of the present century, allied itself with idolatry. At two places, *Belgaum* and *Dharwar*, it received a small revenue. That at *Belgaum* was derived from pilgrims visiting the annual fair at the temple of *Yellama*, where some of the most abominable scenes witnessed in the whole of India, were accustomed to take place. That at *Dharwar* was derived, we believe, from a tax on the cocoa-nuts presented to the temple.

We will conclude our notice of the Bombay Presidency with the following table, taken from the "Returns" for 1849. We have omitted one column, specifying the allowances in *grain*, without, however, altering the general total. From this return, it appears, that the sum total alienated in Bombay from the revenue, for the Hindu and Mussalman religions, amounted to near £70,000: that grants were made to them in almost every district of the presidency; and that, in almost all the districts, the sum thus alienated, was equal to the grant to *Púri*, to which so much objection was made; while, in several cases, they exceeded four or five times its amount. *Jagannáth* now receives Rs. 23,000; but the Hindu temples and brahmins of the *Púna* collectorate, received Rs. 1,08,000, or nearly £11,000. It also appears, that of the whole amount, the Hindu institutions received Rs. 2,83,000 in money, and Rs. 3,14,000 as the revenue of land: or nearly Rs. 6,00,000: while the Mahommedans received Rs. 83,000 from both sources; the Parsees, Rs. 1,013, and the Jews *six rupees!*

*Government Allowances to NATIVE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS in
the Presidency of Bombay.*

Collectorates.	MONEY.		LAND.		TOTAL.	
	Recipi- ents.	Amount.	Recipi- ents.	Amount.	Recipi- ents.	Amounts.
Ahmedabad ..	1,735	*Rs. 19,962	452	Rs. 22,625	2,200	Rs. 42,828
Ahmednuggur...	287	35,268	1,480	24,508	1,773	59,899
Belgaum ...	5,935	18,901	4,221	1,34,139	11,641	1,57,890
Broach ...	778	5,991	1,050	27,160	1,828	53,151
Colaba ...	325	3,933	157	9,388	684	14,460
Customs ...	87	300	...	...	87	800
Dharwar ...	2,103	16,933	3,671	72,184	5,774	89,118
Kaira ...	1,184	12,593	579	9,629	1,763	22,223
Khandeish {	3,248	20,573	289	7,274	3,538	27,850
{	328	3,970	32	1,075	360	5,045
Pana ...	2,873	1,11,185	896	9,697	3,769	1,20,883
Rutnagiri ...	1,040	14,938	94	10,443	2,013	33,784
Sholapore ...	5,171	19,682	873	9,257	6,044	28,940
Surat ...	829	9,272	1,072	20,301	1,901	30,073
Tanna ..	716	12,767	1,105	16,257	2,228	32,842
	26,589	3,05,875	15,971	3,74,445	...	...
				Total...	45,508	6,98,593

In the Presidency of MADRAS the Government connection with the native religions was much greater than in the other Presidencies; and the sum of money given by the ruling powers to their support exceeded that of all the others put together. The more general features of the connection at Madras resembled greatly those at Bombay, and are well stated in the following Memorial addressed in 1836 to Sir F. Adam, the Governor in Council, from a large number of the clergy, and of civil and military officers. One of the latest acts of Bishop Corrie was to forward this memorial to the Governor, with a strong expression of his personal approval. The principal "grievances" it enumerated were:—

First.—That it is now required of Christian servants of the Government, both civil and military, to attend Heathen and Mahomedan religious festivals with a view of showing them respect.

Second.—That in some instances they are called upon to present offerings, and to do homage, to idols.

Third.—That the impure and degrading services of the pagoda are now carried on under the supervision and control of the principal Europeans and therefore Christian officers of the Government; and the management and regulation of the revenues and endowments, both at the pagodas and mosques,

* We have omitted the annas and pie in this, and the other money columns, in order to reduce the breadth of the table.—Ed. C. R.

are so vested in them under the provisions of Regulation VII. of 1817, *that no important idolatrous ceremony can be performed, no attendant of the various idols, not even the prostitutes of the temple, be entertained or discharged, nor the least expense incurred, without the official concurrence and orders of the Christian functionary.*

Fourth — That British officers, with troops of the Government, are also employed in firing salutes, and in otherwise rendering honor to Mahommedan and idolatrous ceremonies, *even on the Sabbath day*; and Christians are thus not unfrequently compelled, by the authority of Government, to desecrate their own most sacred institutions, and to take part in degrading superstitions.

Protestant soldiers, members of the Church of England, have also been required, contrary to the principle declared in his Majesty's regulations, that every soldier shall be at "liberty to worship God according to the forms prescribed by his religion," to be present and participate in the worship of the Church of Rome.

By the requisition of the foregoing and similar duties we cannot but sensibly feel, that not only are Christian servants of the State constrained to perform services incompatible with their most sacred obligations, and their just rights and privileges as Christians infringed; but that our holy religion is also dishonoured in the eyes of the people, and public and official sanction and support given to idolatry and superstitions destructive to the soul, and to apostasy from the only living and true God.

Other instances of the evil must be added to these, before the matter will be understood in all its bearings. Thus; as in Bengal and Bombay, oaths were regularly administered in the names of Hindu idols and on the Korán; documents were consecrated by inscribing at their head the names of Ganesh and other deities; idolatrous cases, in which no civil rights were concerned, were continually adjudged by the collectors under a special regulation; and all efforts to disturb the existing evils were frowned upon and discouraged. The spirit, which had dictated Mr. Place's letter, had animated many officers subsequent to his time; and in all possible ways, in trifling as well as in important concerns, the Government prominently showed itself to be the intimate friend of the native religions. A few illustrations of a state of things, which once existed at Madras on a large scale, may be interesting to the reader, although we have said so much in relation to the other Presidencies.

A *Native Almanac* used to be published annually in Madras at the expense of the Government, and was circulated by the chief secretary among the Government establishments. It opened with the following invocation:—

Salutation to Sri GANESHA.

I invoke the aid of this god, who is honoured by Brahmá,
Krishna and Maha-eswaram and all other gods, in the hope that
I shall succeed in my present task.

Those who, in the beginning of the year, accompanied by their relatives and friends, offer sacrifices to the nine planets, and make such offerings to astrologers as they possibly can, and pay a strict observance to what is laid down in this Almanac, the said planets will contribute to afford them every good throughout the year, &c.

Again; it is well known that the Hindus, throughout the

country, worship the implements of their trade, and that on the Saraswati Puja writers especially worship their pens and ink. Will it be believed, that at Madras the Government *permitted this worship* to be offered in their own public courts and offices, *to their own account-books, stationery, records and furniture?* The following is a programme of the ceremony:—

“All the dufftars (bundles) containing accounts and the like to be placed in the cutcherry or office in a row; and in the evening, about four o'clock, the religious brahmins of the town, together with the cutcherry servants, will assemble to worship them in honour of the goddess Minerva; in the interim music will be sounded, and the dance of the church (pagoda) will then be commenced. After this is done, cocoa-nuts, plantains and betel will be distributed among the religious brahmins and cutcherry people, and a few gifts in specie [provided of course by the Government] will also be given to the former people.

The following letter exhibits one of the numerous applications from the Court-servants for the *customary allowances* out of the public treasury for *Hindu worship*. It presents the Government both in a ridiculous and humiliating position; their money paid for idolatry, and the idol honoured in their own offices of business!

HONOURED SIR,—I humbly and submissively beg leave to acquaint your honour, that on the 29th of this month, Wednesday, being Venanygawk Chouty or *Belly-God feast*, it is custom to allow us rupees ten every year from Circar [the Government], in order to perform certain pujah; after keeping one idol in the court-house on the same day, and granting leave to all the court servants for the said pujah; the said sum is to be carried into contingent charges. I saw the civil diary and other accounts too and find the same in them; therefore I highly request your honour will be pleased to spare ten rupees and perform the said pujah on the very day. I must purchase various things for the same.—*See Friend of India, 1839.*

The *firing of salutes*, on occasion of Hindu and Mahomedan festivals, was an every-day occurrence: while troops, both European and native, were marched out to join processions in honour of idols and their festivities. Not unfrequently these processions and salutes occurred on the Sabbath-day! The following are illustrations:—

MADRAS GARRISON ORDERS.

G. O. 26th May, 1839.—(Sunday.)

A Royal Salute to be held in readiness to be fired from the Saluting Battery at sun-rise, to-morrow, in answer to one which will be fired from the Chepauk Gardens on the occasion of the anniversary of the *Rubtil-Uwawal Festival*.

G. O. 15th October.—(Tuesday.)

A Royal Salute to be fired from the Saluting Battery to-morrow, on occasion of the *Dussera Festival*.

G. O. 7th December, 1839.—(Saturday.)

A Royal Salute to be fired from the Saluting Battery at 1 o'clock P. M. to-morrow, (*Sunday*), on the occasion of the *Ramzan Festival*.

FORT ST. GEORGE, 14th December, 1839.—(*Saturday*.)

A Detail of the R. H., the Governor's Body Guard, consisting of a Na-

tive Officer, 2 Havildars, 2 Naiques, and 30 Troopers, together with the 19th Regiment, to parade under the command of the Officer commanding the 19th Regiment, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday next, on the north side of the Palace Gate, at the Shadi Mahl, for the purpose of accompanying the Procession of the Sundul to the tomb of His late Highness Nabob Azim-ud-Dowlah Bahadúr, in the principal mosque at Triplicane."

Prayers for rain (Varúna-pújam) were ordered by the collector to be presented at the various temples in seasons when drought and famine were feared. Many examples of this custom might be adduced. At Cuddapah, in 1811, the Madras Board sanctioned the expenditure of 150 star pagodas for that object: it was a common thing to do so. Mr. Cathcart, soon after being appointed to Salem as Sub-collector, had to issue orders for such a puja. He says:—

1832.—Among the first official letters I received on coming to Salem was one sanctioning fifty rupees to be expended in each of the three Taluks or districts under me, for the invocation of rain. Some brahmins were to engage in prayer to one of their gods for ten or twelve days, standing up to their necks in water; others were to be employed to avert the anger of certain planets; and some to propitiate other gods: the whole to be fed at the expense of Government, to be superintended by Government servants, and to be in every respect on the part of Government, seeking for the attainment of its revenue by these means. I could not order it: it seems to me most gratuitous to engage in such an open violation of the laws of God.

By the same authority *brahmins were fed*; as they are feasted by all wealthy Hindus on certain occasions, and for particular ceremonies. As a specimen we may quote the language of the Rev. C. Rhenius, the well-known Missionary of Tinnevely, written in December, 1831:—

The collector has, by order of Government, given 40,000 rupees to perform a certain ceremony in the idol temple of *Tinnevely*. The pedestal of the idol, for instance, has got some injury, from the oil which continually flows down from the idol at the pujahs; so that insects harbour and perish there, which is a great indignity done to the Swámy, or god. They must therefore mend the pedestal, shut up all the holes that have been made, and make it fine and close again. For this repair, the Swámy must be requested to remove from his place during the operation, and after that to return again: on both occasions, a great many muntrums must be said by the Brahmins; and 1,00,000 must be daily fed for 40 days. *To gratify this folly a Christian Government spends 40,000 rupees!*

Another evil, more serious in its character, that was long in practice, was the *forced attendance of the poorer natives* at the great festivals, for the sake of *drawing the idol cars*. Facts are the best illustration of the injustice to which they were subject. In a pamphlet published at Madras in 1835, the writer says:—

In the district of Tanjore alone, there are no less than 4,00,000 people compelled, year by year, to leave their homes and proceed often ten, twenty or thirty miles, without any provision or remuneration, for the purpose of dragging the obscene and disgusting idol cars of the province. Unless Government were to enforce their attendance, not a man of them would come,

nor would they, when arrived, pull the cars, were it not for dread of Government. At the car festival a respectable landholder came to complain that he had just been beaten in the street by the curnum of his village. The Tassildar pleaded for the curnum : he represented the impossibility of getting the car drawn unless flogging were allowed : and stated, with much respect, that he himself had beaten not less than five hundred on the occasion.

The largest item, however, in the Government connection with idolatry in Madras, was the *direct and official management of temples*. From the time of Mr. Place such management had increased every year. Having once established the fact, that an English officer might conduct the affairs of a pagoda, might interest himself thoroughly in its prosperity, and make offerings at its altar, it was easy, whenever a native official was found to misappropriate pagoda funds, to put him out and place the institution under Government charge : or if temple-lands failed to pay the land-tax, or their managers died without issue, or mismanaged their trust, the appeal was again made to the Collector, and the lands entrusted to him. Numerous causes of this kind were at work ; the natives were pleased, the Company's officers were willing ; and thus, during a long series of years, the native dharmakartas or managers were displaced, and an immense number of temples, and large tracts of pagoda-land, were handed directly over to Government. The causes of such an anomalous and injurious proceeding are well stated in the following paragraph of the "Return" for 1849, page 438 :—

When we first assumed possession of the various districts of the Madras Presidency, we did not find the religious institutions of the Natives enjoying that degree of support from the Government, which we have since extended to them. Our connexion with the Hindu idolatry has grown with our growth ; we found that in many districts pagodas were enriched by large landed endowments ; that the lands attached to them were cultivated by ryots, under engagements with the dharmakartas or the priests of the temples ; in course of time we observed, that in many instances these lands were mismanaged, the ryots brought complaints of oppression, and the people pointed to the decay of their temples as the consequence of the mismanagement and neglect of the lands. The result was, that in numerous instances, we displaced the dharmakarta, and ourselves took charge of his duties of the management of the temple and the cultivation of the lands. Wherever we adopted this course, it is evident, that to restore the dharmakarta would be to revert to the original usage, and therefore a much easier business than to find dharmakartas for temples of which the management had been in our hands from the first ; not that it is by any means certain, that these temples also were not originally under the management of their own dharmakartas ; for it seems very probable that the Governments, which preceded our own, adopted, under the same circumstances, the same course of proceeding, displacing the dharmakartas, and assuming the management of the lands and of the temples. Thus, the Collector of Tanjore, a district in which no less than 2,874 pagodas have hitherto been under the superintendence of the Government officers, alludes to the origin of this state of things in the following terms : "It has been usual for Native Governments to alienate the whole or a part of the land-tax on por-

tions of land, and sometimes on whole villages, and to vest the collection of it in the grantee; the tendency of such irresponsible management has been, to engender abuse and to call for interference; and the mode of its exercise has been to resume the privilege of control, without infringing on the proceeds of the grant. Thus, the greater part of all the landed endowments in Tanjore have for a series of years been under the management of the officers of Government on this account.

At first the lands were placed under the stewardship of the Collectors, who paid into the pagoda-funds the nett proceeds of the estates. It was soon found, however, that in many cases it was more convenient for the Government to *resume* the estates altogether, and pay annually to the pagodas a sum of ready money equal to their yearly value. Direct payments of money, therefore, became substituted for the revenue of estates. In some cases sums of money were paid by Government, as at Púna and in Kumaon, in continuation of grants and voluntary donations bestowed by former rulers of the country. In others again the estates were preserved to the temples under the Collector's management, and the clear income paid for their use. In each instance, however, the closest tie was formed between the Government and the native institutions. They who, with diligence and honesty, had paid over the income to the temple, had also to superintend its expenditure; and thus every item in the cost of idolatry had to be sanctioned and supervised by the English officer. Orders for the repairs of buildings; the purchase or construction of idol-cars; the making of new idols, had all to receive his signature. Every officer of the temple, the worshipping brahmin, the musician, the painter, the rice-boiler, the watchman, had to be appointed under his official *seal*. The poor dancing women even received their salaries, the pay of vice, through his hands. All this is fully acknowledged by these officers themselves:—

The reports received from the collectors of the different zillahs of the Madras Presidency, show that the superintendence of no less than 7,600* Hindu establishments, from the famous pagoda of Seringham to the common village temples, has hitherto been vested in the officers of Government. And this was something more than a nominal superintendence; the people did not merely regard the Collector as the friendly guardian of their religion, but they looked up to him as the regulator of its ceremonies and festivals—as the supervisor of the priests and servants of the pagodas—as the faithful treasurer of the pagoda-funds—and the comptroller of the daily expenses of idolatry. "We have hitherto," says the Collector of North Arcot, "stood to these pagodas in the obligation of sovereigns, and our interference has extended over every detail of management; we regulate their funds, superintend the repairs of the temples, keep in order their cars and images, appoint the servants of the pagodas, purchase and keep

* The exact number is more than 8,000. See the Table following.

in store the various commodities required for their use, investigate and adjust all disputes, and at times even those of a religious nature. There is nothing appertaining to or connected with the temples that is not made a subject of report, except the religious worship carried out daily in them." The Collector of Tinnevely, a district never visited by the violence of Mahomedan zeal, where Hindu idolatry has always flourished undisturbed, writes in terms very similar: "The present control and interference of the district Government authorities extends over almost every thing connected with the pagoda; from the collection of its revenues (from whatever source derived,) and the management of its lands, to the regulating of its daily usual expenses, its periodical festivals, and its repairs. Accounts in detail, including every item of receipt and expenditure, are kept and controlled, and the appointment and dismissal of its servants made by the officers of Government."—*P.* 437.

It would be interesting to examine some illustrations of these practical services for idolatry: but we shall mention only one or two. Perhaps one of the most scandalous instances of Government patronage of Hindu gods was seen in the festival of the idol Yeggata in the town of Madras itself. At one time this festival had been suspended for more than thirty years. It was revived, however, by the influence and exertions of an *European Collector*. On that occasion the idol was found to be too large to pass through one of the town gates: but the Government was persuaded by their officer to *have the gate taken down and the arch enlarged*, "in order to convey to the natives a full proof of the disposition of Government to facilitate the due observance of their religious ceremonies." Our rulers agreed also to *defray all the expenses*. The following is a description of the Company's share in the celebration of the festival by an eye-witness:—

MADRAS, December, 1839.—The idol Yeggata, tutelar deity of *Madras*, is to be brought out to-night; the compound of her temple presented a most extraordinary appearance when I passed through it about 5 P. M.

I passed through the crowd of natives, and had a full view of the process. The *Honourable Company's presents*, consisting of a scarf of crimson silk, a thali or ornament for the neck, apparently of gold, and attached to a yellow string, and another scarf of scarlet woollen cloth, exactly resembling that of which soldiers' jackets are made, were borne several times round the idol stage, with wreaths of flowers, broken cocoa-nuts, &c. A peon, the white metal plate of whose belt bore the inscription "COLLECTOR OF MADRAS," led on this procession, clearing the way with his cane, and a number of men followed with long trumpets, which they pointed towards the idol and sounded. There were several of these peons on the spot, each having "COLLECTOR OF MADRAS" inscribed on the plate of his belt; and when the presents were brought on a brass dish, I observed one of them hold it at arm's length over his head, as if to display them to the idol, and to the spectators—another of these peons held up, in the same way, a dish of cocoanuts, broken, as is usual in offerings.

We mentioned above, when speaking of Bengal, that there was only one temple in the *Madras Presidency*, at which the

Government received a money profit, viz., the temple of *Tripetty*. This temple has been greatly honoured in Southern India, especially by traders: hence it became the resort of crowds of pilgrims from all parts of India: and offerings of goods, grain, gold, silver, jewels, cloths, horses, and other articles were dedicated on its altars. The expenses of the temple were comparatively small, being about Rs. 32,500 annually; while the income, from offerings alone, amounted to about Rs. 1,10,000. The surplus, therefore, was paid into the Government treasury; and a long line of carts, preceded by a band of music, and guarded by sepoy, was employed to convey it into safe hands.

In all other cases the Government had to *give* money, either as a donation, or in commutation of resumed lands; or as the revenue of temple estates, of which its officers were stewards. After a careful perusal of all the information contained in the "Parliamentary Return" for 1849, and a comparison of one part of the Returns with another, we find that the number of temples under the charge of the Government, and the payments made to them, stand as follows:—

*Government payments for Idolatry in the
PRESIDENCY of MADRAS.*

District.	No. of Pagodas under Govern- ment.	Money paid.	Income of lands managed by Gov- ernment.
		Rs.	
Vizagapatam	50	2,154	None.
Nellore	12	30,537	1,698
Malabar	29	3,571	3,530
Madura	34	49,155	59,197
Rajamundry	18	3,695	780
Masulipatam	2	280	1,148
Trichinopoly	116	56,298	76,541
Tanjore	2,874	1,26,806	1,91,047
Chingleput	24	38,143	5,313
Canara	3,668	1,33,152	None.
South Arcot ..	107	67,121	2,748
North Arcot	75	26,941	None.
Salem	193	55,237	562
Bellary	26	2,665	3,356
Coimbatūr	132	60,000	49,407
Cuddapah	284	32,067	7,447
Tinnevely	350	1,81,369	26,059
Guntūr	2	.....	2,374
Ganjam	176	3,809	None.
Madras	16	.....	.....
Kurnúl	104	3,780	.....
	8,292	8,76,780	4,31,107

From this table it appears that the actual money paid by the Government was nearly nine lakhs of rupees, or exactly £87,678: and that the number of temples, mosques and shrines receiving this sum was 8,292. We doubt not that the members of Government were themselves astonished when these expressive facts first came to light. Even their best friends, even the defenders of the system, could scarcely explain, on sound reasons of moral or political obligation, why a Christian Government, whose members profess to follow the law of the Bible, should have, in two presidencies of their Indian Empire, NINE THOUSAND temples and pagodas under their management, and should endeavour, by the exercise of Christian virtues, to make their idolatrous service *efficient*. A few comments on this table may make its statements more clearly understood. By far the greater number of institutions receiving the Government support were Hindu: there were a few Mahomedan mosques among them, especially in particular districts, as Kurnúl, but there were none of much name. At Seringapatam, we believe, the tomb of Hyder Ali, and the establishment of mullahs, both there and at Tippú's mosque at Colar, were supported by these funds. The Tanjore and Canara provinces contained the largest number of temples under the Government officers. The former district, having never been occupied by the Mahomedans, has preserved the Hindu religion in the greatest strength and splendour. The pagoda of Tanjore is perhaps the most beautiful Hindu structure in all India. That at Seringham, in the neighbourhood, is without doubt the largest, most extensive, and most wealthy. Its idol of solid gold, fifteen feet in height, alone proves the power and resources of Brahminism in this ancient territory. As at Jagannáth and Púnah, some of the Government endowments in the Madras presidency were princely. The pagoda of Seringham received Rs. 43,151 annually; that of Tripetty, Rs. 32,500 for its expenses; and that at Trichendúr Rs. 19,000. A larger number received a moderate donation. The great pagoda at Conjeveram received Rs. 12,000: that at Trinomali Rs. 6,000; and the Rock pagoda, at Trichinopoly, Rs. 8,200. But in the greater number of instances, the annual donations were petty in the extreme, making up in number what they wanted in value. They were thus only an injury: they did the institutions little good: and kept up the connection of the Government in the most offensive form. Thus in many of the districts numerous temples received *less than fifty rupees* annually. In Canara, out of 3,668 temples, mosques and maths, only eighty-three were "great pagodas," receiving more than fifty rupees

each. Of these again only *seventeen* received more than Rs. 1,000. Of the whole number, 3,043 petty temples received less than Rs. 50. In one talúk, out of 221 temples of this class, *fifty-three* received less than *five* rupees. Of these again, some received Rs. 2; some, Rs. 4; Rs. 2-6-5; Rs. 1-12-10; Rs. 1-3-2; 12 as.; 8 as.; and one received 6 as. 5 pie! In other districts also several temples received only *one* rupee. In Cuddapah, out of 221 temples, only two received more than Rs. 1,000; and the majority less than Rs. 100. The climax of Government connection with Hinduism was reached, a few years back, in the district of Kurnúl. After the Pathan Nawab had been removed from power, in consequence of his conspiracy, the Madras Government, in return for all his guns and ammunition, continued his annual gifts for religious purposes, and accordingly they* presented annually to NINE TEMPLES, THE MUNIFICENT DONATION OF ONE FARTHING EACH.

We said this was the climax: but we find that the real climax in this connection, the lowest point of moral degradation, was reached, not by the East India Company, but by the Colonial Government of Ceylon. As this island does not fall within our province, it is not our purpose to describe the patronage which the native religions once received from its Government: we shall mention only a simple fact. The following is a copy of a bill sent in to the Ceylon Government; the items, according to the superscription, having been provided for HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE:—

	£	s.	d.
For the cost of sundry Articles for the use of the Malagawa and 4 Dewalas since the procession,	3	10	6
For Devil-Dancing, called <i>Waliyukún</i>	3	13	2½
For 13 Out-station Dewalas.....	4	5	1
For carrying the Canopy over the Karanduwa,...	0	16	0
For oil and rags,.....	3	15	0
	£15	19	9½

Let those who have seen the devil-dancer of South India and Ceylon, after his draught of blood, with his long hair streaming in the wind, whirl round and round with mad excitement, consider, whether, when such a dance, a dance which a heathen king forbade in his palace, is ordered for "Her Majesty's service" for a period of *seven days*, the patronage of abominable idolatry can possibly descend lower.

From these details, it appears that down to a late period, the Government of India placed itself in intimate connection with

* "NUNDIAL: Nine temples (small).....Rs. 0 1 7"—1849, p. 295.

the temples, mosques and tombs of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions; that it looked upon them as friends whose interests were to be promoted, whose prosperity was to be an object of its care; that thus it afforded them not merely protection but patronage; and that this patronage increased in extent with the increase of their Eastern empire. It appears that it was exhibited in a variety of instances, both of greater and less importance; that in accordance with native custom, the names of idols were inscribed with honor at the head of public documents; that oaths in the names of idols and upon the Korán were administered in the courts of justice; that their officers decided cases where purely idolatrous questions were concerned; that in Government colleges the authoritative standards of the native religions were taught at the public expense; and that native scholars, brahmins and moulvies, because of their position in native society, and their acquaintance with those books of error, received from their rulers special gifts. It appears that the Government by degrees began to take a conspicuous part in the actual ceremonies of idolatrous temples and the maintenance of Mahomedan worship; that the British flag was hoisted and salutes were fired in honor of their festivals; and that troops were marched out, under the authority of English officers, to join in processions and tokens of respect to them that were no gods. In the Madras and Bombay presidencies the revenue officers gradually brought under their official management about NINE THOUSAND shrines, belonging to false religions; they supplied the funds for their expenses, superintended their internal arrangements, appointed all their servants, and were responsible for the proper performance of all their usual ceremonies; they were expected in seasons of drought to order invocations for rain; on the removal of idols, to feed large numbers of brahmins; in some places to use their influence in inducing the poorer natives to draw idol-cars; and on the great festivals to present gifts in the name of the Government. These officers held charge of large tracts of pagoda-land, made terms with the peasantry for their rents, and thus secured the largest revenue they could for the shrines to which the land belonged: they could grant donations for the feast of the "Belly-God" to be paid for out of "contingent charges;" and even permitted their account-books to be worshipped in the public offices. It appears also, that the highest officers of State have, on occasions, presented gifts to celebrated shrines when travelling in their neighbourhood; that by legislative enactments, the Boards of Revenue are directed to see that Hindu and Mahomedan endowments are really applied to the

superstitious uses for which they were intended; and that in these and a variety of other ways the Government has given a public sanction to the doctrines, ceremonies and practices of the false religions of their empire. Especially has it been notorious, that they established taxes on pilgrims at Jagannáth and other places of Hindu resort; and that from these taxes they reaped, in the course of several years, the immense sum of TWO MILLIONS sterling.

The EVILS, which naturally sprang from these lamentable proceedings of the Government, were of no common magnitude. Not that the Government is responsible for all the injury that arises from false religion *as such*, but they maintained evils already existing; they increased, they perpetuated them. Idolatry *received new strength*, and its services were rendered efficient and attractive. The income of temples and pagodas was carefully spent; the buildings were kept in good repair; the tanks were cleaned and rendered serviceable; vacancies were filled amongst the officers; the festivals were celebrated with zeal; the daily ceremonies were duly performed. Formerly, the whole system was in a state of decay, but, under English superintendence, it every where revived. Formerly, the endowment-lands were ill-managed and proved unprofitable: on this account, such large estates were brought under the Collectors' charge; but, under Government, private speculation was prevented, the cultivators were well treated, the income was improved and rendered sure. So convinced were the natives themselves of this fruit of the Government supervision, that in many cases fear was expressed, lest for the want of it, idolatry would speedily fall to utter ruin; and when orders were received to give the temples back to native managers, in numerous instances they were received with great reluctance. What clearer confession could they have made that the Government was the bulwark of their system? What could have more fully proved the erroneous position which the Government was occupying? Is it their duty to sustain idolatry? If false religions cannot sustain themselves, the sooner they die away, the better. Again; the *priests* in the temples, under care of the authorities, appeared with the character of Government agents, and wielded the influence which such agents alone possess. The pandas of Puri and the *gayâ-wals* of Behar pleaded the virtues of their respective shrines with new power. The whole system of Hinduism, in short, was invested with a dignity and rank, which its internal meanness, folly and immorality could never have secured for it. The *number of pilgrims* to the three most renowned shrines steadily increased, and at length became very

large in every case. The pilgrim-hunters multiplied likewise ; those at Puri having been recompensed in proportion to the number of votaries they could bring. Even without Government support, they seek for pilgrims ; much more would they do so, when that Government *guaranteed* their fees. As a consequence, all the evils attendant on these pilgrimages, especially that to the car festival at Puri, were rendered more intense, whether connected with the moral conduct of the pilgrims, their physical privations, or their numerous and painful deaths. The *fame of our country* and the *name of Christianity* were greatly dishonoured among the heathen. The public salutes, the presents to idols, the subsidizing of priests, the attendance of English officers in their official capacity at the festivals, all tended to give the natives a low estimate of our religion, and even led them to say that English people had no religion at all. *Many an argument* was furnished by their proceedings to the opponents of the Gospel, when the Missionary sought to preach its truths. Hundreds of times have the Orissa Missionaries been asked, "If Jagannáth is not god, then why does the Company give him money?" The same kind of enquiry has been made in other parts of India, and upon a similar ground.

The greatest evil, which resulted from this attitude of the Government, was the public insult, which they thereby offered to the living and true God. All other reasons against their conduct are absorbed in this : without this other reasons might possibly have been invalid, and the support of the native systems have been proved advantageous. Political expediency changes with political circumstances. The tax, which produces harm in one place, may be beneficial in another : while it increases a pilgrimage in one district, in another it may prevent it. Even the dictates of conscience may vary with the degree of enlightenment which it receives, and the cases in which it is called to act. But as to a Government support of idolatry, there is no room for doubt. The root of all religion and morality is without change. The dictates of the revealed law of God leave no room for question. Idolatry is a crime against God. It cannot be spoken of in soft terms. We cannot call it an unfortunate error, nor style it a lamentable weakness, nor look on it as an excusable fault. The Bible styles it a crime, an "abominable thing," which God hates. On this account, therefore, we object to the position, which the Government of India held, and still partially holds, in relation to Hinduism. We plead this ground, alone, of opposition, to their patronage of its idols and its ceremonies. The Bible lays it down as a law : "*Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.*" "The

‘things, which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils and not to God. I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils. What communion hath light with darkness : what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?’” The Government of India have sought to unite both, and have therefore fallen into the guilt of him who openly disobeys the word of God. To set aside the Governor of a country, and obey another in his place, is in an individual reckoned treason. He who worships idols, “other Gods,” whatever be their names, refuses to acknowledge the authority of God, ignores His existence, and sets up others in His room. He is guilty of treason against God. Cannot this charge of spiritual treason be made with justice against the Government of India? Have they not given divine honours to them that are no Gods: have they not patronized and endowed that religion, which sets up Mahomet in the place of the One mediator between God and man?

Even the heathen are declared by the Bible to be “without excuse” for their superstitious follies, because the works of God before their eyes teach them of better things. Still more are they without excuse who have been taught from higher sources than the works of nature, even by the instructions of Revelation: “To whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required.” Whatever may be the degree of guilt in the Hindu or Musalman, rude and untaught, man cannot determine; we know that the judgment of God is according to truth. But why should an enlightened Government be a partaker of their sins? The abettors of treason suffer the penalty of treason: the abettors of false religion must bide the consequences of their folly. He who has said, “I will not give My glory to another, nor My praise to graven images,” cannot but look with indignation on His professed followers when they join with others in deifying the licentious Krishna, Jagannáth, and Mahadev, feasting the Belly-God, and bowing the head in adoration to account-books and official records. May the sure end of such a guilty course be averted: may the improvement in their views and practice, which has been adopted by the Government, prove a lasting one; and may every single link, which binds them to these false religions, makes them abettors of their fault, and sharers in their sins, be broken decidedly and for ever!

It was natural and right that a patronage of idolatry so wrong in itself, and productive of such grave consequences, should, as soon as it was known, attract the attention and arouse the indignation of religious men. From time to time,

therefore, objections to it were offered, and the evils of the Government system were discussed and exposed. The pilgrim-tax at Puri was regarded as specially obnoxious: and more than once servants of Government, in their official minutes, and editors of newspapers or Missionaries in the periodical press, wrote against it on the spot. The result of the agitation, both in India and in England, was the transmission of the memorable despatch of 1833, which is generally attributed to Lord Glenelg. In this despatch, his Lordship discussed the question of the pilgrim-tax in all its bearings; and referred briefly to other details of the connection of Government with idolatry. He stated, however, in emphatic terms, that that connection must be wholly dissolved. On the general principles involved in the subject, he wrote thus:—

“ All religious rites and offices, which are in this sense harmless, that they are not flagrantly opposed to the rules of common humanity or decency, ought to be tolerated, however false the creed by which they are sanctioned. . . . Beyond this civil protection, however, we do not see that the maxims of toleration enjoin us to proceed. It is not necessary that we shall take part in the celebration of an idolatrous ceremony, or that we should assist in the preparation for it, or that we should afford to it such systematic support as shall accredit it in the eyes of the people, and prevent it from expiring through the effect of neglect or accident. . . . Arrangements, which implicate the Government, be it in a greater or less degree, in the immediate ministrations of the local superstitions of the natives, might well be objected to in point of principle, even without any reference to their actual or probable consequences. But that they also tend to consequences of an injurious kind is evident; inasmuch as they exhibit the British power in such intimate connection with the unhappy and debasing superstitions in question, as almost necessarily to inspire the people with a belief either that we admit the divine origin of those superstitions, or at least that we ascribe to them some peculiar and venerable authority.

The ground which the Government was to take in future, and the particular points which all its officers were to observe, his Lordship detailed in the following paragraph:—

62. Finally it may be convenient to recapitulate, in a brief series, the principal conclusions resulting from the preceding discussion. These are the following:—1. That the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants; in the management of their ceremonies, rites and festivals; and generally, in the conduct of their interior economy, shall cease. 2. That the pilgrim-tax shall be every where abolished. 3. That fines and offerings shall no longer be considered as sources of revenue by the British Government; and they shall, consequently, no longer be collected or received by the servants of the East India Company. 4. That no servant of the East India Company shall hereafter be engaged in the collection or custody, or management of monies, in the nature of fines or offerings, under whatsoever name they may be known, or in whatever manner obtained, or whether furnished in cash or in kind. 5. That no servant of the East India Company shall hereafter

derive any emolument resulting from the above-mentioned or any similar sources. 6. That in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances, our native Subjects BE LEFT ENTIRELY TO THEMSELVES."

In spite of these express orders, for five years the Government of India did nothing. They made no enquiry; they made no change in the ancient system. The unwillingness of the Court at home was seconded by their older officers abroad: and the passes were issued to pilgrims, their fees were received into the treasury, the civilians superintended the temples, the salutes were fired, and flags continued to be hoisted, as if nothing whatever had been said concerning them. But the press was free: pamphlets began to be published, and information to be collected in India, upon which the public papers fearlessly commented. The two memorials we mentioned above, were presented at Bombay and Madras, each signed by a large number of the most respectable inhabitants, including Government servants. In England also a Resolution was passed in the Court of Proprietors, that the despatch of 1833 should be carried into effect. But the Directors were unwilling; the Governor-General was unwilling; and the revenue officers, especially those in the Madras Presidency, who *reaped large profits* from their temple management, were glad to see the question shelved. At length, in October 1837, the Court of Directors, in one of their despatches, had the temerity to speak out their real mind. Alluding to a minute of Lord Auckland's, written on the 1st of April previous, in which he had compared the ceremonies of the cocoa-nut festival at Surat to the English feasts of May-day and Harvest-home, of Halloween and Christmas, they expressed their entire concurrence in his views, deprecated the disposition evinced at Bombay and Madras "to force extreme measures" on the Government, and declared it to be their opinion that the time had not arrived for any "ostensible change" in the old system. At the same time, knowing that Lord Auckland's views coincided with their own, they endeavoured to stifle the whole question by directing, that "*no customary salutes, or marks of respect to native festivals, should be discontinued at any of the Presidencies, and that no change whatever should be made in any matters relating to the native religions, except under the authority of the Supreme Government.*" On the arrival of these despatches at Madras, Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Commander-in-Chief at that Presidency, sent in his resignation, assigning as his reason for so doing, that as the Court had drawn back from their own orders of 1833, and wished to continue the system which they

had then condemned, he could not be a party to the oppression of conscientious men, by commanding them to join in idolatrous ceremonies. About the same time Mr. Robert Nelson, a Madras civilian, then in England, openly resigned the service for a similar reason. These facts produced a profound sensation in England in religious circles. The Court felt they had gone too far, and endeavoured to shew that Sir P. Maitland had wholly misunderstood them. But it was too late. The religious public, disgusted with the Directors' hypocrisy, and convinced that they had for five years been systematically cheated in a matter where Christianity and conscience were concerned, poured their petitions into Parliament; and the system was doomed. On the 26th of July, 1838, Sir John C. Hobhouse, in reply to questions on the subject in the Lower House, declared that "he should make a point of using that discretion, which, 'by the act of Parliament, belonged to him in his position as 'President of the Board of Controul, to direct such a despatch 'to be sent to India, as would render it impossible for any functionary there to make a mistake. He would take care, and he 'trusted the Court of Directors would agree with him, to have 'such a despatch sent out to India as would perfectly satisfy the 'most tender conscience." A fortnight afterwards the despatch was sent. By November 17th, Lord Auckland had written his minute at Lúdia, on the mode in which it was to be carried out. On that day the tax at Allahabad was abolished by an order in Council: and the other pilgrim-taxes soon met with the same fate. Such is the power of the House of Commons.

The Directors' despatch, after the indulgence of a little spleen at the decided conduct of Sir Peregrine Maitland, directs the Governor-General as follows:—

We have to express our anxious desire, that you should accomplish, with as little delay as may be practicable, the arrangements which we believe to be already in progress for abolishing the pilgrim-tax, and for discontinuing the connection of the Government with the management of all funds, which may be assigned for the support of religious institutions in India. We more particularly desire that the management of all temples and other places of religious resort, together with the revenues derived therefrom, be resigned into the hands of the natives; and that the interference of the public authorities in the religious ceremonies of the people be regulated by the instructions conveyed in para. 62 of our despatch of February 20, 1833.

Whether it arose simply from a change of views, or from the introduction of new men into their body, or from any other secret reason, we know not; but from the date of this despatch, an altogether new line of conduct was pursued by the Court of Directors. Not another word of opposition meets the eye in their letters: they issued clear and decided instruc-

tions; criticised the proceedings of the Indian Government; commended them for activity; and severely reprovèd the Madras authorities for their supineness in carrying their plans into effect. Their course has been steady and consistent; they have exhibited an earnestness and perseverance in getting rid of the evil, worthy of all praise. Had they been seconded in India with a zeal and determination equal to their own, their connection with idolatry would long since have been thoroughly dissolved. But local prejudices, fears and indolence have thwarted their intentions. The more prominent evils, it is true, have been laid aside; but the work, as yet, has only been half done.

It is not our intention to describe step by step all that was done in the three Presidencies to fulfil the Court's orders: our space permits us only to indicate the result. The minor features of the connection were soon removed. A few, in fact, had been removed by Sir Robert Grant at Bombay before the decisive despatch arrived. By a legislative act, *oaths* were no longer rendered compulsory upon native witnesses in the courts of justice: they were allowed to fall back upon their ancient custom of making solemn declarations, without reference to the Korán or Hindu Gods. The only defects in the act were, that it did not apply to oaths taken on the enlistment of sepahis, on the appointment of native magistrates, &c., and that Her Majesty's Courts in India were expressly excepted from its influence. In places, where the collector's influence had been used to *compel* the poorer Hindus to *draw the idol cars*, such influence was withdrawn, and the people were left to do as they chose. The order for abolishing the compulsion where it existed was greatly accelerated by the fact, that at Conjeveram, in 1836, fifteen peasants, drawn from home against their will to draw the great car there, had been accidentally killed. The *titles of Hindu Gods* ceased to be written at the head of official documents. By a special order, sanctioned by the Court of Directors, the *salutes* at festivals and the attendance of troops on idolatrous processions, were also discontinued.

Among the important items of this connection, the *pilgrim-taxes* occupied the foremost place. The tax on the Yellama festival at Belgaum was given up in 1836; though the arrangement made did not satisfy the natives concerned. By an Act of Council, in April, 1840, the pilgrim-taxes at Gayá, Allahabad and Jagannáth were also entirely abolished. The Raja of Gayá, Mitrajit Singh, received compensation for his loss of the Gayá profits, by a remission of land-tax on his estates equal

to that loss, viz., Rs. 17,000. The tax-barriers were all thrown down at these great places of native devotion: and at Púri, on the 3rd of May, amid the most tremendous storm which had ever been known at that place, a storm in which the boiling surf was rolled close to the European bungalows, in which hundreds of huts were thrown down, and the sacred wheel on the summit of the pagoda tower was bent, the GATE WAS THROWN OPEN, and the Hindu pilgrims of all ranks, for the first time, in a long series of years, entered the barrier free. In May of the following year, the tax at Dharwar, the offerings at Puna, and those at Surat (amounting to *four rupees* annually!) were given up: and in December, the last item of idolatrous profits was cut out of the revenue accounts, by the relinquishment of the proceeds from certain shrines in Kumaon, amounting annually to Rs. 2,800.

The most difficult step to be taken was to surrender into the hands of natives the nine thousand temples which the revenue officers held under their charge, and to withdraw altogether from that interference with their festivals, ceremonies and customs, which these officers had so long exercised. Some of our readers may not be aware how, among Hindus, temples are maintained, priests appointed, and services performed. There is no public spirit among them; united subscriptions to objects of public utility have not been, till late years, at all common: how is it then that the country has been covered with temples; that many have been erected at immense expense; that they have obtained large landed endowments; and support a considerable establishment of priests? A few facts may put the matter in a clear light: and indicate the course required on the part of the Government in giving up their shrines to native management.

In the province of Bengal, (and the same is doubtless true in the other Presidencies of India), we believe, that all temples, great or small, will be found to owe their origin to an individual or a family. Temples are not built generally with a view to public benefit, but solely from a wish on the part of the founder to perform an act of merit, to honour gods and brahmins, to fulfil a vow, or to win himself a name. Only wealthy individuals can bear the expense of such institutions, which can be made as costly as their means allow. Small temples are found all over the country, especially in villages, near the houses of the great landholders. Just above Calcutta, for instance, on the banks of the Hughly, in several places a row of temples to Siva have been erected by Calcutta families. The larger and finer temples owe their origin of course to the very

richest families, to Rajas, millionaires, or to the ancient rulers of the country in their palmy days. Thus the beautiful temples at Sibnibas, containing the largest Sivas in the country, were erected by Raja Krishna Chandra Ráy.

When a temple is built, whether great or small, the founder looks out for a brahmin or brahmin family, to whom he may commit it, and who will there perform the proper ceremonies. In most cases he will endow the temple with some land, and commit the land also to the brahmin for his support. All the offerings presented in the temple belong to the brahmin, who thus finds it his interest to serve his idol faithfully. In course of time the family of the founder may die out or decay; but the descendants of the brahmin will hold charge of the land and shrine. Both the founder and the worshippers, who visit the shrine, know full well that what they give goes to the brahmin; and in giving to the brahmin, they give to the god in him. Thus he can almost be called the actual proprietor of the shrine. Small temples have generally but a small endowment of land, perhaps none at all; the offerings made there will be of little value; and the whole can support but one brahmin and his family. Larger temples, being built by richer men, have usually more valuable endowments. For instance, the temple of Káli at Panihati, near Calcutta, has a considerable estate connected with it. The land was given to the idol by Ráni Bhabáni, and a family of brahmins was appointed to receive the income, on *condition* of offering to the goddess the usual service. Joygopal Bábu was the first priest, and became very rich. The temple of Modon Mohun in Bágch Bazar, Calcutta, was built under peculiar circumstances, and illustrates another mode of management. The idol named belonged to the Bágdi Raja of Vishnapur, near Bancoorah, and he being in want of money, mortgaged it to Babu Gokul Mittri of Bágch Bazar. When the mortgage was discharged and the idol was to all appearance returned, the Raja found on examination that only a copy had been returned, while the original was retained in Calcutta. He endeavoured in vain to get it back: he was told that the god found himself perfectly comfortable in Calcutta, and declined to go back to the jungles. The people of Vishnapur having thus lost their god, began to worship his wooden shoes (*khorom*), and do so to the present day. The robber of the idol built a temple for the god, whom he had so strangely stolen: on the land with which he endowed it stands the Chandni Bazar, yielding annually a large income. The endowment was not made over to any family of brahmins as their hereditary trust; but brahmins are appointed to the

temple, as occasion requires, by the descendants of Gokul Mittri, who retain their proprietorship in the temple still.

The temple at *Tarokeswar* furnishes an example of a large endowment managed by an individual. This holy shrine of Mahadev, situated in the Hughly zillah, is highly honoured by the Hindus, and immense numbers of pilgrims visit it, especially at the *Charak* and *Sibrátri* pujas. The temple and its valuable endowments are all in the hands of a single proprietor, who is called the Mahant Ráj. He must not marry; and as he has therefore no sons to take his place upon his death, he keeps a number of scholars near him, to whom he teaches all his mantras. He himself chooses a successor from among them, and although so much depends upon the appointment, the Government has never had reason to interfere. The Mahant performs all the duties of the temple; appoints all officers; and receive all the offerings. He is sole master; all the pilgrims must see him before they get admission to the temple; and only by his permission will the barbers cut off the hair which the pilgrims devote to the idol. The great temple at *Kalighát*, illustrates the system of united management. This celebrated temple was erected on the south side of Calcutta, by a wealthy family, the well-known Choudrys of Behala. It was endowed with a large quantity of land, lying all around it; and was committed to the charge of a single priest. The natives say, that this priest died, leaving four sons and a step-son, who took his charge of the temple and divided the land amongst them: from these sons have sprung the five *páras* of Haldars or brahmin proprietors, numbering fifty-two families, to whom the temple now belongs. These Haldars are considered actual owners of the land, and of the offerings presented to Kali; they can sell their share if they like, but always on condition of the purchaser performing their part in the temple worship. Some parts of their service, and some expenses connected with it, are performed by them in common. Thus a bhattacharjya or priest is appointed by the whole body to perform the daily service; to offer the rice and curries which are given to the poor; to present cakes, sweetmeats, and milk to the idol; to wave the lamp and conch, and to ring the sacred bell. The drum-beaters, the chowkedars, the lighting of the temple, are also paid for by the whole body. The receipts of the temple, however, are not placed in a common fund. To prevent differences, in sharing them, the days of the year are divided on a particular system among the proprietors according to hereditary right; all the Haldars thus take "turns" in the temple, whence they are called *pálá-dárs*; and

each proprietor takes for himself all the ordinary offerings presented on the day when it is his "turn" to preside. Be the gifts many or few; be they money, clothes or ornaments; rice, sweetmeats, sugar or plantains; every thing is taken by the *páládár* of the day. If however a rich man, who has his own priest among the *Haldars*, wishes to make an offering to *Kali*, that priest makes an agreement beforehand with the *páládár* of the day, as to the shares which each shall receive. Conflicting as are the interests of the *Haldars*, and liable as they must be to get into frequent quarrels, they settle disputes entirely among themselves, and never trouble the Government with their complaints.

Aware of this native system of temple management, the Government of India, when it issued orders to its numerous officers to withdraw altogether from the internal management of the shrines of the native religions, naturally directed their attention to it, as the only way in which that object could be secured. Thus the Governor-General, writing to the Madras Government on the subject, laid down the general principles to be observed in their withdrawal from interference with those shrines in the following words :—

The administration of the affairs and funds of the native religious institutions should be vested in individuals professing the faith to which the institutions belong, and who may be best qualified to conduct such administration with fidelity and regularity, being responsible, together with their subordinate officers, to the Courts of Justice, for any breach of the duties assumed by them, which can be made the grounds of a civil action.

The proceedings carried out on this principle, for the separation of the Government from idolatry, are described in all their details in the *Parliamentary Returns*, whose titles head this article. Those for 1845 and 1849 are most valuable documents, and furnish an immense mass of information as to the measures adopted for that end in the various districts of our Indian empire. The instructions of the Court of Directors to the Supreme Government in India; the directions of the latter to the Governments of the three Presidencies; the letters of the collectors; the account of their measures, their difficulties, their success; the reference of peculiar questions to the Government of India, or to the Court of Directors; the Court's approval of what had been done; and urgent instructions to complete all that had been required; these and many other things are spread over the *Returns* with a profuseness which is quite confusing. The "Return" for 1845 is shorter but much better arranged than its successor; that for 1849 is very ill put together; the different letters having only a general

arrangement, and the divisions of subjects not being clearly indicated. It contains nearly all the papers on the proceedings of the Madras Government, including a masterly Summary of those proceedings, presented to the Government of India by D. Elliott, Esq. of the India Law Commission, together with valuable minutes by the Secretaries of Government and Members of Council.

But the "Returns" have many omissions. The proceedings in the Bombay Presidency are only briefly described in the letters of the Government to the Government of India, and the original letters from the collectors of different districts are given in only a few instances. Several letters from Madras collectors are also omitted. The letters and observations of the Court of Directors are only partially extracted; and it is self-evident that some of their communications have been left out altogether. The "Return" for 1851 is especially defective. Though professing to be a continuation of the papers for 1849, it contains no information at all on several important matters which had not been decided when those papers were printed. Be that as it may, we think no one can have a perfect idea of the amount of labour required to secure the desired end, and of the questions which had to be met in the process, without reading the whole of these "Returns." We think also that all who do so will be impressed with the conviction that the Court of Directors deserve high praise for the steady perseverance with which they have endeavoured to carry out the avowed wishes of the English Parliament and the English people: for the thorough change which they admitted into their own views; and for the energy with which they urged on their own officers when the latter were inclined to adopt only incomplete measures. We think also, that from those "Returns" it will be acknowledged that in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies, the Government service contains a considerable number of very able men, acquainted with the condition of those over whom they rule, anxious to conciliate them in matters where they feel most deeply, and to carry out the measures of their superiors with prudence, justice and decision.

It is not our intention to enter into all the details of the measures which the Directors ordered, and which the local Governments carried through. We can only enumerate their results. Adopting as their basis of action, the principle which we mentioned above, the officers of various districts sought out the best men they could obtain, to become henceforth the trustees of the temples which the Government had retained under its charge. In Bengal and Bombay these measures were

begun in 1841; the Madras Government occupied in them the year 1842. Though later than the other Presidencies, for which the Court of Directors administered a severe rebuke, the work was done at last. By the conclusion of 1843, there were no longer any shrines left in the hands of Government officers.

In Bengal, the pagoda of Jagannáth at Puri was given over entirely to the charge of the Raja of Khurdah, whose ancestors originally built it; and the Government ceased to take any part in the internal management of the shrine. In the N. W. Provinces, the mosques at Dehli, which had been managed in minute matters by the collector, were transferred to a committee of respectable Mahommedans, chosen from those who were accustomed to frequent them. At Chunar, the Government withdrew from the committee which appointed the manager of the Kasim Sulemani mosque. The pensions at Mirzapore, amounting to Rs. 415, which the pandas of the temple at Bindachol had paid under Government superintendence, were taken out of their hands, and the Government itself agreed to pay them, till the death of the present incumbents. The beautiful Durgah at Futtehpore, Sikri, was also ordered by the local Government to be surrendered to the managers of the endowment; but on the earnest intercession of the collector, who predicted its certain destruction, the Court of Directors, on an appeal to them, consented to keep its buildings in repair. An arrangement was also made concerning the appointment of the rawuls or head priests of the pilgrim temples in Kumaon; but what it was, we are unable to say, as the letter describing the details is omitted from the "Returns." Similar arrangements were completed in the Presidency of Bombay. In most of the districts there seem to have been no difficulties in the way of surrendering the temples to native management, and the officers appear to have been prompt and zealous in fulfilling the orders of the Supreme Government. At Sholapore, where grants of money had been made in three places, and the temples superintended by the collector, the people themselves chose managers, whom Government approved. At Belgaum, the temple of Wanshankari, together with its large store of jewels, many thousands of rupees in value, was made over to the pujaris or temple brahmins. The temples around Nassik, to which the Government appointed pujaris, were given up in like manner to an individual or a native committee. In the Puna collectorate, where the Government of India, following the example of the Peishwa, had allied itself completely with idolatry, the numerous temples were committed to native agents: amongst them the celebrated temple of Parbati was given over to six na-

tive gentlemen well known in the neighbourhood. The Deo of Chinchor was also informed, that on his annual visit to the temple of Murgaon, he would no longer receive in the collector's office at Puna the pair of shawls and small sum in cash which he had been accustomed to receive there. In furtherance of their object, when a vacancy on one occasion occurred among the temple trustees at Puna, and the collector was asked to appoint another, the Supreme Government forbade him to interfere, and directed that in all such cases the vacancy should be filled up by the community of worshippers attending the temple in question, or where no such community existed, the remaining trustees should elect another member. This rule was communicated to all the collectors of the Presidency; it merely continued the Hindus' own system, among whom, village municipal government is a very ancient institution. The Governor-General then expressed his great satisfaction at the complete execution of the orders of the Court of Directors in the Presidency of Bombay.

In the Madras Presidency, while adopting the same principle, in giving up the 8,300 temples which the Government had superintended, some variety naturally sprang up in the details of the surrender. Mr. D. Elliott has well described this variety in the following passage of his report:—

"The Mahomedan institutions had been seldom interfered with. Where a certain degree of controul was (formerly) exercised, it seems that it has been dropped, and the institutions left simply to the charge of those who before managed their internal affairs. In Bellary, in every village a sabha was formed, composed of the leading members of the community, to which was left the election of a single superintendent for the village. In Salem also the principle of election was followed; but the superintendence was committed to panchayats, consisting for the most part of three members.

The arrangements which have been made with respect to Hindu institutions are various. The small village Pagodas had not generally been under the charge of Government officers: but, where such charge had been assumed, it has been resigned to the pujari, who "is looked upon in the light of one of the village functionaries, entitled to meras, with the smith, carpenter, and the like. In the case of larger temples, with more considerable endowments, two or more of the principal inhabitants, including generally the official head of the village or the Carnum, have been conjoined with the pujari in a committee or panchayat. Temples of more importance, with a reputation and interest extending beyond the vicinity, have been placed under the charge of committees, composed of persons of weight and influence, selected from among the residents within a wider range. Endowments belonging to matums or gurus have been left to the care of the parties interested; and institutions of which the managers have been usually appointed by such matums, have been deemed to need no other superintendence."

A short notice of some of these arrangements will help to illustrate the proceedings of the Madras Government. In Canara, out of the 3,668 temples under the collector's charge,

2,871 were made over to their respective pujaris. All the remainder were made over to committees. In Tanjore, 2,247 small temples were also handed over to their respective priests. Wherever a temple of importance could be conveniently entrusted to the hereditary custody of the neighbouring zemindar, or other persons of local weight, that course was invariably adopted; only a few districts however allowed of it. The pagoda of Trinomali, which received a large income from private contributions, and nearly six thousand rupees from the Government, was made over to five native gentlemen of Madras, who were personally interested in its prosperity. The pagoda of Trichendur, in Tinnevely, with an income of twenty thousand rupees from Government, and private donations worth several thousand rupees more, was transferred to three wealthy trustees in the district. The great pagoda of Nelleambalum, also in Tinnevely, with a similar income, was made over to the most extensive landholder of the province. The large pagoda at Conjeveram, with a Government grant of Rs. 12,000, after a great deal of discussion among two rival sects, who worship there, was entrusted to an individual, whose ancestors had managed the pagoda in former years. The temple at Trivalur was surrendered to the jeer or high priest. The great pagoda of Seringham, with the consent of the most respectable persons connected with it, was transferred to two wealthy landholders, in conjunction with the pagoda stalattars. The Rock pagoda at Trichinopoly was at the same time given up to one of those landholders. The greatest difficulty was experienced with the pagoda at Tripetty, for whose superintendence there were numerous claimants, the annual surplus amounting to Rs. 77,000. Eventually, it was surrendered to the mahant of a college of boyragis, and to his successors in office.

Thus was completed the first great series of proceedings, after the abolition of the pilgrim-taxes, for disconnecting the Government from an interference with the native religions. The result was to withdraw the officers of Government from all interference in the internal management of the temples, mosques and tombs of those religions. Henceforth, the revenue officers had nothing more to do with the repairs of the buildings, the preparations for festivals, the enrolment of temple servants, the painting of the cars, and the custody of the offerings. All their duties were given over to the native committees or individuals, and to them was committed the custody of the temple property. They were thus assimilated to thousands of dharmakartas, pujaris and managers, with whose temples the Government had never interfered. To these committees were also paid the sums of money granted to such temples, and

which had been drawn by the collectors from the public revenue. They also received the proceeds of the pagoda lands, which the Government still retained under its management: and from these two sources of income, in addition to the usual offerings, they furnished all the supplies necessary for the temple service.

At the time when the revenue officers thus gave over charge of the money endowments, there existed in almost every collectorate of the Madras Presidency, a surplus balance which had gradually accumulated from these sources: an important question, therefore, arose how these funds, called *Pagoda funds*, were to be disposed of. There were no such funds in Bengal, or the North West Provinces. The "Parliamentary Returns" contain not even a hint of any such existing at Bombay: only in connection with Madras, therefore, was the question started: and the matter was referred by the Government there to the Government of India. The source of these funds is thus stated in Mr. Elliott's report:—

In general the ordinary expenses of the pagodas have been regulated according to fixed tables, in which are put down all constantly recurring charges allowed as necessary for the due maintenance of the establishments, the payment of servants, and the performance of all the customary ceremonies. To meet these fixed charges, periodical payments have been made out of the income arising from money allowances, and the revenue accruing from lands under the management of the officers of Government, and the surplus had been held in deposit. Out of it all extraordinary charges for repairs, &c. have been defrayed, and sometimes disbursements have been made for purposes unconnected with the institutions to which the funds appertained. The amount, which now stands in the public accounts to the credit of these institutions, therefore, has accrued entirely from an excess in the endowments above what is needed for keeping the temples, &c. in repair, and for the due performance of the requisite service and duties.

The amount of the pagoda-funds, remaining in deposit in the provincial treasuries, on March 31, 1846, after the payment of all necessary expenses, was Rs. 11,86,557. By the end of June, 1847, a further surplus had accumulated of Rs. 1,70,873, making a total at the disposal of Government on the latter date of Rs. 13,57,430: or £135,743. The former surplus is detailed in the following table, in the "Return" for 1849:—

Nett Surplus of Madras Pagoda Funds.—March 31, 1846.

Vizagapatam	713	15	4	Tanjore	4,85,656	0	0
Masulipatam	258	8	1	Tinnevely	3,81,306	7	8
Guntur.....	7,000	0	0	Chingleput	68,311	13	5
Nellore	4,310	1	9	Trichinopoly	65,000	0	0
Madras	3,420	8	0	Madura	80,195	6	10
Cuddapah	4,919	3	10	South Arcot	26,687	3	11
Salem	109	3	7	Coimbatore	38,835	6	7
Canara.....	6,961	2	5	Bellary	12,872	7	2
	27,692	11	0		11,58,864	13	7
				Minor sums...	27,692	11	0
				Total, Rs....	11,86,557	8	7

Discussions had often occurred, among the officers of the Madras Government, as to how these and similar sums should be appropriated: and after mature deliberation, it had been distinctly allowed, that for the Government to apply them to purposes of public utility, was not only unobjectionable, but a positive duty. The Court of Directors, when asked for their final opinion, laid down the following rule for the guidance of their officers.

"We are anxious that the principle hitherto observed in Tanjore, of keeping the pagoda-funds entirely separate from the Government revenue, should be rigidly maintained. We are of opinion, that all grants and endowments should be, in the first instance, appropriated, if possible, to their original purposes. When the funds are more than adequate to that end, instead of allowing them to accumulate without limit, they should be applied to purposes of general utility, taking care that the particular district, in which the endowments are situated, should derive full benefit from the new appropriation of the surplus."

This rule was considered by the Supreme Government, as applicable not only to the accumulation above mentioned, but also to the annual surplus from the same source, and to donations or endowments that might be resumed when a pagoda falls into decay. The construction of roads and bridges, the repairs and cleansing of tanks, the construction of ghâts, the support of refuges for the poor, and the establishment of schools, were considered to be objects on which the funds might properly be spent. But the large surplus above detailed, was not to be disposed of without some opposition. There was a class of men, who were watching the proceedings of the Madras Governor in respect to it with eagle eyes. These were the members of the recently appointed committees, some of whom were extremely anxious to receive the money, for the use of their own pagodas. (One of these petitioners is named Parameswar Gurcul of Strisuptaresheswaraswamegar!) These claims were promptly set aside and the money appropriated. All the smaller sums (in the left-hand column) were handed over at once to the collectors of the districts where they had accumulated, to be expended on bridges, choultries, tanks and wells, that might be used by all classes. The Governor also ordered Rs. 20,000 to be spent in Madura, and 80,000 in Tanjore, for similar objects; and directed Rs. 1,00,000 to be disbursed on the construction of a road to connect the cotton districts of Tinnevely with the port of Tuticorin. He asked for reports as to the necessities of the remaining districts; and of the large surplus (derived from the first five districts in the second column) set apart eight lakhs, £80,000, to the general education funds of the presidency. To this last item the Supreme Government demurred as excessive, and an unusually warm dis-

cussion took place on the subject; but both Governments adhered to their original opinion, and the matter was referred to the Court of Directors. What became of the eight lakhs, and what has since been done with the surplus of 1847 and following years, we cannot say; the "Return" for 1851, which ought to have conveyed the information, being silent on the subject.

The next step in the proceedings of the Government was to surrender the *pagoda-lands*. In the early part of this article we shewed that the Madras Government had, during a series of years, and for various reasons, assumed charge of a large portion of the landed estates with which both the great and small temples had been endowed. These lands were managed by the collector of each zillah, who paid the nett proceeds into the funds of the pagoda or institution to which they respectively belonged. We shewed also, that in that Presidency the nett income from the estates under Government management amounted to Rs. 4,31,107. When the order arrived to disconnect the Government from the native religions, an important question arose, as to whether these lands, as well as the temples, were to be committed to native management. The question was not without its difficulties; but the Madras officers, with one single exception, proposed to get rid of the difficulty, by keeping things as they were. They argued, that in all these estates, the Government had made engagements with the cultivators, who held the land directly from them: and that the honour and justice of the former were concerned in securing to the cultivator that treatment which he could not expect at the hands of a native landlord. They suggested also that the Government might take permanent possession of all the estates, and pay to each temple an annual rent for them. Such a plan, which involved an *additional payment of ready money* from the Government treasury, though for an equivalent, was considered by them to further the object which the Government of India had in view, of *disconnecting* itself altogether from the shrines of idolatry! But the Court of Directors had anticipated the difficulty, which was first referred to them in connection with the temple of Jagannáth: they also knew how the ryots were situated, and they wrote thus:—

4. In our despatch of the 2nd of June, 1840, we adverted to your resolution to retain the lands belonging to the temple of Jaggannath under the management of the revenue officers, which you had considered to be expedient, in order that protection and justice might be secured to the ryots.

5. In all cases, however, where the revenue has been, or may be fixed for a term of years, as has been done in Cuttack, we think that the collection of the

revenue so fixed, belonging to temples or other endowed religious institutions, may be safely transferred to agents, to be appointed by the parties in whom the management of the affairs and funds of such institutions may be vested; subject only to such penalties against exactions, and other abuses of their trust, as the native servants similarly employed on the part of the Government would be liable to. The foregoing observations are also applicable to entire villages, which may have been assigned to temples or other religious institutions in all parts of our territories; provided, however, that the revenue demandable from such villages, or portions of villages, has been clearly defined, and a pottah or lease issued to each ryot, specifying the extent of land, the amount of the revenue, and the periods at which it becomes due.

6. It is not our intention that the revenues of mosques and pagoda-lands should be exempted from any charges for irrigation and for the general management of the districts wherein they are situated, to which they may justly be liable; and we desire that provision may be made for defraying such charges before the revenues are applied to other purposes. *You will perceive that in the directions now conveyed to you, it is our object to give complete effect to the principles recognized in the despatches to which we have referred, and we rely on your promoting that object to the utmost extent which may be practicable.*

In consequence of these orders, the Supreme Government determined that, as far as possible, the pagoda-lands should be transferred to the native committees, as well as the money donations. But various measures were adopted at the transfer, such as the grant of special leases, by which the interests of the cultivators were fully secured. In fulfilment of these wishes of the Court of Directors, the Satais Hazári estate, the only land-endowment belonging to the pagoda of Jagannáth, and which had been held under Government management nearly forty years, was given over to the Rajah of Khúrda, the superintendent and manager of the temple. Small estates, belonging to mosques and durgahs at Delhi and Allahabad, were placed by the collectors in the hands of Mussalman committees. There were few cases in Bombay, as compared with the other presidencies, in which the revenue officers had charge of endowment-land; but such as there were, were transferred without difficulty, and without fear of injury to the cultivators, to the hands of the native trustees, or to the pujaris of the temples and institutions to which they belonged. The Governor of Madras first ordered all the smaller lands to be transferred; and as this arrangement occasioned no difficulty, and merely placed them upon the same footing as all the lands under private management, he proceeded to enquire into the "Great devastanam estates," the large endowments belonging to the most celebrated pagodas. Of the result of this enquiry, the "Return" for 1851 makes no mention. We believe, however, that all the estates have been transferred, and that a small fund, called the Tripani fund, constitutes the only sum received by Government for the uses of idolatry. In thus withdrawing from the effective management of pagoda-endowments, the Government officers have met with much opposition from the natives,

who felt that that management had been for many years the firmest support of their system. This opposition has produced delay; but we are thankful to say, that the transfer has been completed at last.

In spite, however, of all the anxiety and labour thrown upon the subordinate Governments in India for the purpose of dissolving their connection with the native religions; in spite of all the agitation in England; in spite of the positive and distinct orders of the Court of Directors, it must be confessed that the **VERY ROOT** of this unhappy connection has been left untouched. While the arrangements were in progress, two questions arose with respect to the trustees: how were vacancies in their number to be filled up, and to whom were they to be held responsible? In the Bombay Presidency, as we have shewn, the Governor-General directed, that where it was possible, vacancies should be filled up by municipal election: if that was inconvenient, by surviving trustees. Both modes of proceeding are common in Europe. In Madras no rule was adopted, and the matter ended in the *collector* appointing to vacancies, and thus keeping up the old system of superintendence. The reason given for this is, that the newly-appointed trustees have no legal existence. Instruments were in some cases executed on their appointments, but they were set aside as invalid; and a general trust-deed, to be adopted in all the collectorates, was promised in their stead. Had the Madras Government fallen back entirely upon the native system, the difficulty would not have occurred. Had they made the trust hereditary (as is the usual rule), or established the principle of municipal election, the village panchayats would have saved them all the trouble and scandal from which they now suffer: and those temples would have been managed like all others. Natives never look after a temple on public grounds; why should the Government do so? Why should they endeavour to secure greater prosperity for the pagoda of Seringham than for that of Chillumbrum? Why should they care for Jagannáth's temple at Púri, and not for that at Mohesh? Why should they watch over the shrine of Parbati at Púnah, and leave the temples of Sibnibas to decay?

The responsibility of the temple trustees in two Presidencies has not yet been settled by Government regulations. For securing the faithful discharge of their duty and the right appropriation of their endowments, it is of course necessary that they be subject to the courts of law: but the following regulation of Bengal (XIX. of 1810), and of Madras (VII. of 1817), stands directly in the way of such an accountability, and di-

rects those *collectors* to examine into the endowments, whom the Court of Directors have *forbidden to interfere* :—

BENGAL REGULATION, (XIX. OF 1810.)

Whereas considerable endowments have been granted in land, by the preceding Governments of this country, and by individuals, for the support of Mosques, HINDU TEMPLES and Colleges, and for other *pious and beneficial* purposes : and whereas there are grounds to suppose that the produce of such lands is in many instances appropriated contrary to the intentions of the donors, &c., and whereas it is an important duty of every Government to provide that *all such endowments be applied according to the real intent and will of the grantor, &c. &c.* : The general superintendence of all lands granted for the support of Mosques, Hindu temples, Colleges and for other pious and beneficial purposes, &c. is hereby vested in the Board of Revenue, and Board of Commissioners, &c. It shall be the *duty of the Board of Revenue and Board of the Commissioners*, to take care that all endowments made for the maintenance of establishments of the above description be *duly* appropriated to the purpose for which they were destined by the Government or individual by whom such endowments were granted.

In Bombay no such regulation existed: and it was easy therefore for aggrieved parties, in case of malversation, to cite the trustees in the ordinary civil courts, since those Courts possess so much latitude as courts of equity and good conscience. We have heard that the Bombay collectors have sometimes listened to complaints against the trustees, but they need not have done so, and such conduct is contrary to Government orders. In Madras, however, the effect of this contradiction has been to leave complainants altogether without redress. The collector is forbidden, under the new system, to entertain complaints: the civil courts refuse to take up cases which the regulation commits to the collector: and thus for NINE YEARS, the interests of those endowments, for which the East India Company cared so long, have been without any legal protection whatsoever! The warmest opponent of the Government connection with idolatry never advocated such injustice. The system established by these regulations has been very fully discussed at Madras in all its bearings; and the officers are unanimous that the old regulation must be repealed. Opinions differ, however, as to the enactment which should take its place: a very excellent Draft of such an Act was carefully prepared by the Madras Government, and sent up to the Government of India many years ago. In Bengal, and the N. W. Provinces also, the question was discussed, and the opinions of the revenue officers upon it were collected. It appeared from almost every report, that the regulation had fallen into disuse; (a clear proof of its unsuitability to the present circumstances of the country;) and that where it was most popular, it was least enforced.

It is impossible, at the close of this long paper, to discuss the

Regulation fully : we refer the reader to the "Parliamentary Return" of 1849, where he will find ample materials for a thorough investigation of it in all its bearings. We shall content ourselves with one or two extracts from the opinions of the Government officers, with respect to its influence upon religious endowments. Mr. Pattle, the senior member of the Revenue Board, wrote concerning it in 1844 :—

I would ask on what ground of reason or justice can the native subjects of this Government expect, for their institutions, a more perfect protection than is granted to the Christian subjects of all classes. In our own country, endowments are in the custody of trustees, amenable by suit in the Courts of Chancery. In like manner all such institutions, within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, have similarly the protection of that Court ; surely a Government fully discharge every obligation of protection to its native subjects, when no distinction is made, and when to their endowments and institutions is granted the same meed of justice and protection accorded to Christians of all classes. Indeed, unless it can be proved that the English Government is bound to extend to the establishments of false religions special protection not granted to the establishment belonging to the true religion of the State, and not considered necessary for the Christian subjects, I conceive, it must be admitted, that every due consideration is paid to the former by both being on an equal footing.

The junior member of the Board of Revenue, in giving his opinion, insisted that it would be a clear dereliction of duty were the Government to refrain from taking direct trust of *all* religious endowments : the Deputy Governor thus replies to the principle he had advocated :—

In the first place, as has been pointed out by the Senior Member, the interference of the Government in these endowments is now partial, and not general, as it ought to be, if Mr. Lewis's argument were sound ; for it is exercised only over Hindu and Mahomedan religious endowments, and is never extended to the pious trusts of the Christian, or any other religion. And, in the second place, it is not, His Honor conceives, true in the sense in which Mr. Lewis quotes the terms, that it is the duty of any Government to see to the right appropriation of religious endowments, except so far as it is the duty of all Governments to provide for the regular and orderly execution of wills and testaments of every description ; viz., by making laws for their due execution by the trustees and executors selected by the testators, and providing courts to prevent those laws being broken.

It is notorious, that the direct interference of Government with Hindu and Mahomedan religious trusts under the regulation in question, is exceedingly distasteful to the professors of those creeds, and that far from being expected by them from the Government as a duty, it is deprecated as a profanation. The practice, therefore, which was introduced by this regulation, was a mistake in two ways ; it was a departure from sound principle, and it was displeasing to those for whose benefit it was erroneously intended. It has now been found to be displeasing also to those who are appointed by the regulations to carry its provisions into effect ; and for all these reasons it never, in his Honor's opinion, ought to have been enacted, and may now most properly be repealed.

Mr. C. W. Smith, in his minute, pointed out that peculiar feature of the regulation, which has led to its introduction into the present discussion. He shows, that so long as it remains in the law of the country, it is impossible for the separation of

Government from the direct patronage of false religions to be rendered complete. He might have added, that the regulation is the very basis of the patronage; as its object is to secure, by force of law, administered by a Christian Government, such an efficient administration for the endowments of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions, as the internal principles and practice of those religions could never have secured :—

I have hitherto reviewed this measure merely as it regards the feelings of our native subjects ; but there is another light in which it is also to be considered ; and that is, its connexion with the principle which has induced the home authorities to urge upon the Government of India its obligation as a Christian Government, to separate itself from all interference with, or management of all funds assigned for the support of religious institutions ; a consideration which originated the measures already completed, or those now in active progress to disconnect the Government from the temple of Jagannáth and the pilgrim-tax at Gayá. To carry out this important principle is alike due to the character of this Government, and to the conscientious scruples of its Christian officers : but the disconnexion cannot be complete so long as the revenue authorities and the Government of India, acting under Regulation XIX. of 1810, may every day be called on to inquire into the appropriation of funds to the worship of mosques and temples, or, as was the case last year, to take into consideration the propriety of repairing, beautifying, or re-constructing such decayed places of idolatrous worship entrusted to their care.

The matter was discussed in the Legislative Council, and as it was deemed right to make the law of the country agree with its practice, the following decision was announced to the Government of Bengal :—

The Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council is of opinion, that Regulation XIX. of 1810 should be repealed, and the Government of Bengal empowered to provide for the appointment of committees to discharge the functions which that Regulation requires the Board of Revenue and the local agents to perform, in respect to endowments for the support of the religious institutions of the natives. The draft of a law on this subject is under consideration.

The Court of Directors fully acknowledge the necessity of repealing or modifying the two regulations named. Indeed, it was they who first pointed out, in their celebrated despatch of 1841, the bearing which they had upon their connection with the native religions : it was also in obedience to the orders of that despatch, that the opinions above expressed, with those of all the revenue officers in the presidency of Bengal, were called for :—

It is by Regulation VII. of 1817, that the Board of Revenue at Fort St. George is vested with "the general superintendence of all endowments in land or money granted for the support of mosques, Hindu temples, or colleges," &c. and as the provisions of that Regulation are the same as those contained in the Bengal Regulation XIX. of 1810, we are of opinion that a similar inquiry ought to be instituted, and reports made by the Boards of Revenue in the presidencies of Bengal and Agra, with the view of relieving the officers of Government from the management of the lands and control of the funds and affairs of all religious endowments whatsoever.

We are also desirous, that the regulations above-mentioned may be modified, and that the rules, which require any of our European officers to interfere in the

management of any mosque, pagoda, or temple, may be rescinded, and we request that you will take into consideration the best means of accomplishing this object."

In spite of the concurring testimony of so many of the officers of Government; in spite of the orders and the consent of the Court of Directors; in spite of the unjust withdrawal of legal protection from the endowments of Madras; in spite of the aid furnished by the Madras Government in sending up the draft of a law, every clause of which, except the last, might instantly have been passed; in spite of the inconsistency of their position; in spite of the oppression of Christian consciences; in spite of the disgrace and guilt of being upheld as the patronizers of the Hindu and Mahommedan religions, the Supreme Government of India have not yet removed the obnoxious regulation, nor prepared another in its place. For this culpable negligence they have offered no explanation, though the matter has now been lying before the Council for more than ten years. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the new law that is required, in one thing all parties are agreed, viz., that the old regulations, the ROOT of the connection with idolatry, must be REPEALED.

We wish it were in our power to think, that this was the only measure required for the separation of the Government from the religions which it has patronized. We have already indicated some items of an inferior kind, that still exhibit their favouritism. But we shall not dwell upon them now. They are not unobserved by Christian men interested in the matter; and we hope that the Government will also observe and remove them. Besides the regulations mentioned, the great link, which still connects Government with native shrines, and which we know most deeply impresses the minds of the natives, is seen in the MONEY-PAYMENT made by collectors in various places to the pujaris of temples, to the managers of pagodas, to the moulvies of mosques; and to individual brahmins. In each of the presidencies, it has been reported to the Supreme Government, that the connection of the Government with native institutions has been dissolved, and all parties have congratulated each other on the result. We scarcely think, however, that any man, who sees Rs. 2,000 paid every month by the collector of Puri to the superintendent of the pagoda of Jagannáth, would allow that such is the case. We scarcely think, that any man who saw Rs. 43,000 paid annually to the temple of Seringham; Rs. 13,000 to that at Conjeveram; Rs. 1,26,800 to temples in Tanjore; Rs. 19,000 to the pagoda of Trichendur; who saw Rs. 18,000 given from

the collector's cutcherry to the temples of Parboti at Puna and Kutrur; with other sums of hard cash to the temples at Nas-sick and Sholapore, at Nirmol and Belgaum; who saw actual money paid at Saharunpore and Guhrwal; at Bareilly and Muttra; at Agra and Allyghur; could possibly allow that the Government has nothing to do with the support of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions. And yet such money is being paid, month by month, from the collectors' cutcherries, to the amount of many lakhs of rupees every year. We allow that the present connection of Government with the native superstitions is almost entirely a money one, but such a connection is to them most valuable, for money is power. The whole sum now paid annually by Government may be stated as follows:—

In Bengal	Jagannáth.....	Rs. 23,321	Rs.
	Boyragis at Puri for } ..	6,417	
	“holy food”}	29,738	
In the North West Provinces		1,10,475	
In the Bombay Presidency; allowances in ... }		6,98,593	
	money, grain and land		
In the Madras Presidency		8,76,780	
Total.....		Co.'s Rs. 17,15,586	

Next to the repeal of the old idolatrous regulations, these grants of money are the one most prominent feature of the subject requiring the attention of Government. If the Governor-General does occasionally give a donation to the brahmins of Brindaban or Jwala-mukhi; if the gunga-jal still appears in the Queen's courts as the basis of Hindu oaths; if in Government colleges, the Koran, the Upanishads or Purans are introduced into the curriculum of study; much as we may regret such things, may count them wrong and wish to see them laid aside, we think them almost nothing, when viewed side by side with these large sums of money paid over to idol shrines. This latter connection is patent to all; MONEY passes from the Government to the temples; that *money*, which in the eyes of natives, is almost the *summum bonum* of existence. That these payments are a great evil, may readily be seen by asking the natives what they think of them. There may be a reason for the payment, or not; the matter may be explained or not; all we say now is, that the natives will universally reply; “The Company gives our gods money.” That they say so in the case of Jagannáth, is notorious throughout Bengal. *

Some of our readers may ask, why the money is given at all. The payments are not a simple donation from the Government; given of their own free will as a gift of love: we believe that two reasons are assigned for them.

First: these allowances in money are, to a very great extent, grants made to temples and mosques in lieu of the revenue of certain lands. These lands were their own, being a portion of their endowments, but were taken possession of by Government, either for arrears of the land-tax, a failure in their management, or some similar reason affecting the Government revenue. Some of these lands were resumed under the Mahommedan Government; others, in some parts to a considerable extent, were resumed by the East India Company. A very interesting illustration of these facts is contained in page 219 of the "Parliamentary Return" for 1849. Mr. Blair, the collector of Canara, there states, that out of Rs. 1,51,870 paid by him to the 3,600 temples formerly under his charge, no less than Rs. 1,05,923 are payments for the revenue of lands resumed by the Madras Government. The Government, in other words, took the estates on a perpetual lease, and paid that sum for rent.

Secondly: another item in the money allowances consists of actual donations, which were originally presented by former Governments, and which, on the conquest of India by the East India Company, were continued by them with a view to conciliate the recipients and their co-religionists. Thus the money paid in the N. W. Provinces consists almost entirely of money gifts begun by the Mogul Government. Thus also the *dakshina* at Puna, and the many sums paid to the temples of that collectorate, originated with the Mahratta Peishwa. Thus, too, originated the nine farthings bestowed on the temples of Nundial in Kurnúl.

The present donation of Rs. 23,321 to the pagoda of Jagannáth is represented as having a somewhat similar origin, though its case is quite peculiar. It is said, that among the old endowments of the temple, in addition to the Satais Hazári Mahál, there were some sayer duties, a poll-tax, and assignments on the revenue of a district in Orissa. These sums constituted a kind of donation presented by the Rajas of ancient days; but the taxes were of the most precarious kind; have long since been abolished; and certainly ought not to be compensated now: especially, when the Government has by its roads and free communication opened up to the temple a source of revenue, which it never had in the days when those taxes existed. Then the chief income of the temple was derived from Orissa itself: now the largest proportion comes from the pilgrims of Bengal and Upper India. Of all the money allowances to temples, that granted to Jagannáth has the weakest ground to stand upon. Were the Legislative Council therefore to pass into a law, the Draft Act which they recently

published respecting the discontinuance of the donation, they would do no injustice, and remove a public scandal. The Raja of Khurda would be legally permitted to collect the usual fees from the pilgrims; and receive from them an annual income greatly exceeding what his ancestors enjoyed in former years.

The two classes of money allowances, which we have described, stand upon a very different footing. In appearance they are equally bad; they equally lead the people to believe that the Government of the country supports the native religions in the most efficient way: they equally keep up the connection of the Government with those religions: and we hope, on this account, to see them both entirely set aside. But as they have a different origin, they require to be differently dealt with. The *former* class of payments is undoubtedly the *bonâ fide property* of the institutions. They are the rents for those estates which the Government is holding under a perpetual lease. To them, therefore, they have a sacred right, and we have no wish to see that right violated. But ought not the obnoxious payments to be got rid of? If in the outset their land was commuted for money, why should not that land be restored? The estates resumed by the Government of late years, as in Canara, must surely be known, and what objection can apply to them which does not apply to the pagoda-lands that have already been transferred to their owners? If these lands, which are known or can be found out on enquiry, were surrendered, we imagine that only a small number of donations of this class would remain. These would represent the lands resumed by the Moguls and by the English Government during the last century, the locality and boundaries of which are now unknown. Even these also might be commuted for land. They were paid for land: why may not the process be reversed, and land be given for them. If the matter were properly explained, no scandal could attend the transaction. Such cases are not like the land which some members of the Supreme Government proposed to give to Jagannâth: in the latter case, a precarious income from taxes liable at any time to be abolished would have been turned into an endowment of the most certain kind: in the case we are describing, the temples and mosques would merely receive an endowment similar to what they once possessed. *This very plan was proposed in 1845 in connection with a mosque at Quilandy, and carried into effect by the Supreme Government.*

The *second* class of payments, those made in continuation of the gifts of former Governments, contain, we conceive, a

radical defect in their very constitution, and ought to be discontinued altogether. They were given by Hindu and Mahomedan Governments for the support of religious institutions, which they believed to be true. They are continued by a Christian Government to religions, which it knows to be false. They were the voluntary gifts of those Governments ; gifts of their benevolence, which the necessities of their kingdom, the demands of war, or an unwillingness to pay them longer, might at once have set aside. They were pensions, not perpetual endowments. Where then is the obligation of the present Government to continue them? They are voluntary gifts now, as they were then. If it was felt to be wrong to supervise the expenditure in an idol temple, is it less wrong to furnish the very means of that expenditure? If the Government must not manage temples, shall it pay for that management and supply the funds? If it may not be an idolator openly, may it be an idolator by proxy? Looking at the inherent error in endowing the shrines of false religions, at the voluntary nature of these gifts, and the absence of all but a political reason for paying them, we suggest whether the Government ought not to consider the propriety of altogether discontinuing them. They need not be abruptly given up. Donations to individuals might be allowed to expire with the present incumbents. In the case of larger sums a notice might be given of three or five years, as might be thought most proper. All sums under fifty or a hundred rupees (a large proportion of the whole,) might be given up at once. But in whatever way the members of Government may deem most cautious, most wise, and most complete, let the great end be secured of separating the Government from the native institutions, not in appearance only but in fact. Until the payment of money ceases, can it be said that such separation has really taken place.

To facilitate such a final settlement, there is required, first of all, a detailed statement of every pice spent upon the native religions in every district of our Indian empire. Such a statement should specify when the payment was first made, and the ground on which it was made. It should specify what payments are donations of money begun by former Governments, and what payments are made in commutation for resumed land ; whether the resumed lands are known, or whether the boundaries cannot be specified. The enquiry completed, it will be easy to deal with every case, according to its intrinsic merits.

With these two measures, the repeal of the idolatrous

regulations, and the withdrawal of money-payments, would fairly cease that patronage, which has been conferred upon the native religions for more than half a century. So long as either is left unfinished, so long can it not be said that the Government relinquishes the special favour which they have shewn to them. In making direct efforts to see that Mahommedan endowments are really applied to the "pious" purposes of their founders; to see that lands devoted to the maintenance of the Charak Puja are efficiently applied; in presenting voluntary donations to the brahmins of Puna and the shrines of Kumaon; they are keeping up systems injurious to their subjects; they are disobeying the law of God. It is only for *political* reasons that the patronage has been bestowed; it is only because the friends of those systems are so numerous, that countenance has been shown to them. Thus did the people of old, "who loved the praise of men more than the praise of God." Not for this did the God of Providence bestow upon the Government of India their splendid empire: not for this was English influence rendered paramount in the Eastern world. But that the Government might secure to every man his liberty, property and rights; and let religions stand or fall by their own intrinsic merits. Hinduism and Mahommedanism have never yet elevated a single people. They have proved a curse wherever they have prevailed. If we wish to see the people of India raised, we must look elsewhere for the power to raise them. We need not go far. The King of kings has declared: "RIGHTEOUSNESS exalteth a nation, but SIN is a reproach to ANY people."

ART. VI.—*Travels in Ceylon and Continental India ; including Nepal and other parts of the Himalayas, to the borders of Tibet, with some notices of the overland route. Appendices ; I. Addressed to Baron Von Humboldt, on the Geographical distribution of Coniferæ on the Himalayan Mountains. II. On the Vegetation of the Himalayan Mountains. III. The Birds of the Himalayan Mountains. By Dr. W. Hoffmeister, Travelling Physician to his Royal Highness Prince Waldemar of Prussia. Translated from the German. Edinburgh. 1848.*

OUR readers will remember the young physician, who fell by the side of the Prussian Prince at Ferozeshahar, in 1845, although they may have forgotten his name. It was Dr. W. Hoffmeister, the author of the volume mentioned above. He had accompanied Prince Waldemar of Prussia from Europe, and had followed him through many countries and many adventures, when his career was cut short by a stray shot from a Seikh gun.

On the 21st of December, the British army advanced towards Ferozepur, and encountered the Sikh forces at Ferozeshah, their main body being drawn up in a thick jungle. A bloody battle ensued. The British troops, marching in close array, attacked the enemy; but the murderous fire of artillery and grape-shot brought them to a stand. At this critical juncture, the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, himself rode along the front ranks, encouraging them to the onset. Prince Waldemar accompanied him, surrounded by his fellow-travellers. While riding close beside the Prince, whom, in this moment of extreme danger, he refused to quit, Dr. Hoffmeister was struck by a grape-shot, which entered his temple. He fell forward to the ground. The Prince instantly sprang from his horse, and raised him; but the vital spark had already fled; at the same moment, the advance of the forces rendered it necessary to move on. The slain were unavoidably left on the field of battle. Not until two days had elapsed was it possible to inter them.

He was laid in the same tomb with several of his friends who fell on that bloody day; and a simple monument in the burial-ground at Ferozepur, erected by the Prince to the memory of his faithful physician and beloved companion, records his tragic fate, and marks his journey's utmost bourn.

The book is a much more interesting one than the somewhat forbidding title-page would lead one to expect, with its "Appendices I. Addressed to Baron von Humboldt on the 'geographical distribution of Coniferæ on the Himalayan Mountains. II. On the Vegetation,' &c., &c., and ending with that—"translated from the German," which suggests to the general reader, the idea of something very learned, very comprehensive, and very dull; in short, very exhaustive, both of the matter discussed, and of the reader's patience. But we can assure our readers, that they will find it a very readable book, with all the

Coniferæ and other indigestible matters put snugly away in the three appendices. We do agree to some extent with those who maintain that a scientific traveller is a bore, as much almost as a scientific lady. Acting on this, which is one of our fixed principles, we shall carefully exclude from our extracts, all such barbarisms as *sparus erythrinus*, *mullus barbatus*, *pistacia terebinthus*, *vultur percnopterus*, and so forth.

Our travellers sailed from Trieste on the 16th September, 1844, and touched at Ancona and Corfu, where they are surprised to find, that no one knows any thing of the remains of Calliope, "the ancient city of Corcyra;" the true name being Cassiope, now Santa Maria di Cassopo. At Patras the following amusing scene occurred:—

Two remarkably handsome lads, of ten or eleven years of age, especially attracted my attention. I drew the portrait of one of them: he stood perfectly still, with decorum and respect, not knowing what I was going to do with him. Some men, who had pressed forward to peep over my shoulder, began to notice the thing, and when at last they discovered the likeness, they cried aloud again and again, "*Καλόν! καλόν!*" And now each man would have his picture taken,—each one pressed forward to the spot where the boy had stood, smote on his breast, and gesticulated with extraordinary vivacity, placing himself in the best attitude, and adjusting his dress in the most becoming manner. It was a wonderfully pretty scene. One of the most refined-looking, and best dressed among them, had the honour of being sketched; and when, at last, he actually stood there upon the paper, the fellow himself and his neighbours could not contain themselves for joy; he hopped and jumped, first on one leg, then on the other, snapped his fingers, and talked on without ceasing; at length he took Count Gr—— and me aside, and drew us almost by force into his hut at no great distance, brought out his arms, displayed to us his medals won in the Turkish war, and laid before us his best belts and jackets; then he went into the little garden, tore down with both his hands some bunches of grapes, which he constrained us to accept, and gathered besides for each of us a large nosegay of odoriferous herbs.

In due time, we find our author seated on the Acro-Corinthus, and surveying the sea and land from that elevated spot:—

On the extreme summit, we seated ourselves on two pillars of the Temple of Aphrodite,—mere broken pieces, requiring the skill of an archæologist, such as Professor Ross, to trace their story,—and surveyed the Isthmus of Corinth,—the calm blue waters on either side—death-like,—without one vessel,—the two large and magnificent harbours of ancient Corinth. How narrow did the neck of land appear, when viewed from above,—how trifling the distance separating us from Helicon and Mount Parnassus on the opposite shore! These also are now but naked rocks;—these heights that once were crowned with groves of pines and oaks,—so lovely—so much sung. Pity it is indeed, that the death of all vegetation should produce in the mind so melancholy an impression; wherever one turns one's eye, trees are wanting—men are wanting;—one sees only inquisitive Englishmen, telescope in hand, searching out the traces of former grandeur. Notwithstanding the burning heat of the sun, the precious spring-water, collected in the ancient Greek subterranean water-courses—which even the many

centuries of barbarism have not succeeded in destroying—never fails to rise on the surface of this rocky summit.

At length they land at Athens. Although we are in all haste to reach Ceylon, we must linger a while amid the scenes which bring back to us all the dreamings and aspirations of school-boy life. Who that ever read a page of Xenophon or Plato, or Demosthenes or Sophocles, has not wished to stand on the Acropolis? As the heart of the Christian beats with high emotion at the thought of Jerusalem, with its brook Kedron, its pool of Siloam, its Zion and its Olivet; so the heart of him, whose boyhood has been spent (in spirit) amid the enchanting scenes of classic story, must ever feel some re-kindling glow of young enthusiasm, when he thinks of Athens, with her Piræus, her Makronteichos, her Acropolis, her Hymettus.

On the 21st September, our author and some English travellers ascend the Acropolis:—

The impression made on first viewing the Parthenon is sublime beyond all conception; it is the most beautiful monument of antiquity that I have seen. The colossal bas-reliefs, which filled up the pediment, are now in the British Museum, to which they were sent by Lord Elgin. I have seen them there, standing upon the floor, where they have a mournful aspect, as every thing must have that has been torn down from its proper position under the free canopy of heaven. The digging up and the carrying away of old Turkish mosques, and other buildings, have afforded a rich treasure of marble fragments; one shed is here filled with broken statues and friezes, another with vases and coins.

The temples of Erechtheus, of Apollo, and of Bacchus, are now but groups of ruined pillars scattered here and there;—none of them indeed so large as the glorious Parthenon, but each in its own way, beautiful and astonishing. Had the rays of the sun been less intensely scorching, how gladly would I have sat for hours longer, on the high marble steps, where I beheld around me the magnificent remains of the past, while the dirt and rubbish of the present age lay far beneath.

* * * * *

At some distance from the town, in a street which, as yet, is only marked out, and has no houses, stands the theatre. The university and the hospital, on the other hand, are situated in a tolerably pretty part of the neighbourhood, which is already covered with pleasant houses, and has the honour of possessing the only green trees any where to be seen. The quarter of the town nearest to the Acropolis is, on the contrary, most horrible; abounding in dingy rubbishy ruins; yet one sees there scarcely a wall that has not variegated fragments of marble columns, or the heads or trunks of statues built up in it. The figures that usually meet the eye, running or crawling among the debris, are those of sordid, dusky coloured boys, or ugly, tattered old hags. In many parts the rubbish is lying twenty-four feet deep; and, on attempting to excavate, one meets with the capitals of pillars that yet stand erect.

But a great deal of our author's time, while he was at Athens, seems to have been taken up with visits to King Otho's Court, and pic-nics with their Majesties in various di-

rections. Now, a pic-nic is a very good thing; and a merry Court, with an affable young king, and a "sprightly, active lady" of a queen, who "decidedly prefers a swift-galloping horse to a tea-party," may also be a very good thing, (we have not tried it;) but, on the whole, we should prefer to spend our days more contemplatively, if it should ever fall to our lot to visit the once glorious hills of Attica. However, we must take our author as we find him. He that travels with princes, we suppose, must do as princes do. Here we have, then, his account of the king and queen, and of their first excursion:—

On Tuesday (the 22nd of September) I had the honour of being presented to the King and Queen; and since then, I have been at court nearly every day, and have taken a lively share in the enjoyment of all the pleasure parties. The king is a young man of prepossessing appearance, and his countenance is always marked by a friendly expression. He is habitually attired in the Greek costume, and never lays aside his broad silver sabre. He graciously did me the honour to enter at once into a long conversation with me; and, on subsequent occasions likewise, he seemed to have a predilection for talking with me on zoological subjects, especially when I had the honour of being seated opposite to him at the dinner-table. The Queen is an elegant, sprightly, active lady, of an even, bright, and happy temper,—fond of making, in person, the arrangements for all the parties of pleasure; and decidedly preferring a swift-galloping horse to a tea-party,—and social games in the open air to musical entertainments. Although the ladies of her court were clad in the graceful costume of Greece, she always appeared in a simple attire of French or German fashion.

On the appointed day the proposed excursion took place,—to the ruined mountain fortress of Phylæ, situated on Mount Hymettus. It was a most frightful ride. I could never have scrambled up these paths on foot; but, with Greek steeds, these four hours of clambering up and down again were a mere trifle, which the queen and her ladies accomplished at a gallop; while to me, the deep chasms, and the loose, tumbling masses of stone, afforded matter of no small uneasiness. Professor Ross always led the van, ready to solve any doubts that might arise, and to throw light on the various antiquities. Unfortunately, time is too short; otherwise I should have had pleasure in dealing out to you much learned information, which I picked up by the way.

The view from the colossal rocky masses, of which the ancient fort was composed, was indeed transporting. It included Athens,—the royal palace, shining in all its whiteness in the blue distance,—the fir-clad mountains, illumined with a rosy brightness,—and, rendering the effect more vivid,—grey, sombre-looking cliffs predominating on every side. At nine o'clock we returned to the village, where we had left the carriages. It is a large and prosperous place. Here we found the royal tent ready pitched, and a liberal repast was served, in which nothing was lacking that could satisfy the most dainty palate.

Then follows a dance of the people of the neighbouring village, first of the men, and then of the women, the whole being wound up with a race "run by the young maidens of the village, which caused prodigious laughter."

At length the day of departure comes, and our travellers must bid adieu to Athens, with its dirty coffee-houses, majestic ruins, and sprightly queen:—

The most exquisite sunset glow was illuminating the Acropolis as we wended our way homewards; every mountain shone resplendent in the roseate light. What a magnificent prospect! As darkness cast its shroud over the landscape, we perceived the fires of the gipsy groups on the level plain below.

Monday passed away in preparations for our departure; after dinner I rejoined the Prince at the palace, and about five o'clock, we drove to the Piræus. The Parthenon was shining brightly in the serene light of evening; the white pillared ruins were looking down upon us, as though they would bid us farewell,—awakening in our minds thoughts of home. At the fort we met our English acquaintances; some of whom took leave of, while others accompanied, our party. To many others besides, we bid a hearty adieu, the little bark rowed off, and at the same moment, the men-of-war lying in the harbour thundered their farewell-salute!

After the usual events of a Levant steam voyage, our travellers reach Alexandria. We pass over our author's description of the motley crowd of Turks, Persians, Greeks, Africans, &c., who travelled by the steamer; the old Turk, whose tooth he extracted; the popularity and gifts of water-melons that followed this exploit; the shout of joy raised by the crowd, when they come in sight of the African coast; the shouting and fighting of the donkey-boys on the beach; the "very elegant calèche, lined with white silk," in which they proceeded to the town;—and land them at once in the great square:—

We at length reached an open square, surrounded by a number of thoroughly European-looking houses. They were built, as a speculation, by Mehemet Ali, who asks a high rent for them. We halted before one of these,—the Hotel Oriental; a large stone-house, with lofty saloons, all the blinds of which were closed. Behind each apartment is an alcove, with two beds; a handsome sofa, a piano-forte, and a number of Parisian engravings adorn the rooms: the cuisine is excellent;—in a word, it unites all the advantages of a good French or German hotel; the only drawback being the nightly plague of the mosquitoes, which unfortunately in this country never fail to disturb our slumbers. We spent some time, on our first arrival, in lounging on the window-seats, amusing ourselves with watching the sorrowful-looking and noiseless trains of dromedaries, laden with stones, constantly passing by, with slow and monotonous pace;—the Mahometan population, clad in the gay and motley costumes of the East; and the multitude of English and French travellers, even ladies, mounted on horseback and on asses;—all seen at a glance, on casting one's eye round this spacious "*place*." Venders of pastry and sweetmeats, of lemons and sherbet,—gracefully carrying their goods on the top of their heads,—and water-carriers, with their bags of goats'-hide,—made by skinning a goat in a very clever manner, and afterwards sewing up the neck and the legs,—some on foot, and others mounted on camels, all jostling each other among the crowd.

After the usual round of sight-seeing, Pompey's pillar, the

Pasha's palace, &c., they started for Atfeh and Cairo. Perhaps all our readers are aware, (even those of them who have not travelled from Southampton to Calcutta by the "three-pound-a-day" route,) that Atfeh is the point of junction between the Mahmudieh Canal and the river itself. To those who have not travelled that way, the following may give some notion of the water transit from Alexandria to Cairo:—

On the 5th of October, in the morning, we went on board the vessel by which we were to proceed, on the Mahmudieh Canal, taking with us a good supply of provisions. Our interpreter,—a black man with fine eyes,—followed us in a small, neat track-boat, made of painted wood. The country around, destitute equally of life and of verdure, makes a melancholy impression on the traveller. Mud-huts, a "*Sakieh*," many Egyptian vultures, and a few miserably poor and half-savage men, were the only objects that attracted our attention. The whole course of the canal lies through a stratum of sand and clay, and in most parts the rude mound which confines it is not even clothed with grass.

It was late in the evening ere we reached the place where the canal enters the Nile, beside a wretched village, ("Atfeh,") whose inhabitants dwell in common with their poultry, in a kind of swallow's nests. The junction of the canal with the waters of the sacred stream is effected, at this point, by means of a lock with sluice-gates. A stately steamer, beautifully lighted up, was lying at anchor in front of a house two stories high, in which coffee was served; and as we went on board, we were greeted with loud music. We found every thing in the boat arranged in the best possible style;—the after-deck was surrounded with purple velvet sofas; and the cabin set apart for our use was cool and airy. Certainly, whether from the effects of imagination, or really from the beneficial influence of the mild and tepid air of the Nile, with its silky, balmy softness,—we did, as we lay there stretched beside each other upon the floor, enjoy a slumber so refreshing, that no other could be compared to it. Meantime, every three or four hours, all the numerous domestics belonging to the vessel renewed, *in pleno*, their vigorous exertions in the way of performing, with the accompaniment of drums, kettle-drums and serpents, airs of Bellini or of Donizetti; it never occurred to any one among them to think of our poor ears being torn to pieces by their discord; on the contrary, all this was done for our entertainment, till at length we gave them clearly to understand that we were no amateurs. In the morning, (on the 6th of October) we partook of a most scanty breakfast, as our provisions were rapidly disappearing. We were therefore most agreeably surprised, when, at dinner, the cook of the steamer set before us a great number of dishes, all choice Arabian dainties, for the most part consisting of very greasy preparations of rice or of flour—several of them really excellent,—but many, according to our taste, too fat and doughy.

But truly, neither the good fare, nor the noisy Egyptian music and drumming, could indemnify us for the ennui of watching the view along the banks of the Nile. The broad expanse of water, turbid and of a dark yellow colour, winds through a low and barren plain, which displays none of the fresh verdure that one might expect to see so soon after the inundations. On the exterior margin of the river only, is there a little half-dried-up grass, to consume every particle of which, with all possible expedition, affords matter of rivalry to the young camels, and to the numerous herds of buffaloes, which stand up to their muzzles in the muddy water. Here

and there appears a palm-grove, of, from fifty to a hundred date-palms ; as far as I could judge, the height of some of these trees might be eighty or ninety feet.

“Sakieh” is Arabic for water-wheel, a large wheel with buckets attached, to scoop up the water from a lower channel and pour it out in a higher one. As to the “cool and airy” cabin of the steamer, we merely remark, that what is cool and airy for half-a-dozen, may be hot and close to half a hundred. Any one, who has sailed either up the Nile to Boulak, or up the Hugli, will sympathize with our travellers in their grumbles at the monotony of the process. To persons who are fresh from the beauties of the Thames, or Dee-side, or Clydesdale, or the vine-clad banks of the Rhine, the monotony of a two days’ sail through a flat expanse of muddy land, against a strong broad current of muddy water, is intolerably irksome. As for us, in this monotonous Bengal, we think such grumbling quite unreasonable. Two days on the canal and river ! exclaims our friend from Allahabad ; what would they say to two months ? However, if there is any truth in what our Howrah and Burdwan friends tell us, we are to have a railway here in the course of time. If they are not playing upon our credulity (as we half suspect they are), and the said railway is not one of those fabulous prospects with which our country correspondents, from time to time, seek to relieve the dull tranquillity of our city life ; if, we say, we ever do get a railway, with real timetables and real trains and locomotives, then even we old plodding Bengalis will learn to grumble. But as things are at present, we say again, the canal and Nile voyage to Cairo is a mere trifle. And if it is somewhat irksome to the traveller fresh from Europe, we ask,—is it not worth a great deal more of patient endurance to attain the first burst of the beauty of Cairo ? Our author speaks of this with becoming enthusiasm :—

It is now once more day. The Venetian blinds are opened. What an enchanting prospect ! To our left, a long row of oriental houses, with richly carved “*mushrebihs*,” (latticed projections instead of windows,) interspersed with mimosas and palm-trees, rising picturesquely above the garden walls ; the long line of houses and palaces is terminated by a tall and splendid minaret : several similar buildings, gaily painted red and white, appear in the fore-ground : the centre of the back ground is a grove of palms gracefully pencilled against the blue horizon ; adjoining it, to our right, tower the two gigantic Pyramids of Gizeh. They supply in some measure the place of hills, which are wanting to perfect the beauty of the landscape. To our right, on the horizon, lies the desert, easily recognizable by its atmosphere, for over it floats a thick vapour of yellowish greyish hue. The fore-ground here, however, is all the prettier for this ; it consists of a thick forest of acacias, clothed in the freshest vernal green, and broken at intervals by flourishing fields of maize ; in the centre of the picture a small piece of water, bordered by *Labbek acacias*. Near this basin passes

one of the greatest thoroughfares leading to the city ; it extends across the wide square called "*the Uzbekh*," upon which the windows of our hotel look out. A multitude of asses laden with fruit, followed by swarthy young drivers, is approaching the town ; then draws near a long train of slowly-pacing dromedaries, each fastened by a rope to the one before it : women in blue shifts and trousers, a large urn on the head, a smaller one on the up-lifted palm of one hand, and often a naked infant astride on the shoulder of the other side ; white Copts, with their black turbans ; black Nubians, with their long white togas ; lean, wizened, filthy-looking Arabs ; and fat, well-fed, cleanly Turks and Armenians ; all are moving on, *en masse*, towards the city. Close in front of our windows, the eye is refreshed by the rich foliage of acacias and sycamores. It is impossible to describe the delight we feel in once more beholding really green trees, which we have mourned the want of ever since we quitted Vienna. Here is shade ; here is water ; here are clean beds, and a most comfortable breakfast. Having done honour to the latter, our curiosity could be restrained no longer. We jumped upon the backs of the asses that stood in readiness under our windows ; and off we set, without loss of time, bound for the interior of the city of the Caliphs.

The learned physician appropriately wound up his acquaintance with Egypt, by creating an interesting case of incised and contused wounds, and bones as nearly broken as whole bones could be. Like a good enthusiastic traveller, as he was, he made a point of descending into every dangerous and ugly hole he could find. Not content with creeping into the passages of the Pyramids one day, he goes down an old well or shaft the day after, and nearly ends his career by letting go the rope and falling to the bottom :—

The graves of animal-mummies, (ibises, oxen, sheep, snakes, &c) situated in the neighbourhood, near the village of Abousair, we only found after a difficult search ; and a very long rope was necessary, to let us down the half-filled-up-shaft.* While being drawn up again, having seen little or nothing, my hands slipped, I lost my hold of the rope, by which I was endeavouring to pull myself up, and fell, when I had nearly gained the top, down again to the bottom,—a great depth. With hands excoriated and shockingly wounded, I at length contrived to get out, and, mounted on an ass, not without pain and difficulty, I reached the Nile, by which, fortunately, we were to return home : for I should have been utterly unable to hold the bridle. At midnight we found ourselves standing before the gates of Cairo, and it was only owing to a lucky accident that we were suffered to enter, though ignorant of the watch-word.

We must enter our protest against this passion for underground explorations. Miners, no doubt, must descend into the bowels of the earth. It is their trade. Many things must be done professionally, which one would never do for the pleasure of the thing. One would not like to cut off a friend's arm ; but the surgeon, who performs the operation, loses none of

* Mr. Lucas, who, in 1714, wandered, by the aid of Ariadne's thread, through nearly all of these catacombs, imagined, from embalmed ox-heads found there, that the god Apis had been buried in them.—Tn.

our respect by doing so. Nay, we must acknowledge that the butcher had the best of the argument when he asked the sentimental young lady, "Why, miss, would you eat your lamb alive?" Miners must go down shafts, and butchers must—be butchers. But why should any respectable young gentleman, (for an elderly gentleman would surely not think of such folly,) with a good coat to be torn, good lungs to be choked, and a good neck to be broken, (we say nothing as to brains); why should he deem it a part of his "mission" to poke himself into Peak caverns, old Roman sewers, Pyramid passages, and mummy pits? It is absurd. But the *Hindustan* is waiting at Suez, so we must mount our camels and jog wearily across the desert, or else we shall be another month in reaching the spicy isle.

After their first night in Galle, they proceed to examine the country, beginning with the garden of the "Queen's house" or Governor's residence. The scientific botanist does show himself a little, but after the horrors of the mummy pit, even a *Hibiscus* or a *Plumeria* speaks of cheerful sights and pleasant smells:—

But a peep into the garden soon enticed us away from our spacious apartments into the luxurious freedom of the open air.—What a splendid profusion of red and yellow *Hibiscus*,—what beautiful, rich, velvety turf, such as I have never seen since I was in England! Here the gorgeous *Plumeria*, with its sweet fragrance, there gigantic banana-trees (*Musa Sapientum*), Papaws (*Carica Papaya*), and bread-fruit trees (*Artocarpus incisa*), towering above the walls. We descended a flight of steps,—green from the continued warm moisture,—into the tree-garden, or shrubbery, which is on a level twenty feet lower. It is a perfect wilderness, peopled by innumerable animals. Among the tall grass,—which was full of long-tailed green lizards,—were shining forth blue creepers of wondrous beauty (the *Oltoria*), and a number of red-blossomed balsams (*Impatiens Doccinea*); above them rose bread-fruit trees, with dark, shining, sinuated leaves, at least a foot in breadth and two or three in length, white stem, and rough, heavy, round fruit, of a greenish yellow colour,—the elegant *Papaw tree*, with regularly tapering, hollow stem, from the top of which bursts a tuft of rich foliage, each leaf broad spreading like an umbrella, thick clusters of fruit somewhat resembling small melons hanging below the crest of leaves. Here too we found the plantain-tree (*Musa Paradisiaca*), universally known in India as the *Banana-tree*: its reed-like, thick, sappy stem bears the leaves, which are eight feet in length and two or three in breadth, springing in an upright position out of its top; but their thin and tender texture, while it exposes them to be torn by the wind, causes them to droop gracefully as they expand. Who could imagine that this tree, with a stem of one foot in circumference, and twenty feet in height, and with foliage so luxuriant, is the growth but of one year? The fruit grows in thick, regular clusters, on a spike hanging from the top of the stem, at the axil of the tuft of leaves;—this spike or fruit-stalk, which is about four feet long, has usually some eight or ten clusters of fruit nearly a foot in length, each of which, again, contains some twenty or thirty

plantains. This beautiful greenish-yellow fruit has a charming effect, amid the freshness of the gigantic spreading foliage; its flavour is far more delicious here than at Cairo, where we had it at dinner daily. Each plantain is about four inches long; its skin is soft and leathery; beneath that is a pulpy fleshy substance, very sweet, and without either seeds or kernel.

But as Galle is now more or less known to almost every one, we shall take leave of it, and accompany our author and his friends to Colombo. The following gives a very good idea of Ceylon travelling in the neighbourhood of Galle. When our author gets beyond sight of the steamer's funnel, we must decline to indorse his descriptions, although we have no doubt they are equally correct with those which appeal to our own recollections of youthful travel:—

We now took leave of the civil and military officers of the place, Mr. Cripps and Captain Thurlow, and, at four o'clock in the morning, on the 15th of November, we set out on our journey in what is here called a "*diligence*," or "*mail-coach*," which in fact consists merely of a box made of boards, with a linen roof spread over it, and with seats too narrow for one man, but which, on the present occasion, must needs suffice to contain two! Notwithstanding our being deprived of the power of moving freely, great contentment reigned among our party, as we proceeded on our palm-o'-ershadowed way, keeping close to the coast, and watching the reflection of the still young and harmless rays of the rising sun on the ocean's clear and placid face. We crossed handsome bridges over more than one broad stream. There was ever something that was interesting to look at, now the *Pandanus* (Screw-pine) growing to an uncommon height beside the sea,—now stately palms rearing their crowned heads towards the sky,—or again fishermen's boats, drawing in their heavy nets. We were ferried across two small streams, whose banks were indeed enchanting. Along the whole road we saw the people adorned in their gayest style, in motley and picturesque costumes; the head men with their Dutch coats and their insignia, and the wealthier part of the Malabar population distinguished by a number of rings in their ears and on their fingers. They all saluted the long-expected Prince* with the deepest respect, folding their hands before their faces, and slightly bending forwards;—nevertheless it was not difficult to discover in them symptoms of disappointment, when they beheld,—instead of the Oriental Potentate, loaded with gold and jewels, mounted on an elephant, and wearing a crown,—only Prince Waldemar in his simple travelling dress: it was evident that their imagination had conjured up some extraordinary coup-d'état. They have, in the East, no conception of the simplicity of a German Prince.

Thus they travelled on amid cocoa-nut trees, old Dutch residents, magistrates' houses, sunshine, tropical showers, singing birds, &c. &c., to Caltura. The royal salute must have had an odd effect when contrasted with the torn and soaked and clay-

* Instructions had been sent by the Secretary of State for the Colonies,—Lord Stanley,—to the Ceylon Government, to receive Prince Waldemar in a manner becoming his rank, and suitable to the intimate and friendly relations existing between Great Britain and Prussia,—and to afford him every aid and facility on his travels. In pursuance of these directions, arrangements were every where made for the Prince's reception by the native chiefs in the provinces, and for his being treated with the honours due to the Governor himself.—TK.

spattered shooting jackets of the travellers. The annoyance felt by our author, at the over-assiduous attentions of the troops of servants, is what every griffin has experienced, and is not to be wondered at. But a few hot seasons in India change all that, and the man who, when fresh from Europe, felt as if he should make a speech of grateful apology to the man who condescended to punka him, very soon learns that the multitude of servants is in many respects a nuisance, (especially on the fifteenth of each month,) yet they do after all give one a good deal of physical comfort, and save one a good deal of bodily labour:—

We were received, at this place, [that is, Caltura,] by a deputy sent by the Governor of Ceylon, who conducted us to His Excellency's equipage. Thence we advanced at a rapid pace towards Colombo, changing horses every half hour. We were preceded by two finely equipped out-runners (horse-keepers), who wore red and white turbans, short breeches, and sleeves trimmed with red ribbons. The country now became more and more beautiful at every step: nature and art seemed to conspire to render the landscape a charming one;—picturesque country-seats,—a rich vegetation,—several rivers flowing softly between banks of exquisite loveliness,—distant vistas of mountain scenery,—and the mellow radiance of evening light over the whole;—the scene was like one vast and blooming garden. For a considerable distance we passed on between the most celebrated cinnamon gardens of Ceylon: the cinnamon trees, however, though brilliant from their shining foliage, are mean-looking, as contrasted with the luxuriance of the varied vegetation around and are kept, by pruning, to a height of only about twelve or fifteen feet. The sun was beginning to dip behind the glorious horizon as we approached the capital: a courier was despatched before us, to announce that the Prince was at hand. The whole population were on the *qui vive*:—dandies in European attire, mounted on wretched nags, saluted us as we drove through the handsome open square in front of the town;—and we could distinguish, among the varied crowd, many well-dressed English gentlemen, and even gay ladies not a few. It was a most cheerful scene, and our satisfaction would have been complete, had our own appearance been in character with this grand and triumphant entry; but wetness and filth had, at the last stations, conspired to the no small injury of our never very splendid habiliments!

On reaching the gate of the Fort, we were greeted with military music, and with the firing of cannon, which noisy salutations were reiterated on

* These gardens, though the boast of the island—the south-west part of Ceylon being the only country of which the cinnamon tree is known to be a native—are comparatively of recent formation. A strange idea had obtained among the Dutch rulers of Ceylon, that the spice was only valuable when growing wild in the jungle, and it was never cultivated till after the year 1766. The Dutch were strict to the extreme in their monopoly of cinnamon. The injuring of the trees, peeling any portion of the bark, exporting or selling cinnamon,—were all crimes punishable with death.—To keep up the price, bonfires of cinnamon occasionally perfumed the streets of Amsterdam, as recorded by M. Beaumare, who witnessed it in 1760. Besides constantly supplying the European market, Ceylon exports large quantities of cinnamon to South America, where it is in daily use among the workmen, as a preservative against the noxious effects of the fumes of quicksilver used in the mines. Of the bales of cinnamon imported into Great Britain, far the greater proportion is not for home consumption, but for the foreign market,—being exported to Spain, Portugal, and other Roman Catholic countries, where it is largely used, with frankincense, &c., in the services of the Church.—Tx.

our finally halting in front of the magnificent "Queen's House." The Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, a venerable old man, with hoary head, gave us a most kind reception; and Captain Maclean* conducted us to our respective apartments, in a wing of the Palace opening into the garden. Unfortunately, my swelled face prevented me from appearing at table, so I passed a quiet evening on the sofa. Here again, we were followed, at every step, by a host of copper-coloured domestics,—men and boys,—some wearing jackets, others wearing no clothes at all: many and vain were my attempts to get rid of their attendance; before I was aware of it, the sneaking fellows were at my heels again.

The "swelled face" alluded to was caused by his first exposure to the tropical sun, that is, (we presume,) on shore. How he escaped at Aden, we know not. We suppose it was rather his first of those boils which break out on most newcomers. The swelled face, however, prevented our author from seeing much of Colombo. At Kandy, "the capital of the ancient Cingalese rulers, those proud and mighty kings," he made his first acquaintance with the leeches, which seem to be a very pestilent brood:—

Towards evening I was tempted, by the infinite multitude of fire-flies which were fluttering over the lawn, to step out upon its velvety grass, and succeeded in collecting several dozen of these splendid insects. When dinner-time arrived, I observed, to my horror, in the brilliantly lighted apartment, that my white trowsers were streaked with blood! I was not long left in suspense as to the cause of the disaster: this was our first acquaintance with those leeches with which we afterwards became but too familiar. I actually found several hundreds of them clinging to my legs; they had penetrated through my trowsers; however I freed myself, by means of the established recipe of lemon-juice, of these unwelcome guests.†

The following sketch of Nuwera Ellia will be interesting to our Indian readers, since the place is becoming every year more important as one of our regularly recognized sanatoria. The mistake, as to the discoverer of the retreat, is corrected by the translator, who, we may observe in passing, seems to be a man well fitted for the task he has performed. They are an unfortunate race, translators. Most useful labourers, as they are, they are somehow looked upon as mere drudges, whom critics

* Sir Colin's son-in-law and aide-de-camp.—Ta.

† The Ceylon leech is of a brown colour, marked with three longitudinal light-yellow lines; its largest size is about three-fourths of an inch in length, and one-tenth of an inch in diameter; but it can stretch itself to two inches in length, and then becomes sufficiently small to be able to pass between the stitches of a stocking. It is nearly semi-transparent in substance; in form, tapering towards the fore-part,—above, roundish,—below, flat; it apparently possesses an acute sense of smell, for no sooner does a person stop in a place infested by leeches, than they crowd eagerly to their victim from all quarters, unrestrained by the caprice sometimes so annoying in their medicinal brethren. Loss of blood, itching, and sometimes slight inflammation, form the extent of their injuries in the case of a person in good health, but animals suffer more severely from their attacks.—Ta.

are not called upon to praise, nor publishers to pay liberally. It ought not to be so.

The sweet, inviting spot, Nuwera Ellia, lies in an open plain among moor-lands, encircled on every side by craggy mountains, which, in our climate, would be clad in eternal snows; bold and lofty peaks tower to the very skies; among them the highest summit in the island, is Pedro-tallagalla, which rises to the height of eight thousand four hundred feet above the sea.

The level ground, on which, scattered here and there among the thick bushes, stand the few detached buildings of which Nuwera Ellia (or New-House) consists, is but two thousand feet beneath this high level; no wonder therefore that the whole vegetation of the neighbourhood should assume altogether a new appearance, and more of a European character. Few trees are to be seen; among these I may mention *Rhododendron arboreum* (tree rhododendron) with its flowers of burning crimson, *Viburnum opulus* (the "snow-ball tree," or guelder rose), *Euonymus* (the Spindle-tree,) and several species of *Acacia*. The peach, the apple, and the pear-tree thrive extremely well here; and above all, the potatoe, and every possible variety of European vegetable, turnips, cabbages, &c., &c.—One object the eye seeks in vain in all this highland district; I mean the fir-tree;—for throughout the whole of Ceylon no trees of the order of *Coniferae* are to be seen. The moors are overgrown with a kind of hard grass, two or three feet high,* among which luxuriate many beautiful alpine varieties of *Campanula*, and a most fragrant species of *Physalis* (winter cherry), I think, probably, the *Physalis Pubescens*,—all in as great abundance as the stinging nettle in our meadows! The winter-cherries are here called *Cape gooseberries*, and no fruit makes a better tart.

This beautiful retreat is said to have been discovered by a rich English gentleman, (I think his name was Horton,) while engaged in a wild-boar hunt, and I am assured that he laid out the ground as a park some fifty years since. Be that as it may, the posts of a spacious gate-way, rising above the moor, still meet the eye; and the place all round them, wherever it is not too boggy, is covered with thick bushes of *Pelargonium*, *Tagetes*, and various other plants, all of which we are wont to see in pots; and which are here probably the relics of former cultivation.†

* This is the *Lemon-grass*, *Andropogon Schœnanthus*,—one of the most characteristic productions of Ceylon, and of some parts of the adjacent continent. It is the general covering of such parts of the hills, near Candy, as are not overgrown with jungle; and in its young and tender state affords good pasture to buffaloes; it emits when bruised a strong lemon-scent, which, although pleasant at first, becomes, if one is long exposed to it, particularly oppressive. Its taste is a refreshing acid.—TR.

† A slight confusion, not surprising in a stranger and a foreigner, seems here to have arisen on the subject of names. Nuwera Ellia, though visited and described by Dr. Davy in 1819, when its solitude was but rarely broken by the natives who resorted thither in quest of iron or of gems, was little known to Europeans till, in 1829, Sir Edward Barnes, then Governor of Ceylon, having accidentally wandered thither in the chase, fixed upon it as a military convalescent station, and built the residence above alluded to. Its wonderfully temperate climate, 65° being reckoned its mean temperature by day, and 55° by night for the entire year, freedom from piercing winds, and proximity to the mountain peaks, and the extraordinary purity of its water, render it equally salubrious and congenial; there are also chalybeate springs in the neighbourhood. The "fifty years since" spoken of by our author is thus probably an error for *fifteen* years since. But the allusion to the "gentleman of the name of Horton," doubtless refers, not to Nuwera Ellia, but to an interesting, wild, and solitary table-land, at no great distance from it, known as the Horton Plain, thus named in honor of Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, Governor of Ceylon, from

The following gives a very lively description of elephant-shooting. It is no doubt a very exciting occupation. But why should elephants be shot? So long as they keep to the jungle, what harm do they do?

Every morning, before night had fully yielded to the dawn of day, we started from our lurking-place, in pursuit of elephants, which are met with in large herds; and usually, even before sunrise, we were wet to the skin. When the natives perceived, by their quick scent or otherwise, that the elephants were at hand, which they announced by a particular sign, we all instantly dismounted, and the huntsmen rushed, head-foremost, through the thicket, while I remained with the attendants at the halting-place. The crash of an elephant, running at full speed, may be heard at the distance of half a mile; a whole herd makes a noise such as one might imagine from an avalanche falling over a vast forest. The terrific and portentous cry, not unlike a fearfully loud note sounded from a broken trumpet, is uttered by the mighty beast at the identical moment in which it turns round, either to crush its enemy, or itself to receive the fatal ball; I therefore always knew, even at a distance, when the crisis of danger had arrived.

On one occasion I had remained nearer than usual to the hunt, because the danger of being isolated in a broken and rocky ground, all alive with elephants, is really greater than that of following close to the chase. Suddenly a crash was heard to the right and to the left,—behind us sounded a trumpet-tone, and before us appeared the head of a huge and powerful animal, stirring among the thick bushes;—we were standing on a smooth rock, only slightly elevated above the surrounding ground. How fortunate that just then, Major Rogers, the most expert marksman of the hunt, was close to us. He sprang in among the elephants, and, advancing towards the one nearest him on the right, to within the length of its trunk, he fired a shot into its ear, then turning with lightning speed to the one on the left, he discharged the contents of his other barrel into its temple. Both fell with a hollow groan, as if blown down by a sudden whirlwind; the others, on hearing their giant comrades sink crashing into the bushes, hastily fled; for their fall produced a resounding noise like the report of two distant cannons.

After that day, I had seen enough of elephant-hunting, and always sought some pretext for remaining at home. On the following day, Major Rogers killed a female elephant, and by that one shot he brought down two victims, for she crushed, in her fall, a young one that was running beside her. Besides these, a young elephant had been already numbered among the

1831 to 1837. A picturesque description of the primæval desolation of these plains,—the most elevated in the island,—of their sombre forest,—and mountain ramparts,—and of the adjacent sources of the Bihul-Oya or Walawe River, and the Mahawello-Ganga, is given by Major Forbes: One of his characteristic touches is as follows:—"In these vast jungle solitudes, on the ascent from Nuwera Ellia, on every twig, round every tree, the stilly damp of ages has twined a mossy vesture: their mouldering rocks, moss-clad forests, and silent plains offer so few signs of animated nature, that the notes of a small bird are a relief from universal stillness; and the occasional rise of a snipe is absolutely startling. In following up the green banks of a rill on one of these mountains, I called to my companion and proposed a change of direction; he answered, 'Very well.' Instantly, as if these words had burst the magic-spell which bound the demon spirits of the waste, the joyous sounds, 'very well! very well! very well!' came hurrying forth from every copse and winding glade in these, the farthest bounds of the forest labyrinth."—*Ta.*

slain, and many were wounded.† The Prince himself was at one time in instant danger of being overtaken by an elephant rendered furious by three wounds in the head. Fortunately the creature was laid low by another shot.

On the 9th December the party started for Adam's Peak. At the foot of the mountain a hut had been rudely fitted up for their use, in a village named Palabadulla:—

After a few hours' rest, we started with early dawn, on the 10th of December,—leaving all our luggage behind us,—for the ascent of Adam's Peak. Here the tropical vegetation ceases; long ere now we had bid farewell to the palmy groves;—yet for some distance further, the thick and gloomy forest, with its masses of dark verdure, cast on us a welcome shade as we proceeded on our toilsome climb. We had nothing now before us but to clamber up the steep ascent, over the wet, smooth rocks, or the slippery roots, without a halt or a resting place.

As the path up to Adam's Peak is annually trod by many thousands of pilgrims,—Mahometans as well as Brahmins and Buddhists,—one might expect to find there an easy way; but on the contrary, nothing has been done but what was absolutely indispensable; here, against a cliff so steep as to be quite impassable, a ladder of feeble twigs has been placed,—there, in some peculiarly polished and slippery part, a few steps have been hewn out of the living rock.

* * * * *

Climbing several steep rocks,—on whose surface are chiselled figures of Buddha and very ancient inscriptions,—we scrambled on with the aid of hen-roost ladders and roughly hewn steps. Now the path led us, to our great annoyance, after having ascended the abrupt elevation, down a no less abrupt declivity; now we were forced to wade, for a quarter of an hour, through running water; or again, to scale cliffs so smooth, and as it were polished, that to fall was inevitable, and to escape with unbroken bones, almost more than we could hope for. How delicious and refreshing here were the fruits of the burning zones that now lay far beneath us,—the cocoa-nuts and the oranges, which our natives had carried up with us! Those Cingalese were running and springing in advance of the party, like goats, though they were bearing heavy burdens on their heads; they climb the smooth rock so nimbly and easily with their bare feet, that I began to esteem our pilgrimage as far more meritorious than that of the unshod Buddhists.

Much fatigued, we arrived towards the end of our fourth hour, at one of the elevated platforms, a level, open space; the sharp peak,—a single conical mass of rock,—rises majestically beyond it. It was the first time that we had beheld its full outline; but, how were we ever to gain its summit? The feet of a fly or of a lizard seemed to be indispensable requisites for accomplishing that exploit. A small rest-house stands in the centre of the little valley.

* * * * *

You will easily believe that, having been accustomed in the lowland valleys, to a heat of from 22° to 24° (about 81° to 86° Fahrenheit) we felt the air now, at a level of nearly six thousand feet, cool and thin. But indeed the thermometer had fallen even here only to 14° (59° Fahrenheit), which at home is not reckoned cold enough for lighting our fires.

* * * * *

From time to time we had splendid panoramic views of the mountain glens and the lower ranges of hills; and in a deep vista below, but at no

great distance, a narrow stripe of the sea,—of whose immediate proximity we could scarcely persuade ourselves,—was glancing brightly in the sunshine. The mountain is not higher than those which travellers commonly climb in Switzerland; but nowhere in that land can the eye measure the height, by comparison with a plain so nearly on the level of the sea. On that side of the peak on which the path leads up, all vegetation ceases at some six hundred feet below the highest point; not indeed by reason of the great height, but because the summit is one single huge mass of rock,—gneiss with hornblende,—without the least covering of soil on its steep sides. Here the traveller, if at all inclined to giddiness, can scarcely escape suffering from it. A most singular expedient has been resorted to for diminishing the dangers and difficulties of pilgrims in the way. To how steps in these mighty rocks, would have been too great an undertaking; instead of attempting it, numberless chains, of every variety of link, are riveted in to the living stone. They hang in dozens to the right and to the left; some antique and rusty, some of newest stamp; for it is esteemed a meritorious work to lay one of these chains along the path, that so, if any pilgrim should chance to fall, he may be caught in this iron net-work. After dragging myself up for some fifty paces or so, as if by a windlass, I reached a sort of flat landing place, upon which one may set foot to ground firmly, and enjoy a breathing time; but immediately I beheld, to my horror, an overhanging precipice, which I could scale only after a most aerial fashion, by the help of strong iron chains. The end of the ascent is extremely disagreeable; an iron stair is here suspended in the air, and has been so completely forced out of its original position, that the steps are now nearly perpendicular. When this last difficulty has been overcome, the cry of "Land, Land!" may at last be raised, and the pilgrimage is completed!

The Prince was the first to gain the summit, followed by Count O——. I had too many plants packed all about my person, besides being encumbered with the weight of sundry apparatus, to allow of my sharing the honour. A stair leads up to the entrance of the walled enclosure, which surrounds the apex of the peak. The flat space within the wall, in the centre of which this highest cone rises, measures about seventy feet by thirty. The height of the conical apex is about eight or nine feet. The whole of the eastern side is resplendent with the gorgeous scarlet blossoms of the *Rhododendron arboreum*; and an exuberant abundance of other flowers of unrivalled beauty luxuriates among the thick grass. Everything that here meets the eye is strange and wonderful. The most singular object is a small temple of iron-wood, adorned with much carved work, under a low roof of tiles: I should think it is about eight feet in height, and covers a space of ten feet square. Within is to be seen the holy relic, which attracts such multitudes of pilgrims, the celebrated "*Sri Pada*," or sacred footstep, believed by the Cingalese Christians and Mahometans to be that of Adam; by the Buddhists, of Gautama Buddha; and by the Brahmins, of Siva. The rocky mass, on which this footstep is engraven, forms the floor of the little wooden edifice, dignified with the name of temple. There is certainly here to be seen something resembling a foot-print, an impression between five and six feet in length, and upwards of two feet in width, in which the partitions of the toes are very clumsily restored or formed with gypsum; but what cripples should we all have been, if our great progenitor Adam had stood on feet like this! The mark of the sacred footstep is enclosed within a golden frame, studded with gems of considerable size, a few only of which are genuine.

They slept in a hut on the top of the mountain, and next day effected their descent, not without many falls and bruises,

They then returned to *Colembo*, and sailed in H. M. War-steamer *Spiteful* to Trincomali. We must, however, pass over Madras, Calcutta, and other more familiar places, and pass at once to Cathmandu, the capital of Nepal. To reach the British Resident's house, the travellers passed through the town from side to side, and our author thus records his first impressions of it:—

We entered the city itself through several very narrow streets, whose entire width was just sufficient to admit of an elephant passing along. The rich wood carving lavished on the rosettes of the windows, on the pillars, architraves and corners of the roofs, reminded me of many an ancient German commercial city; yet, on the other hand, the Oriental character stamped on the whole scene is very conspicuous. The gilded roofs of the temples, hung round with bells and adorned with flags of many colours, and the gigantic images of stone, betray the influence of Chinese taste. The rain, which was falling in torrents, did not prevent our gazing with surprise at many an ancient and splendid edifice, nor admiring the skill in the fine arts displayed in the horses, elephants and battle-scenes, carved on the houses, the rich designs of window rosettes through which the rays of light penetrate, the colossal dimensions of the hideous monsters of stone, (toad-headed lions, dragons and rhinoceroses,) and the many-armed red-painted images of the god.

More surprising than all the rest was the coup d'œil presented by the market-place, notwithstanding its moderate size. On either side of it stands a great temple, whose eight-stories, with their gilded roofs, are peopled by innumerable minas and sparrows. A flight of broad stone steps, guarded by two monsters, leads up to the entrance of the temple; above, gigantic rhinoceroses, monkeys and horses adorn the edifice. The multitude of these strange figures, the stunning noise that resounded from within, the antique gloomy air of the surrounding houses, with their projecting roofs, and the solemn grandeur of the whole scene, awakened in my mind a feeling as though I had been suddenly carried back to some city of a thousand years since: I was involuntarily reminded of the description which Herodotus gives of ancient Babylon. For how long a time may all these things yet continue to appear exactly as they now do! The durable wood, the indestructible stone,* and a people who, like their kindred and instructors, the Chinese, cling to all that is primitive, unite in effectually resisting the destroying influence of Time.

We rode on, meantime, through a high, but narrow gate way, into a court, where we saw several tame rhinoceroses, kept here on account of the custom of the country, which requires that, on the death of the Rajah, one of these creatures should be slain, and imposes on the highest personages in the State the duty of devouring it!†

Passing through dark and narrow streets, and traversing squares,—in which Buddhist pagodas, with their many-armed images of *Mahadeva*,

* Described by Dr. Hamilton Buchanan as being found disposed in vertical strata in large masses, as containing much lime, being very fine-grained, having a silky lustre, cutting well, and admirably resisting the action of the weather.—Tx.

† Menu, the law-giver of the Hindus, enumerates the articles of which the offerings to the manes of deceased ancestors should consist, and which, when the ceremony had been duly performed, were to be eaten by the Brahmin and his guests; among these is the flesh of the rhinoceros.—Tx.

Indra and *Parvati* alternate with the Brahminical temples* that rise tier above tier,—we at length found ourselves at the other extremity of the town.

The gate is, like all the other gates of the city, a simple, tall, white arch, with a large eye painted on either side; indeed every entrance is, according to Chinese fashion, adorned with these horrid eyes surrounded with red borders. On the flat roof above the gate stands a slender iron dragon, with a tongue a yard long, exactly of the form usually represented by the Chinese.

The travellers made an expedition to the Kaulia Pass, which brought them within sight of Dhawala Giri:—

In six hours we gained the head of the pass and our night's quarters, —a bungalow, erected by Mr. Hodgson, at a height of two thousand feet, near the summit of the mountain-peak. Unfortunately the shades of evening prevented us from enjoying a full prospect of the chains of mountains. Of the Himalayas, we saw only the DHAYABUN group, still irradiated by the crimson glow of sunset: all the others were wrapt in clouds. Early in the morning of the 21st of February, the most glorious and enchanting landscape burst upon our view, that imagination could picture in any highland scenery: a boundless ocean of gigantic snowy mountains, towering one behind the other on the clear horizon; four distinct ranges were visible; the peak of Dhayabun in the north-west seemed almost to vanish amid so many other giants; but lo! in the north, while we were gazing at the huge Gossainthan, its eastern surface caught the bright glow of morning light. Now again our attention was attracted to the W. N. W., where a sharp and lofty summit seemed to pierce the very skies, its three needle-like peaks one after the other, illuminated with the most exquisite crimson tints. We could hardly venture to believe it the Dhawala Giri itself; yet, according to its position, it could be no other.

Our maps, the compass, and the testimony of several old men, soon removed all doubt. Who could have imagined that a distance of thirty German miles† could thus shrink into nothing? It was an overpowering impression, filling the soul with awe. The realization of a perpendicular altitude of a German mile,‡ there it stands, like a giant spectre, and in vain does the astounded beholder seek for similes whereby to shadow forth the sublimity of the spectacle: I can only say that the outline of the Alps of Switzerland, so deeply engraven in my memory, now shrunk into comparative insignificance, and as it were vanished into nought.

It must truly be a glorious spectacle. And yet after all what is twenty-six thousand feet? When rigidly examined as a matter of measurement, it seems no great thing; but yet we all feel a lofty mountain to be a magnificent object to contem-

* The creeds, deities, and superstitious rites of the Nepaulese are no less diversified and intermingled than their tribes. While the Brahminism of the majority of the population is looked upon by the natives of Bengal as corrupt in the extreme, the Buddhism of the remainder is not unmingled with divinities, rites and customs borrowed from the Pantheon and the sacred books of the Hindus.—Tr.

† Upwards of a hundred and thirty-eight English miles.—Tr.

‡ Mr. Hamilton, in his account of Hindostan, gives the height of Dhawala Giri (or the White Mountain) as exceeding 26,862 feet above the level of the sea. Dhayabun, he gives as 24,768, and states that it is visible from Patna, a distance of 182 geographical (about 186 statute) miles. Dr. Wallich makes the height of Gossainthan, 24,740.—Tr.

plate. And however rigidly we may measure the object by our scientific standard, there it stands as magnificent, as overpowering, as sublimely poetical as before.

"I ask not proud Philosophy
To tell me what thou art,"

says the poet to the rainbow. But the truth seems to be, that an acquaintance with the science of an object never interferes with the sense of its poetry. And this, of course, holds more especially true in a case like the present, where the anti-poetical quality is mere magnitude. And, besides, it is by comparison with other mountains that a very lofty one claims our admiration. Five miles along a level road is a trifling distance, because you may go on five hundred miles further. But five miles perpendicular above the earth's surface is felt to be a sublime elevation, because few men are accustomed to any thing approaching it.

It may seem to be taking the step from the sublime to the ridiculous to descend from the majestic Dhawala Giri to a Nepal court ceremony. But there are some points of half-civilized society exhibited in the sketch, which it would be a pity to pass over:—

On the third day after our arrival, (the 12th of February,) the ceremony of our reception by the Rajah took place. His elephants were sent to convey the prince and his suite. We were conducted to the usual reception palace,—a sort of court-house; but were not admitted to the proper "*Durbar*,"—the Royal Residence; the interior of the latter however is said to be very shabby, and even its exterior is by no means imposing.

The large wooden building, in which the reception took place, had certainly no resemblance to a palace. It contains dark stair-cases, and rooms filled with dust and with old armour. The audience-chamber is on the third floor. Two rows of chairs were placed at the sides, and a couple of sofas against the wall at the end of the apartment. The dirty yellow hangings were but partially concealed by old and very bad French engravings, and portraits as large as life, among which I remarked a Napoleon with cherry cheeks, and the whole succession of the Rajahs of the last century, as well as many of their kinsfolk, all painted, after the flat and rude manner of the Chinese, by native artists. Coverlets of white cotton served instead of carpets. No display of wealth or magnificence appeared, save in the costly and brilliant costumes of the Rajah and of his courtiers and household.

Upon the divan to the left side of this presence-chamber, sat the young Rajah (he is only sixteen years of age), and beside him his father, the deposed sovereign: both have quite the air of rogues,—the young Rajah even to a greater degree than his father. If his face had not that disagreeable expression, which he has heightened by the habit of distorting his mouth and nose abominably, he might, with his large black eyes, his long, finely shaped, aquiline nose, and his small, delicate mouth, have been reckoned very handsome. Young as he is, his actions prove that the opinion formed of him from his outward man, is not an erroneous one. He appears to have every quality best fitted to make an accomplished tyrant. The

father,—a man of milder disposition,—has still many adherents; but, fortunately for the country, the real ruler is Martabar Singh.

Both Rajahs were not only magnificent in their apparel, but literally overloaded with gold gems and brilliants.

The divan on the right-hand side was occupied by the Rajah's three younger brothers, boys of eight, ten and twelve years of age. The two elder ones are already married.

The Prince sat on the side row, next to the Rajah, and, as I took my seat at some distance and on the same side, I could, to my great regret, follow but little of the conversation. Meanwhile, it afforded me no slight amusement to see how Martabar Singh made a point of showing off his power, as he now rose, now again seated himself; for all those present, even the members of the Royal Family, are obliged to stand up the instant he rises; there was therefore an incessant rustling up and down, and he took care moreover to give occasion for perpetual bowings and salutations.

At the conclusion of the audience, presents were distributed: various and costly furs, Chinese silken stuffs, and beautiful weapons. My turn too came to stand up and to receive a fur dress made of otter's skins, a poniard, and a "*khikri*,"* in a gilt scabbard. The Rajah touched my hand, which honour, graciously conferred on me, I was instructed to acknowledge by a low salam, while Martabar Singh threw the gifts over my arm.

As we are at ceremonies, we may give here the form of salutation in use at the Nepal court, as exhibited in the traveller's introduction to Martabar Singh, then the "Minister and 'Generalissimo of the Kingdom," afterwards murdered, by Jung Bahadur (if we mistake not), which last our author represents as "a kinsman of the Rajah, a man of very intelligent countenance, by far the most educated and agreeable of them all":—

Martabar Singh advanced to meet the Prince, first made a most graceful "*salam*," then stepping forward about two paces, bowed himself over the left, then over the right shoulder of the object of his salutations, in a way similar to what is practised in embraces on the stage; a second salam, and a retreating step, concluded the ceremony, which each of our party was in his turn obliged to undergo. His sons too, and the officers, all performed it with the same formal solemnity, the whole operation occupying, as you may imagine, a considerable time.

This done, we seated ourselves on the chairs which stood ready in the tent, and a short but most interesting conversation took place, during which Major Lawrence, Captain Otley, and Dr. Christie, had enough to do to satisfy every claim upon them as interpreters, both in putting questions and in answering them.

From Cathmandu the Prince and his companions retraced their steps to Sugouli, and proceeded by Gorucpore, Benares, Allahabad, and Cawnpore, to Lucknow. It is pleasant to hear ourselves abused now and then, especially when it is done in the form of a comparison which is flattering to our beloved neighbours:—

No other city that I have seen presents as lively a picture of the mode

* That is, a short, broad, sword, crooked forward, like a Bengali wood-cleaver.

of living of the people of India, 'their manners and their customs, as Benares. How poor and monotonous in comparison of it is that great metropolis, Calcutta, so often extolled by the English,—wedded to all their home luxuries,—because, forsooth, roast beef and pickles, and everything that appertains to good living and to "*comfort*," may there be had in abundance, to their very heart's content!

Like good, earnest travellers, they regarded the English towns, the cities in the British territory, more as places of rest than any thing else; so we soon find them at Lucknow. In this, we think, they were right. Perhaps the fact is rather, that Dr. Hoffmeister, eschewing the exhaustive system adopted by so many of his countrymen, has merely left out of his letters descriptions of places, which are familiar to every reader of travels, and so *appears* to have passed over the British cities with a summary inspection. Perhaps the thanks should rather be given to his editor. How different from the plan of those *book-making* travellers, who make no scruple to repeat what has been said by others, and sometimes even wrap up their second-hand wares in unacknowledged quotations from their predecessors:—

We entered LUKNOW, (the natives pronounce it *Lachno*) after traversing, in our palanquins, the weary plain that extends from Allahabad, and passing through the town of CAUNPUR, spending Maundy Thursday and Good Friday itself, *en route*, as heathen among the heathen.

If it is heathenism to travel on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, we fear many are heathens, who were not before aware of it. We have not noticed our author make any allusion to the heathenishness of travelling on Sunday. Let us hope that he went to church on Sunday when there was any church to go to.

The travellers reached Lucknow on the 25th March, about half a year after leaving Athens:—

On the 25th of March, we had alighted from our palanquins at five o'clock in the morning,—for we travel on, night and day without intermission,—to take our morning walk, and run a race with our palki-bearers. Not imagining ourselves in the immediate vicinity of the city of Lucknow, we had not changed our usual travelling guise,—loose trowsers of thin red silk, with only a shirt and a "*solah*" hat,—when, to our utter amazement, at day-break, we found ourselves in the narrow streets,—then peopled only with dogs,—of a suburb of that great city. The clay-walled hovels, with their outer coating of cow-dung to exclude the moisture, soon came to an end, after we had passed through the last of several large gates of Saracenic architecture, with painted arches. Brick houses, entirely open on the ground floor, with shops and workshops, at this early hour still occupied as bed-chambers, formed, within the city-gate, wide and regular streets. Here and there appeared a building of greater size, and of semi-European aspect. Another gate, larger than the preceding ones, presented itself at the extremity of the great street through which we had proceeded; beside it was drawn up a detachment of soldiers, with red jackets and iron morions, but wearing, instead of trowsers, the simple

white cotton handkerchief hanging about their legs. One of the veteran officers felt himself called upon,—in his great zeal to imitate European civilization,—to run up behind us, most respectfully, desiring to know our names. So unreasonable a demand we had never yet met with in India, and Mr. Fortescue seemed inclined to reply by brandishing his stick. I contented myself with informing him in a most confidential manner, that my name was "*Sechs und sechzig sechse eckige Hechtskopfe*," ("Six and sixty six cornered pike's heads,") upon which, after repeated and unsuccessful attempts to pronounce the name, in the course of which he nearly dislocated his tongue and his jaw-bone, he retired, grumbling and indignant; for neither Sanscrit nor Persian could furnish the necessary sounds.

A peep at English society at Lucknow :—

We had reached our goal, and Mr. Shakspeare, the British Resident, gave us a most friendly welcome in this his chateau. The Prince and his companions had arrived the day before; we were all delighted to meet again after a separation of four or five days, such as often happens in the palanquin travelling of these lands, and mutually to recount the adventures of our journey. Our kind host is himself a bachelor; but three or four other English gentlemen are resident at Lucknow with their families; and in this little circle we could clearly mark the pleasure caused by the arrival of foreign guests, as introducing a little variety into their dull and monotonous life. The stiff and aristocratic tone that prevails among the fashionable society of Calcutta, does not reign here; consequently the drives, pleasure parties and evening entertainments, which were of daily occurrence, were most cheerful and agreeable. Music was all the fashion; the most trifling performance seemed to give universal satisfaction; no voice was so poor or insignificant, as not to be exerted with pleasure, to display its owner's skill in the tuneful art, by pouring forth some simple melody; no piano-forte so discordant as not to enable one to shine by striking up a few hackneyed waltzes.

A tomb filled with fancy glass-ware is a pretty good sample of oriental æsthetics :—

We also visited the burial-place of the present Royal Family, a wonderfully fine work of art, for Moslems spare no expense on their sepulchres. The dwellings of the living may indeed be filthy and scarcely habitable, provided only the departed are lodged in splendour. The entrance to the royal tomb is a lofty white gateway, surmounted by a cupola, and from its appearance the stranger would never expect to find a place of sepulture within. In the first court, surrounded by buildings, fountains are ever playing in beautiful marble basins, encircled by myrtles, roses and cypresses; palm-trees grace each corner of this garden, on every side of which glittering turrets and walls of dazzling whiteness rise amid the fragrant and shady bowers. The balmy air of evening was loaded with the perfume of roses and jessamine, and the deep azure of the vault above formed a striking contrast to the whiteness of the domes and the corners of the roofs, still illuminated by the last rays of the setting sun. A brilliant light shone through the arched windows of the lofty Moorish hall, under the marble gateway of which we now passed.

If the entrance court and external appearance of the burial-place produce an indescribable and magic impression, the charm is somewhat broken in the interior, where the eye wanders, distracted by the confused mass of incongruous yet brilliant objects; the tone of feeling caused by the first general view being, meantime, unpleasantly disturbed. The inner space,

from its overloaded magnificence and unbounded profusion of gold and silver, pearls, gems, and all the valuables the East or the West can afford, had rather the appearance of a retail shop or of a fancy glass-warehouse, than of the resting-place of the dead. Glass cupolas, and candelabra of every variety, may be seen standing in dozens, pell-mell, upon the ground; lustres, ten feet in height, of bright and many-coloured glass, brought hither from England at an immense expense: and among these are deposited many trophies, swords and other weapons, of the finest Ispahan steel. The glare of the innumerable lamps so dazzles the eye, that it is difficult to find the principal thing among the multitude of other objects of interest.

Here, stand a couple of tigers, as large as life, formed of pieces of green glass, joined together with gold, presented by the Emperor of China. There, the attention is arrested by a silver horse, five feet high, with the head of a man, and the wings and tail of a peacock,—the steed sent down to the prophet from heaven. Another horse, carved in wood, is an original likeness of the late Nabob's favourite charger. Vases, bronze figures, marble statues of moderate size, plans of the city and of the palaces, painted upon a gold ground, and a thousand other toys and trifles, were gathered together in this extraordinary place.

At length, however, amidst all this chaos, we discovered the tombs themselves, enclosed within massive golden railings, and canopied with a baldachin of gold, filigree-work, pearls and gems, large and small, lavished upon them. Besides the father of the reigning sovereign, who lies buried in the principal tomb, several of his wives repose on either side of him.

But the royal gardens quite eclipse even this:—

The centre of the garden is usually occupied by a marble tank, in which many fountains are playing, and cypresses alternate with roses in embellishing its margin. The water-works are very tastelessly modernized; soldiers in red jackets, sheep, crippled dogs and lions, all spout forth water in the most wonderful manner!

The bowers and flower-beds are, in the hot season, owing to the great drought, in a poor condition, in spite of their being every morning inundated by means of multitudes of small canals, which, along with the straight paved walks, produce a very stiff effect in the general aspect of the grounds. In addition to this, a mania prevails at Lucknow for placing marble or plaster statues, as large as life, at every turn and corner, without the slightest regard to the choice of figures, which seems to be left to the discretion of the sculptor. He copies the most antiquated French models, the originals of which have been out of date for many a long year, and manufactures, for a very reasonable price, shepherds and shepherdesses, British soldiers, Neptunes, or it may be Farnese pugilists, or dogs, lions, and sundry other beasts. Among them all, I espied busts of Jean Jacques Rousseau, D'Alembert, and Napoleon, standing on the ground amid the fauns and the monsters of Indian mythology, all gathered together in the most perfect harmony to defend a flower-bed! What marvellously enhances the brilliant effect of these works of art, is a discovery which certainly is worthy of notice in Europe, viz., the custom of painting the hair, eyes and feet, (whether bare or shod,) with a thick coating of lamp-black. The Venus de Medici appears to wonderful advantage in this improved edition.

The Nawab was to give a *déjeûner* in honour of the Prince. His Majesty's son was to come for them; "but instead of him, came the news that he was indisposed. It was rumoured that he had taken rather too much opium!"

At length they reach the palace. The picture of the Royal family is not flattering:—

The long table was already set, and soon his Majesty appeared, grave and dignified in his demeanour, and surrounded by his suite, all glittering with gold. His entrance was proclaimed in a clear and sonorous tone by various officers. The King is a tall, stately person, of enormous embonpoint; his apparel resembled that of his son, except that it was yet more splendid and more richly ornamented with diamonds. He was accompanied by another of his sons, who, though still more corpulent, much resembled him. The physiognomy of the reigning family is expressive rather of good nature than of shrewdness or talent, if indeed character can be expressed at all in such a mass of fat! How different were the portraits of their ancestors, even of the father and grandfather of the present Nabob! In their features power and energy are strongly marked, while the living faces around us bore the stamp only of luxurious enjoyment, and of a life of indolent pleasure.

Exactly opposite to me sat three most lovely little boys,—the younger Princes,—in whom I could see clear marks of a good appetite, and of the eagerness with which they longed to attack the ragouts that stood before them. Their heavy golden turbans seemed to be no less an oppression to them than the moderation they were constrained to observe. The King, on the other hand, was in a most merry mood. He himself helped Prince Waldemar, and did the honours of the beautiful delicacies of Indian confectionery. Flower pots were set upon the table, the flowers, twigs, leaves and soil in which, were all eatable, and when they had all been devoured, the flower-pots themselves were demolished in like manner; again, on breaking off the pointed top of a small pasty, which he caused to be handed to the Prince, out flew a pair of pretty little birds,—which playful surprise threw the corpulent Nabob into an immoderate fit of laughter.

We allude to the beast fights merely for the purpose of reprobatating the unwomanly conduct of our country-women in countenancing such spectacles. The page in which their shame is recorded has been quietly headed by the editor “humane entertainment:”—

The combats of wild beasts were now to commence. We were conducted to a gallery, from which we looked down upon a narrow court, surrounded by walls and gratings. This was the arena on which the exhibition was to take place. Unluckily the space allotted for spectators was, on account of the great number of English ladies present, so circumscribed that we could find only a bad standing-room, and one moreover in which the glare and heat of the sun were most oppressive: however, the spectacle exhibited before our eyes in the depth of the battle-field, was of such a nature that all discomfort was soon forgotten.

We there beheld six powerful buffaloes, not of the tame breed, but strong and mighty beasts, the offspring of the *Arnees* of the mountains, measuring at least four feet and a half in height to the back, with huge and wide-arching horns, from three to four feet in length. There they stood, on their short, clumsy legs,—snorting violently, and blowing through their distended nostrils, as if filled with forebodings of the approaching danger. What noble animals! what strength in those broad necks! Pity only that such intense stupidity should be marked in their eyes!

A clatter of sticks, and the roar of various wild beasts now resounded, to which the buffaloes replied by a hollow bellowing. Suddenly, on the opening of a side-door, there rushed forth a strong and formidable tiger, measuring, I should say, from ten to eleven feet in length, from head to tail, and about four feet in height. Without deliberating long, he sprang, with one mighty bound, into the midst of the buffaloes, and darting unexpectedly between the redoubtable horns of one of the boldest champions, he seized him by the nape of the neck, with teeth and claws. The weight of the tiger nearly drew the buffalo to the ground: a most fearful contest ensued. Amid roars and groans, the furious victim dragged its fierce assailant round and round the arena, while the other buffaloes, striving to liberate their comrade, inflicted on the foe formidable wounds with their sharp and massive horns.

Deep silence reigned among the audience, &c., &c.

But enough of Lucknow. Let us refresh ourselves with a glance at Nainethal:—

"NAINETHAL" signifies the lake of *Naina*, the latter name being that of a renowned heroine. The lake lies between lofty cliffs of black limestone on the one, and loose deposits of argillaceous schist on the other side: its depth is very considerable; the plumb-line proved it, in several places, to be from sixty to seventy-five feet. Near its centre is a shallow spot, which, from the adjacent mountain summits, shines with emerald hue. The narrow end of the lake is towards the south-west; the north-eastern extremity is broad, and is the only place where, for a short distance, its margin is flat, scarcely raised above the level of the water. According to the measurements of Colonel Everest, its height above the sea is six thousand three hundred feet, and its circumference three miles and one-third. The calcareous spar, which appears on the highest point of the surrounding rocks of clay-slate, the greenstone-trapp, detached blocks of which lie upon its western side, and the broken, indented form of its shores, would lead to the conclusion that this lake is of volcanic origin. Three others are situated in the neighbourhood, within a circuit of from ten to fifteen miles.

Our stay in this charming valley was prolonged from day to day, as the provisions necessary for our further wanderings in the mountains could only be procured,—and that not without many delays,—by a mountainous and circuitous route from Almôra. I thus enjoyed abundant leisure for collecting botanical and zoological specimens.

The remainder of the volume is so full of interesting details, that we must allow our author to speak for himself as much as possible.

We have all heard of the hanging bridges of the Himalayas:—

"*A Sangho*," or rope-bridge, leads across, not far from the village of BAMOTH, situated on the right bank. These bridges, in universal use among the mountains, consist of two strong grass ropes, tightly stretched across the river from side to side, to which are suspended, so as to hang perpendicularly, short grass ropes, not thicker than a finger, bearing transverse pieces of wood, fastened at right angles to their lower extremity; over these horizontal sticks, are laid lengthways, split bambus, which, properly speaking, form the bridge. As its width is scarcely one foot, and these bambus do not afford a very substantial footing, the passenger, who ven-

tures to traverse this primitive suspension-bridge, must be free from all tendency to vertigo.

At Gauricand they visited the temples and hot springs:—

A multitude of pilgrims had gathered round the sacred springs of this spot, where, amid many ceremonies, they perform their ablutions. A basin of twelve feet square, with three gradations of depth, receives the water of one hot spring, TOCTACUND, which flows down from it in copious streams, by brazen conduits. Here we witnessed several singular bathing scenes. The temperature of the spring is 41.95 (125° Fahrenheit) the devout pilgrims, therefore, could not come into contact with its sacred waters without experiencing a certain degree of pain; the female bathers especially found the heat decidedly too great for their softer skins. They popped in alternately, first one, then another foot, without venturing a leap; many, even of the men, betrayed their pain while in the water by a most doleful mien. Others again displayed great heroism, standing in the centre amidst the bubbling of the fountain. One fakir stepped in, without moving a muscle in his face: remained in the water fully three minutes, then rubbed his whole body with ashes, and, shortly afterwards, without having put on his clothes, was seen squatting in the cool evening air. What an enviable impossibility! I entered into conversation with this man regarding his mode of life. His expressions were as follows: "I left Juggernaut, my family property and home, and followed the god, by whose inspiration I was moved to wander hither. For twenty years I have been a fakir. The god has ever given me all that I could need. The god has likewise kept me from being sensitive to cold, preserved me from suffering the pangs of hunger, and, when sick, raised me up again. In winter, the god must needs send me something in the shape of a mantle, something wherewith to clothe myself; yet, if it be not so, he will not suffer me to sink under the chilling blasts!"

When the pilgrims have at length contrived to perform their three prescribed immersions, their garments are next washed in the holy water, amid continued prayer. Among them may be seen men and boys running up and down at the edge of the basin, without the least idea of devotion, simply to wash their feet, or to cleanse various goods and chattels in its sacred fountain; gun-barrels and lamps were being cleaned in it; nevertheless, I was not permitted to descend to its margin, to estimate the temperature of its holy source.

The towering peaks of the Himalaya again. They visit the Temple of Kedarnath, and after ascending the Pass of Tso-rikhal, contemplate the lofty peaks once more:—

Never before had the giant mountains to the north appeared so completely to pierce the very skies, as when seen from this point, where a deep and wide glen lay at our feet. Like crystal palaces of ice, they towered into the air; to our right, the PEAK OF BUDRINATH, with its immense slopes of smooth and shining snow; to our left, our old friend, the PEAK OF KEDARNATH. Sharp and clear were the outlines of these bright summits,—pencilled against the azure sky,—and difficult would it have been to decide which was the more beautiful of the twin pair. Two beds of snow,—bordered with lovely, pale rose-coloured auriculas, and primroses of bright sulphur yellow and of delicious fragrance,—must needs be crossed; after which, scaling a steep rock of mica schist, the surface of which had been reduced by disintegration to a somewhat soapy consistency, we gained the summit, the crowning point of all these lofty passes. Here we again beheld the

glorious snow-capped peaks of the higher Himalaya range ; but it was only for a moment ; the next instant, glittering icy needles alone towered above the dense mass of vapour, at such a height, that we might have deemed them an airy mirage, had we not, but a few seconds before, been gazing upon the entire chain, down to its very base.

The rumour of their approach appears sometimes to have alarmed the ignorant natives :—

A strange rumour had spread among the people in the dominions of the Rajah of Gurwal, to wit, that the Prince was preceded by a host of three thousand military, carrying fire, devastation and pillage, wherever they went. With the utmost difficulty were the terror-stricken populace convinced that the plundering army, and the splendid court with its golden pageantry, all consisted merely of a few pedestrian travellers, clad in simple attire, and followed by their luggage-bearers. Our party has unfortunately been diminished by the loss of one most useful member,—the Prince's personal attendant,—who, being seized with repeated attacks of the nature of cholera, probably caused by the sultry air of the valleys, was left behind. His place was taken by the aforementioned English hunter, who is intimately acquainted with all the windings, the ups and downs, and the narrow passes, of these mountain roads, and is moreover well versed in the "*Pahari Zubaan*," or language of the mountaineers, a dialect unintelligible even to our interpreter.

After much fatiguing travel, they reached Gungotri, some interesting notices of which are given in a note by the translator :—

Until a comparatively recent period, this region was unexplored by any traveller, save some wandering Hindu devotees. Mr. J. Fraser, who visited Gungotri in 1816, was the first European who penetrated thither ; he ascertained the elevation to be 10,319 feet. Even among the devout Hindus, this pilgrimage is considered an exertion so mighty as to redeem the performer from troubles in this world, and to ensure a happy transit through all the stages of transmigration. The three pools,—*Surya* (the Sun) *Cund*,—*Vishnu Cund*,—and *Brahma Cund*,—are said to be of pure Ganges water, unpolluted by any confluent stream. The water taken from hence is drawn under the inspection of a brahmin, who is paid for the privilege of taking it, and much of it is carried to Bengal and offered at the temple of Baidyanath. The ascent of the sacred stream is, beyond Gungotri, of extreme difficulty ; it was however accomplished by Captains Hodgson and Herbert, who after ascending an immense snow bed, and making their second bivouac beyond Gungotri at a level of 12,914 feet, found the Ganges issuing from under a very low arch from which huge hoary icicles depend, at the foot of the great snow-bed, here about 300 feet in depth : proceeding for some thousand paces up the inclined bed of snow, which seemed to fill up the hollow between the several peaks, called by Colonel Hodgson, Mount Moira and the Four Saints, and geometrically ascertained to vary in height from 21,179 to 22,798 feet, they obtained a near view of those gigantic mountains described by our author as seen from Mukba. As Colonel Hodgson justly observes, "It falls to the lot of few to contemplate so magnificent an object as a snow-clad peak rising to the height of upwards of a mile and a half, at the short horizontal distance of two and three quarter miles."

Failing in the attempt to penetrate into Thibet, they proceed direct to Kunawar "by one of the mountain passes."

In this journey they endured many hardships. For example :—

We were perpetually sliding back upon the wet grass, and a full hour of tedious

climbing had passed away, ere we arrived, half-way up the hill, at the base of an over-hanging precipice of granite, which, although the level space below was limited enough, afforded some slight shelter to our party from the ice-cold rain. We halted here. Our naked coolies cowered around us, shivering, and their teeth chattering from cold. It proved however actually impossible, with our coolies and baggage, to pass the night on this platform of only ten feet square. There was not room sufficient to allow of pitching our tents, and not a spot was to be found in the neighbourhood bearing the most distant resemblance to level ground,—nothing but rugged acclivities and precipitous cliffs on every side.

Count O—, meanwhile, had gone in search of a better resting-place. The wind was every moment becoming colder and more piercing, and our limbs more and more benumbed; and still no messenger arrived to announce the discovery of an encampment-ground. Thus an hour passed away in dreadful discomfort and suspense; at the end of that time, one of the guides returned, to conduct us to a spot which he had at length found.

It was nearly dark from the heavy rain; we stumbled on,—following our guide, over the almost impassable mountains of débris,—so stiff from cold that, when we slid down, it was scarcely possible for us to rise up again, and our benumbed hands almost refusing to grasp our much-needed mountain poles. At length we reached the spot selected as our resting-place, a somewhat less steep declivity, above the deep glen of the Gumty's parent stream. Our tents were pitched as well as could be managed, but the rain poured through them on all sides. Before our camp-beds could, with the help of large stones, be set up, another hour and a half had elapsed, and we had not yet got rid of our drenched clothes. As to establishing any thing like a comfortable abode, such a thing was not to be dreamt of for this night; and the wood we had brought with us was so thoroughly wet, that it would not ignite. At length, after many vain attempts, a feeble flickering flame rewarded our perseverance, and, cherishing it into a small fire, we boiled our own chocolate, the cook being ill from the cold, and incapable of doing any work: but neither chocolate nor brandy,—in which last we indulged more largely than usual,—succeeded in thoroughly reviving the natural warmth of our frames.

I was scarcely in a state to make any measurements of height by the thermometer; however, the result of my calculations, such as they were, was an altitude of eleven thousand, seven hundred and nineteen feet above the sea.

THE "MOUNTAIN SICKNESS."

Nearly an hour and a half passed away before the van-guard of our troop of coolies, with their load of baggage, arrived at the head of the pass. They were in a deplorable condition, and suffering, as was also our interpreter Mr. Brown, from headache, which they described as intolerably severe. Anxiety, debility and sickness are the other symptoms of the disease, known here by the name of "*Bish*," poison, or "*Mundara*." Travellers among these mountains, ascending within the limit of eternal snow, are generally attacked by it. It showed itself among the coolies even half-way up the pass. They take, as an antidote, a paste prepared of the small sour apricots ("*Choaru*,") which I before described, the kernels being bruised, and mixed up with it; it has an unpleasantly sour taste, from which it derives its name of "*Khutai*."

Finding the way blocked up with snow, they had to descend in another direction:—

We set out on the march, and had scarcely gained the highest point, when a chill and soaking mist, gradually changing into a violent hail-shower, enveloped us in a gloom so dense, that the pioneers of our long train were altogether cut off from the rest.

Everything however conspired to make us earnestly desirous of reaching the foot of the mountain with the least possible delay; for the day was already on the decline, and it would have been utterly impracticable to pursue, amid the perils of darkness, a march in itself so replete with danger. As little could we, without risking our lives, spend the night on these heights. Our guides, themselves apparently anxious and perplexed, were urged forward with the impatience of despair.

We arrived in safety at the base of the first snowy steep ; but here we found that the lowest, and unfortunately also the most abrupt declivity, consisted of a smooth mass of ice, upon the existence of which, we had, by no means, calculated. We forthwith began, axe in hand, to hew steps in it. It was a painfully tedious operation ; and, while engaged in our fatiguing labour, we were obliged, hanging over a giddy abyss, to cling fast with our feet and our left hands, lest we should lose our hold and slide down to the bottom. This did indeed all but happen to the Prince himself ; his pole, however, furnished with a very strong iron tip, checked his fall. I too slipped, and darted down to a considerable distance, but fortunately with the aid of my "*alpenstock*," I contrived, in spite of its point being broken off, to keep myself in an upright position. Thus the Prince and I, accompanied by the guides, arrived prosperously at the end of the ice, and reached a less dangerous surface of snow ; but not a creature had followed us, and the thick rimy snow that darkened the atmosphere, prevented us from casting a look behind, towards our lost companions and attendants. One of the guides was sent back in quest of them ; and it turned out that the coolies had refused to descend by this route. Neither money nor cudgelling seemed now to be of the least avail.

At length the snowy shower somewhat abated ; the curtain of mist opened for a moment, and we descried, standing in a line on the crest of the ridge, from which we had descended an hour before, the whole array of coolies. Not one of them could muster resolution to venture upon the icy way ; they looked down in despair. When they perceived us standing below, a few of the most courageous,—urged on by Count O—— with voice and stick,—at length agreed to follow in our steps. They got on pretty well as far as the smooth icy precipice ; but here several of them lost their firm footing and slid down the steep descent with their heavy burdens on their backs. It was a frightful scene, and, to all appearance, full of danger ; not one of them however met with any injury ; even Mr. Brown, whose shooting descent from the highest part filled us with terror,—as he slid down a distance of at least a hundred feet, into a crevasse, in which he was apparently engulfed, was at last brought to us safe and sound, with the exception of considerable excoriation and torn raiment. It cost half an hour, however, to hew a long flight of steps for him in this icy wall. During all these proceedings, which occupied more than an hour, the Prince and I were standing at the foot of the declivity, up to our knees in snow, exposed to a freezing blast and to incessant sleet, but most heartily were we rejoiced, when at length all our people were gathered around us, without one broken neck or limb. The coolies had latterly given up the attempt to scramble down the fatal precipices of ice, and had glided down "*à la montagne Russe*," abandoning themselves to their fate.

The Lama's hymn seems to have been very like what some of our readers may have heard in Armenian churches :—

From the top of a cliff, over against Puari, we enjoyed, for a long while, the pleasing view afforded by the groups of neat houses surrounded by smiling vine-bowers and verdant corn-fields,—the frowning rocks in the back-ground, crowned on their summits with dark cedar-forests,—while the light clouds flitted across the silvery peaks of *Raidung*, ("*Reildang*") in the far distance, and we were refreshed, after our day's fatigues, by the soft and balmy breath of evening. Already the valley was veiled in twilight, when the Lamas (Priests) of the temple appeared, with their long red mantles thrown round them in imposing drapery, and commenced, in honour of the Prince, a strain of melancholy singing. First, a leader gave forth the melody, as if intoning a Latin prayer ; then the whole chorus, consisting of four other voices, joined in chanting the response, as in the "*Responsorium*" of a Roman Catholic church. The scene produced a wonderfully grand and solemn effect. It was long before we could summon resolution to quit this enchanted spot ; and we did not return until a very late hour to the shady walnut trees under which our tents were pitched.

At length they reached Chiní.

Our path,—here very steep, and rendered slippery by the fallen leaves of the cedars,—soon led us above the wooded region, and we found ourselves upon a

well-made and carefully kept-up road, the *Dāk-road* to CHINI. It has been made, for the distance of at least a hundred miles, across the roughest mountain country, by a company of British merchants, simply on a speculation, for the sake of carrying grapes with the greatest possible expedition to Simla, from the few places where they are successfully cultivated; they arrive at that station fresh, and in excellent condition. A contract has been entered into with the authorities of the district, according to which the grapes are packed by people appointed for the purpose, and transported from one village to another. Each station is fixed, and the *Dāk* has scarcely arrived, when the Mukdiar makes his appearance with fresh coolies, ready to forward the grapes without a moment's delay. Thus they travel on from village to village, till they reach Simla. The baskets, in which they are carried, are long dossiers, or back-baskets, painted at the lower end. Cotton is sent up the country for packing them; in this the grapes, gathered not in bunches but singly, are packed in alternate layers. When they come to table at Simla, they have, by no means, the tempting appearance of a handsome, full-grown cluster, but rather resemble gooseberries; an immense quantity of them is however disposed of.

In this grape trade, to which the Rajah of Bissahir presents no obstacle, a single English merchant is said to realize, in the course of each season, a profit of four hundred pounds sterling, and the demand for grapes is greater than the supply. It is strange that the Rajah knows all this, and yet it never occurs to him that he might carry on the traffic in this article with the low country on his own account, by which means he would make much larger gains, as the grapes are his own property.

* * * * *

We had now gained an open height, commanding a view of the left bank of the Sutlej. Behind the chain of mountains which rises from its banks,—in the rugged defile of which we could yet recognize the ruinous avalanche and the masses of snow which we had so recently traversed near Barung,—appeared heights, treeless indeed, but clothed with fresh verdure: above them rose the outlines of the Ral-dung group, piercing the very skies with their eternal snows. Unfortunately a shroud was wrapped round the highest summits, for a storm was advancing towards us. How magnificent the contrast of the dark cedar forests, the alpine pastures of tender green, and the white dazzling snow.

From Chiní they at length succeed in penetrating within sight of the Chinese territory:—

But what a surprise awaited us on reaching the highest ridge! A single, sharply-drawn crest of white granite, destitute of all vegetation, (such are all the loftiest ridges of the Himalayas,—one cannot even walk along them), now rose before us; at one spot only there is a passage broken through it, a narrow opening like a sort of gate. The instant we entered this, the most magnificent Alpine panorama, beyond what fancy could have pictured, burst upon us: the mountains of the Chinese territory,—PURKYUL,—which we now beheld for the first time. How strange, how interesting, the thoughts that filled the mind on thus finding oneself, as it were, magically transported to the very gates of the Celestial Empire! Alas! we knew too well by former experience, how securely defended these were! So much the more ardent was our desire to penetrate the barrier! so much the more vivid were our imaginings of the beautiful and the wondrous enclosed within! The mellow violet blue of the long lines of hills towering one behind another, had something in it so mysterious, so enchanting, that the most intense longing to see them more closely, to perambulate them at our leisure, was kindled in our minds. We did not then know how little they gain by nearer approach,—how, at last, that landscape, which from a distance appears so attractive, resolves itself into cold, naked, ruinous-looking rocks, crowned with everlasting snow. We afterwards reached these heights, and so far crossed their barrier, that we saw before us no more blue mountains, and even no more snow,—but only the monotonous horizon of that table-land of Thibet, which, most unpromising in its sterility and desolation, stretches far as the eye can reach.

EXTEMPORE BRIDGE (NEAR CHASU.)

There was here but one route by which we could descend. It consisted of the remains of an avalanche, which in spring had choked up the bed of the river, and had hitherto served as a bridge. Unfortunately this mass of debacles had recently fallen in, and one gigantic tower of snow was now left standing alone on either side; even these mighty piers of the quondam bridge had been partly washed away by the current at their base, while the glowing sun above, no less fatal a destroyer, caused the melted particles to trickle down their sides. We descended with great difficulty on these wet and dirty banks of snow, and when all was done, we found ourselves at the very margin of the river indeed, but without any means of transit across its rapid waters. We were constrained, on account of the distance from the wood, and of the difficulty of transport, to relinquish all idea of bringing down timber and beams for building; ropes of sufficient length too were wanting, and if we had had them, they must have proved useless by reason of the frowning crags on the opposite shore. At length a huge cedar-stem, torn down by the rushing avalancho, was disentangled, and one grand effort was put forth to drag it to the narrowest part of the stream; after long and arduous labour, in the course of which we were all drenched to the skin, and covered with black mud, we were forced to abandon this plan also; for the tree became deeply imbedded in the sand, and no power of ours could move it from the spot. In this dilemma, we at last learned that a better place for constructing a bridge was to be found elsewhere; for actually our pioneers had been too indolent even to obtain proper information regarding the locality.

In order to reach the spot pointed out to us, we were obliged to clamber up an abrupt cliff, then to ascend a steep acclivity, several hundred feet in height, and covered with loose fragments of rock, and finally, to scale a conical mass of granite without the slightest vestige of a path. The slope of loose debris was expected to present the most insuperable obstacle: it proved otherwise; the blocks of stone did not yield beneath our feet, and when we reached the granite rock above, we found flat ledges and narrow fissures enough, so that, clambering up with hands and feet, we did at last gain the top of the cone, just in time to guide our coolies, who were at that moment coming up,—to the right course by our shouts.

The second spot selected for the passage of the river, seemed, at any rate, less dangerous than the first; for although the stream, fifty feet across, dashes its raging billows through the narrow gorge, a solid pier presents itself in the midst of its eddy, in the shape of a huge mass of rock. If it be but possible to gain that point, all is safe; for it lies not very far from the opposite shore: unfortunately however, it offers no jutting corners, but presents, on the side towards which we descended, a smooth face of from sixteen to twenty feet in height. Without delay we proceeded to the work of building; there was no time to lose; for already, in the depths of this contracted defile, the shades of twilight were threatening to overtake us; each coolie must needs give a helping hand; stones were collected, and trees hewn down and driven into the bed of the river.

The work advanced more rapidly than I had expected. As soon as a few firm points in the stream had been secured, the rock in its centre was, with the assistance of a hastily-made ladder, speedily gained; from it a second rock was reached by means of a short bridge laid across, and thence the opposite bank itself was attained. At each hazardous spot, one of our party seated himself, to stretch out a helping hand to the coolies and coolias, and thus bring them safely across. After three hours of very arduous toil, the whole party and the whole baggage were on the further side. But we were still far from our station of Chasu; a steep acclivity rose in front of us, and when, with much difficulty and fatigue, we reached its top, we found ourselves deluded, again and again, by a false hope, as, at each turn of the path, we expected to see the village immediately before us.

KORA AND ITS INHABITANTS.

We were soon surrounded by a throng of the inhabitants, attired completely after the fashion of Thibet. The profusion of amber ornaments, and the brownish red of all their garments, the thoroughly Thibetan complexion, the general use of boots and trowsers, even among the women, which prevails from this place forward,

all mark the influence of the manners and customs of Thibet. The men wear skull-caps, sandals or high cloth boots, and a broad belt round the red vestment, in which are stuck a knife, a pipe, spoon, and a number of other little articles. The only thing which distinguishes the women's costume, is the absence of the belt, and the manner of wearing the hair, which, divided into numberless thin plaits, and interlaced with coral, shells, amber, and silver bells, hangs down like a sort of network upon the back.

The Tartar physiognomy is, by no means, very predominant; and although the noses are generally somewhat broad, and the cheek-bones large and prominent, yet I saw some faces which, in any country, would be acknowledged to be pretty and expressive. The figures are slender and yet athletic, resembling those of the inhabitants of the valley of the Buspa, near Sungla.

FRIENDLY FAREWELL.

Our departure, on the 4th of August, was, as had been our arrival on the 3rd, a universal fête. The path was enlivened by numbers of blithe and merry women, maidens, and children; and the male population escorted us as far as the river,—at least an hour and a half's walk,—and even there parted from us only one by one. The women remained on the vine-clad hills commanding our path, singing in clear but plaintive tones, "*Tantun ne re ho!*" which, I understand, signifies, "*happy journey!*" The kindly salutation was still heard resounding, long after the songstresses had vanished from our eyes.

ENCAMPED.

Our last steep ascent for the day accomplished, and a spot selected for our encampment, our first concern is to fix our tent. Each one sets his hand to the work, and in a few minutes the tent is pitched; our cloaks are unrolled, our blankets spread, and thus our night's quarters are prepared. But there stand, expecting their pay, the whole troop of coolies; the poor fellows must not be kept too long waiting for their hard-earned pittance. Many a rope must be unbound to get at the money, and forthwith tied up again in dexterous knots, the substitute for a lock and key. Suddenly, I bethink myself of my beautiful gathered plants; what a pity that they should be left to wither! The paper too, saturated with moisture, must be laid out in the sun to dry. To release from suffering the various living creatures, swarming and sprawling in all manner of bottles, and to file them on needles, is likewise a duty that admits of no delay. While I am occupied with it, numbers of people gather round me, with imploring gestures. One points moaning, to his stomach; another brings a sick child, and without more ado lays it silently at my feet; while yonder group are carrying hither an unfortunate man, with shattered legs. There is no time to lose: not a moment to linger among my zoological treasures: I must at least show my willingness to afford relief, even where I cannot give a remedy; and alas! how rarely can an efficacious remedy be provided in such haste! Yet it would be hard, indeed, to send away with worthless or fatal advice these poor people, who have come from their far-distant homes, confidently anticipating their cure from the "*Bara Doctor Sahib!*" When the wonder-working medicine has, at length, been rummaged out of the deep and closely-packed chest and duly dispensed, and the bandages applied,—though not without making large holes in the remains of my linen shirts,—I begin to think of indulging in a little repose. But lo! a sudden torrent of rain threatens destruction to the plants I had but just prepared for my *hortus siccus*: I hasten out to rescue my treasures. Thus the rest of the day slips away; darkness comes on with swift and unlooked for strides; and, as evening closes in, our simple repast is devoured with voracious appetite. Scarcely have the dishes been removed, when the conversation dies away, and our eye-lids drop heavily; but no! hence lazy sleep! my journal must be written before the vivid impressions of the day have faded from my mind. A solitary candle,—sheltered from the draught of air by an ingenious paper bell, lest it should be too often extinguished,—sheds its faint and murky light upon my work. In what a poetic mood must I then indite, in what interesting and witty language clothe my descriptions of the adventures we have gone through

or the scenes we have beheld ! At length, I am free to sink down on the hard couch of coarse, scratching, woollen stuff ; and refreshing enough would be my slumbers, if the incessant blood-letting, occasioned by gnats and stinging flies, and other little hostile animals of the sucking or stinging kind, would but suffer the dreamy doze to merge into a sound sleep. After a short rest, morning dawns ; a noisy menial enters, and unmercifully pulling away the bed-clothes, compels me to throw on my apparel, yet damp from yesterday's rains. The tent vanishes no less quickly ; and we are left to stand shivering in the chill morning blast.

IN THIBET AT LAST.

After repeated unsuccessful attempts, His Royal Highness succeeded, on the 6th of August, in traversing the boundary of Thibet ; not indeed at the place originally contemplated, but in a highly interesting part of the country ; and thus we actually penetrated within the barriers of the Celestial Empire !

Four sturdy yak-oxen stood in readiness for us to mount their woolly backs ; the baggage-sheep were saddled and packed, and a merry band of village dames and maidens, all clad in the loose red trowsers, were bustling about with the remainder of our luggage, amid incessant laughter and singing. The men, on the frontier and in Thibet, act as bearers only when forced to do so ; and the whole burden of agricultural and of domestic toils they also leave to the women. It was a matter of some difficulty to gain a firm seat on the backs of our novel steeds, caparisoned with our Greek capotes by way of saddles ; for they are very shy, and kick with their hind-feet, turning their heads round perpetually, as if about to gore their riders. About half-past nine o'clock, we set out on our expedition, leaving behind us the apricot-groves of Namdja, and thus bidding farewell to the last oasis in the desert of rocks and of debris through which the Sutlej forces its way.

Although our path appeared, from a distance, to be extremely dangerous, it proved quite sufficiently firm and level for our broad-footed yak-oxen, noble beasts with the thick, silky, white fringe under the body, and the bushy tail, both of which sweep the ground : but soon the steepness increased so much that these poor animals began to groan, or rather grunt,* in the most melancholy manner, and this unearthly music gradually rose to such a violent rattle, that,—driven rather by its irksome sound than by the discomfort of our saddleless seats,—we dismounted at the end of the first half-hour.

How dreary, yet how imposing, is the prospect of those rude, steep, rocky masses of shattered slate, between which the roaring Thibetian river thunders its dark yellow waves. Not a shrub, not a green herb to gladden the eye ; as far as it can reach, nothing is seen but rock after rock, tumbled together in wild ruins, or frowning in stern crags, descending in deep and startling precipices, or towering,—if indeed the mist allows a glimpse of those stupendous heights,—into bold mountain peaks and lofty pinnacles, crowned with everlasting snow.

* * * * *

Our resting-place, the frontier village of SHIPKI, was not yet visible ; but we could descry three or four more distant villages, and could follow,—alas ! with our eyes only,—a path winding across the barren mountain-ridges, into the interior of that hidden land. How much did I envy the *Lämmergeiers* the freedom of their flight, as, poised in mid-air, they circled high above our heads !

To our left towered the majestic Purkyul, with its thousand sharp cones and pinnacles, like some gigantic Termites-hill : the greater part of it was covered with snow.

We descended from this commanding point by gentle zig-zags, through tall bushes

* From this peculiar sound the animal derives its name of *Bos-grunniens* ; by some naturalists it is designated the *Bospoephagus*. Besides the important article of trade furnished by the yak-oxen in their tails, which are sold in all parts of India as chowries, and as ornamental trappings for horses and elephants, and commonly used in Persia and Turkey for standards, dyed crimson and known under the name of horse-tails, they are valued by the natives of Thibet for the long hair, used in the manufacture of tents, ropes, &c., and for their rich and abundant milk.—Ta.

of furze, the home of a multitude of partridges and of small mountain-hares (*Lagomys*);* and in two hours we arrived at Shipki : the last portion of the way only was fatiguing from its steepness.

FORBIDDEN HOSPITALITY.

Notwithstanding the Emperor's mandate, which forbids the supplying of any victuals to foreigners under pain of being ripped up, these villagers brought us milk and apricots in as great abundance as we could possibly desire. By degrees, the whole population, men, women and children, assembled to stare and to laugh at the strange, unwonted intruders. The men are tall and well made, and have moreover, generally, agreeable features : still, the Tartar descent is betrayed by the broad cheek-bones, and the long oblique eye turned upward at the outward extremity. The difference between the population of Northern Bissahir and that of Thibet is scarcely perceptible ; the features, the costume, and the manners and customs are the same, with this distinction only, that the inhabitants of Bissahir are friendly, merry, and yet modest ; those of Thibet, on the contrary, the most impudent, filthy, vulgar rabble upon the face of the earth : they cheat and chaffer like the Jews, and practise deception whenever opportunity offers.

The costume of both sexes consists of a caftan, a pair of loose drawers, and high cloth boots of motley patch-work ; the women are marked only by their drawers being a little longer, and by their plaited cues of black hair, shining with grease, which hang down the back in a multitude of narrow cords, bound together with imitation-agates made of glass, innumerable shells, and pieces of amber. Round the neck they wear, besides amulets, from ten to twenty strings of lumps of amber, false stones, lapis-lazuli, and turquoises of great beauty. The men content themselves with one cue, which, to make it very long and thick, is interwoven with sheep's wool.

Among the numerous dignitaries of this little place, who without the slightest shyness forced their way into our tent, were two doctors, an elderly and a younger man. They intimated the most earnest desire to make my acquaintance, and the elder one by way of salutation, touched my brow with the points of his folded hands. Our conversation was necessarily somewhat monosyllabic, as neither our interpreter nor any of our attendants could speak the language of Thibet. I understood only enough to convince me that these people are extremely ignorant, and physicians as it were by inspiration alone. One showed me his case of surgical instruments, which hung from his girdle ; a long iron case, with a little drawer, beautifully inlaid with brass. It contained a number of lancets, or rather fleams, which are struck with a hammer to open a vein, a variety of rudely wrought iron knives, and a razor. He had set his heart on exchanging his instruments for mine, and for the sake of curiosity, I actually gave him one of my lancets for two of his fleams : he departed quite proud of his new possession.

SINGULAR TERROR.

One of the elders of the people, a fine-looking old man, with a shrewd countenance, on my attempting to draw his portrait, flew at my sketch-book, and endeavoured forcibly to snatch it from me ; when that measure of violence failed, he had recourse to the pathetic, throwing himself on his knees before me with gestures of the deepest anguish, and seizing me by the beard.

This was the only means which I discovered on this occasion for distancing

* An animal unknown to scientific tourists among the Himalayas, until a comparatively recent period : it was discovered by Dr. Royle and named after him the *Lagomys Roylei*. To the Zoologist it is peculiarly interesting, as the other species of the Genus, from all of which it differs more or less, have been found only in Northern Asia, and among the rocky mountains of North-west America. The length of the *Lagomys Roylei* is about nine inches : like most of the other animals inhabiting the elevated regions of Kunawar, Thibet, &c., it has a soft rich fur below the coarse outer hair. The former is of a blue-black colour ; the latter dark-brown ; and usually about an inch in length : the face is somewhat shaggy, and the ears are of a singular funnel-like form. By some travellers the *Lagomys* has been erroneously described as a tall-flesh rat.—Ts.

from our tents the uninvited guests ; whenever their importunity exceeded all bounds, I assumed an attitude as if about to draw their portraits ; instantly they fled, neck and heels, as if driven away by some evil spirit. Nevertheless, I did succeed in committing to my sketch-book some few costumes.

The faces were, for the most part, of really frightful and repulsive ugliness,—the bridge of the nose deeply depressed,—the nasal stump scarce visibly protruding,—and the mouth very large and gaping wide.

They return to Namdja and thence descend to the Sutelj, and so on to Chiní again.

VISIT OF THE RAJA OF BISSAHIR.

The following morning (the 25th of August) His Highness the Rajah kept us all very long waiting ; noon had already arrived, when we at last heard the sound of trumpets and of drums, announcing his approach. The Sovereign appeared on foot ; a small, decrepit man, clothed in violet-coloured silk, with morocco-leather boots of the same colour, and a huge and most unshapely cap of gold tissue : he was led forward by the Vuzir ("*Bujir*") and another exalted dignitary, both arrayed in white.

Count Von O — and I advanced to meet him ; the Count took his left, and I his right arm, and so, amid the acclamations of the people, and the loud shouts of "*Maha Rajah*," "*Maha Rajah*!"—we proceeded to the tent, where, already, the presents sent by His Highness as precursors of his visit were deposited on large brass dishes. Our camp-beds, with Indian shawls thrown over them, served as divans, on which the Rajah and his suite immediately reclined. Our interpreter, Mr. Brown, translated questions and answers at a brisk rate, and the conversation flowed on with vivacity and zest ; for the aged Rajah, however dulled and enfeebled in his outward man, displayed no lack of life and quickness in his mind and language.

Among the presents was a piece of Russian leather, which has thus the opportunity of making the great round and travelling back to Europe ! There were also several singular weapons, and webs of silken and of woollen stuffs, musk bags, and the highly-valued Nerbissi root.

The same ceremonies took place at the departure of the Rajah ; however, he very politely declined our further escort, not without symptoms of secret uneasiness.

After dinner the Prince returned his visit. The Vuzir came to conduct us to the palace. Passing through a half-dilapidated gateway, surrounded by an eager throng of inquisitive spectators, we entered the great court, over which was spread a baldachin. A grand yet simple entrance leads into the interior of the palace, an edifice distinguished by the severe and unadorned style of mountain architecture. Three elegant silken sofas were placed in a circle ; behind them and on either side, stood hosts of couriers clad in white, with drawn "*Khukries*" (short sabres) in their hands : a few only were marked as heralds by the insignia which they bore,—the long, gilt staff, separating at the top into two curved points. The counter-presents now offered as an acknowledgment of those received,—in compliance with the oriental etiquette of exchanging gifts,—were accepted, apparently with great satisfaction, by the Rajah. He conversed for a long while with the Prince, and expressed a great desire to obtain information concerning the position, size and state of our native land, as well as to know the name of every sovereign in Germany ; on all which subjects it was no easy matter to give His Highness an intelligible reply. He refused, through the medium of his "*Bujir*," to allow us to see his palace ; excusing himself on the plea that "the gods were in it," and only granting us permission to be conducted round its outer gallery.

Altogether, the audience was a highly interesting scene, and one of peculiarly oriental character. By the crimson light of an exquisite evening sky,—a rarity in this part of the country,—we wended our way back to the tents.

KOTGHUR.

We followed the course of the Sutelj, from Rampur, along easy and well-made roads, on the 30th of August ; till, quitting the river-glen, we struck off in a

south-westerly direction, towards Kotghur, where we celebrated the termination of our mountain wanderings in a most solemnizing manner at the home of two German missionaries, Messrs. Rudolph and Prochnow.*

These very amiable and excellent men,—the first a native of Berlin, the second of Pomerania, have done wisely to settle in this paradise of Kotghur, where they have created very neat and pretty dwellings, surrounded by a charming park, and have established a large school for the Hindus, who appear also to flock in numbers to the Church. Thus a foundation seems to be laid for forming a Christian Church in Kotghur; for the mountaineers, though they themselves indeed come apparently only from curiosity to the Church, send their children to the school; not one of them however has been baptised as yet, but the boys are admirably well instructed, have learned English very quickly, and can read the Bible both in English and in Hindi, and intelligently explain what they read. In Germany, these two missionaries would doubtless be mere “candidates;” whereas here, they are already beginning to gather a family circle around them. Herr Rudolph yesterday announced to us an addition to his, requesting the Prince at the same time to stand godfather to his child.

We heard a Hindi sermon, and afterwards a German one, which was very excellent, although Herr Prochnow has not spoken a word of German for three years. I am bringing home with me a Hindi Bible, which I received from him.

SIMLA.

On the 4th of September, we arrived at Simla, the English convalescent station, where there is a crowd of English officers, who have resorted hither with their families in quest of health. The place lies on the same level as at Nainthal, but there is this difference between them, that the latter is just springing into existence,—scarce twenty Englishmen are there, and no ladies except the daughters of Mr. Wilson,—whereas at Simla, some hundred and fifty officers reside, half of that number being married, and provided with daughters or female relatives besides; in addition

* Agents of the Church of England Missionary Society. The Himalaya Mission, of which Kotghur is still considered the centre, was established at the request and with the assistance of the British residents at Simla and elsewhere, in the year 1843, since which time the Gospel has been preached in the villages of the district and at the annual *melas*, or fairs; Thibetan and Hindi tracts have been distributed: medical and surgical advice and assistance given by the missionaries; orphan institutions opened; and day-schools established: in 1844 the boys' school, under the charge of Mr. Rudolph, numbered from thirty to forty; while Mrs. Prochnow had a school of ten or twelve girls, whom she taught to sew and knit, to read and write. Since then, the war in the Punjab has caused some interruption to the labours of the missionaries; who were obliged to remove for a time to Simla; but from the latter part of 1845, Kotghur has again been their head-quarters, and their operations are carried on with uninterrupted activity, and not without evidences of that blessing which alone can give success. Another step has been taken in the extension of the mission towards Tibet, by the establishment of a new school at Kepu, between Kotghur and Rampur; and another school has been opened at Theog, between Kotghur and Simla. Mr. Prochnow mentions that many people from the adjacent villages, and travellers from a distance come in, and with the children of the schools and the native servants from the plains, listen attentively not only to the services on the Lord's day, but to the daily family worship, at which he has read and explained the Scriptures, particularly the Parables, the Sermon on the Mount, and the History of the Death and Resurrection of our Lord. He had met on the road between Kotghur and Simla a wandering Lama from Chinese Tartary, who had one of the Thibetan Christian Tracts which he had received from a travelling Zemindar, who told him that a *Sakib* had distributed many of them at the Rampur fair the year before: in other instances these Tracts having been distributed in Lower Kunawur and Bissahir, have been met with and found to be read and highly valued in Chinese Tartary: so that these silent and unobtrusive messengers of the Gospel, clad in no foreign garb, have found their way into the Celestial Empire itself, across that very barrier which has been found so impassable for Europeans.—Tz.

to which, many widows are settled here, and not a few solitary matrons, who console themselves at balls and varied festivities for the absence of their lords.

At the end of our long and wild Himalayan peregrinations, we arrived at the new and handsome English hotel in a somewhat barbarian costume; instead of a coat was substituted something between a cloak and a coat of mail, formed of coarse woollen stuff,—in the broad belt confining it at the waist was stuck the cutlass; feet shod with sandals by way of shoes, long hair combed back over the top of the head, and rough and shaggy beard completed our grotesque appearance. The whole skin of my face had peeled off twice from the reflected glare of the snow, and that which had now succeeded it was of a dark brown hue.

Now,—we draw French kid gloves over our sun-burnt hands; force our feet, broadened by exercise, into delicate dancing-boots; and never dream of appearing otherwise than in dress-coats and white waistcoats; for the most rigid etiquette is here observed. How strange does it still seem to me when I awake in the morning, to find myself, not in the dripping tent, but in a comfortable bed-room furnished with all manner of luxuries. The lack of pedestrian activity too is an unwonted slavery; for our limbs, accustomed to scaling mountains and scrambling down precipices, are now exerted only to pay morning visits, or to dance polkas at a ball!

There are, at Simla, three great Bazaars, *i. e.* streets consisting only of shops and warehouses, occupied chiefly by Cashmere merchants. A great number of native artisans also live in this place. Here is to be seen an infinite variety of costumes; those of the mountains mingling with those of the plains; Sikhs with the high, pointed turban, on which they generally wear an iron ring with a sharp polished edge,—a dangerous missile; Affghans with the red caftan and the noble, flowing beard; and Cashmerians, never failing to display upon their persons their beautiful shawls. The latter people are usually merchants or tailors, but the goods they sell are not suited to my purse. To complete the picturesque effect of the varied throng, there are the gay and motley uniforms of the Indian troops.

From Simla our travellers visited Ferozepore, Lúdíana, Atscheriko and Múdkí. The last words written by our author were:—

To-morrow the army is to advance towards Ferozepore, and I cherish a confident hope that we shall get through successfully, fresh reinforcements having now arrived. Farewell;—may we soon meet again!

Alas! he met them no more.

This is altogether a most interesting book. The travellers seem to have been most patient, persevering, courageous, and cheerful. The wonder is, how Dr. Hoffmeister contrived to write so full an account of every thing they met with, amid all the turmoil and hardships of their long journey.

ART. VII.—*Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay for the years 1849-50. No. X. Bombay, 1851.*

WE have long felt that the members of the Medical service of Bengal are wanting in a sense of what is due to the public at large, and to their own character as a class of highly educated and intelligent men, in having no organ through which to record the results of their experience in the treatment of diseases peculiar to this country, or of their investigations into the history and properties of the many substances used by the *Baids* and *Hakims* of India, as remedial agents in their village practice. With a far more extended field of observation, and numerically much stronger than their brethren of the sister presidencies, they have shown themselves far less anxious than these, to promote the interests of their profession, and far less ready to support, with either pen or purse, the several attempts which have, from time to time, been made to supply a want, which all must feel to exist.

As a class, there are few who come out to this country more fitted by their previous training than Medical officers, to take a high position in the ranks of science and literature. They have received a highly finished collegiate education, are supposed to be possessed of fair classical attainments, and, from the more advanced age at which they enter the service, have had opportunities of acquiring knowledge beyond those enjoyed either by the Civil or the Military officer. With all these advantages, however, but few have attained to any eminence even in their own profession. There are many causes to which this may be ascribed. From the harassing nature of the duties devolving upon the young officer on his first arrival in this country, the *habits* of study acquired at College are lost, and where this is not the case, with the exception of the few resident in larger stations, he labours under no small disadvantage, in having no access to a well-stored library, or to the Medical literature of the day; while his isolation from others of his own profession, throws him entirely upon his own resources, and rarely affords him an opportunity of comparing his experience with that of others. Under these circumstances, the energy, zeal, and love of his profession with which he set out in life, gradually, from the utter absence of any stimulus, become annihilated.

We believe that a well-conducted Medical periodical would greatly tend to advance Medical science in this country; and we cannot but consider it as an opprobrium to the Bengal service, that they have not one at their command.

Both Madras and Bombay have their Medical Societies, supported by the bulk of the officers of their respective services ; and these from time to time, issue volumes of Transactions, goodly octavoes, like the one before us, containing a mass of highly important facts and statistics, which, but for the fostering aid afforded by the Society, would never have been communicated to the world.

Bengal, we believe, was the first to organize a Society of this character, when in 1823, chiefly through the exertions of Dr. James Hare, there was formed—"The Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta." Its objects, as stated in the resolutions passed at its establishment, were "the advancement of professional knowledge, for the mutual benefit of the members, more particularly with reference to Indian diseases and treatment; and the promoting, by every means in their power, the study of such branches of Natural History as are connected with the practice of medicine, or lead to Medical research."

The publications issued by the Society, during a period of twenty years, sufficiently prove how fully the objects, as above set forth, were attained. The "*Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta*" deservedly ranked with the best of their kind published in England, and acquired, for many of the contributors, an European reputation.

It would lead us too far to endeavour to trace out the causes, which led to the decline of this Society, until its final dissolution about the year 1842, when, with the consent of its then existing members, its library and museum were made over to the Medical College.

We cannot believe that the energy and zeal, which organized, and, for so many years, supported the Society, is extinct in the Medical service ; and we confidently look forward to its re-establishment, at no distant date, under the auspices of the talented professors of the College, and the medical men resident at the Presidency. We hold, that it is incumbent upon the members of the service, for their own reputation, to take some measures,—and we know of none offering the same facilities as are afforded by a Society, to record and perpetuate, for the benefit of others, the results of their experience in the treatment of disease in this country.

We have been led into making these remarks by the appearance, upon our table, of the 10th volume of the *Transactions of the Bombay Society*, the contents of which we shall briefly glance at, as from their professional nature, a critical analysis would be hardly suited to our pages. The first paper is entitled "Medical History of the 1st Bombay European Regi-

‘ment (Fusiliers), during its service in the Punjaub in 1848, 1849, and 1850, by F. S. Arnott, M. D., Surgeon of the Regiment.”

On the breaking out of the war before Múltan, in August 1848, this regiment, then stationed at Kurrachi, received orders to proceed with the Bombay force to the seat of war, and in October embarked on steamers on the Indus for Rori. The Bombay Commissariat appear to have taken a lesson from the victuallers of Her Majesty’s Navy, for we read—“When on the river, the men had much reason to complain of their rations. The biscuit was so bad, as often to lead to its being rejected, and indeed no man ever ate it, who could get any thing else ; and the one pound of meat, which is at no time sufficient for a day’s consumption, was now, from its leanness and general indifference, found quite inadequate ; and there being no bazars, where they could supply the deficiency, the men suffered a good deal, till at length an order was issued, directing the meat ration to be augmented to a pound and a half ; and this quantity was continued till after the battle of Guzerat, when, from its not assimilating with the Bengal allowance, it was again reduced to one pound.”

The Bombay force, according to our author, would appear not merely to have had more capacious appetites for food than their brothers of Bengal, but also “more stomach to the fight ;”—it may be as a *sequitur* ; for further on, speaking of the retreat of Shere Sing’s army from Guzerat, Dr. Arnott writes:—“We were scarcely astonished, when we were ordered off next day in pursuit of the enemy ; but when we found that a great part of the Bengal force, which had been almost stationary for months, was to remain behind, it did seem odd that the Bombay army, which, since the beginning of November, had been incessantly engaged, either in marching, or before the enemy, and during the previous twenty days had marched upwards of 240 miles, should be selected for this duty. But the Bombay troops had turned the tide of war, had sustained no reverse, and were flushed with success, and, above all, had imbibed none of that extraordinary, and, to them, incomprehensible over-estimate of the Seikh prowess and strategy, which pervaded the Bengal army ; so that the selection was perhaps a judicious one. The men, too, had confidence in themselves and their officers, and their officers had every confidence in them.”

We leave our readers to judge how far this is applicable to the men who fought at Mudki, Ferozshuhr and Sobraon. These well-contested and hard-fought fields taught them that they could

hardly over-estimate the valour of an enemy from whom they had suffered so severely, and who, in the two first engagements, had, for so long a time, disputed possession of the field, and left them but a doubtful victory.

After the dispersion and surrender of the army of Shere Sing, the Bombay Fusiliers proceeded to Peshawur, where they arrived at the latter end of March, and encamped at the foot of the Khybur hills near Jumrud. Here, or in the neighbourhood, the regiment remained under canvass during the hot months of May, June, and July. In addition to this exposure to extreme heat as a cause of disease, Dr. Arnott enumerates many others incidental to the life of a soldier, not merely at Peshawur, but in all parts of India. We are much disposed to think, that the danger from exposure to the sun has been greatly exaggerated as a cause of acute disease in India; for though it cannot be doubted that cases of death from this cause do occasionally occur, yet we believe they are much more rare than is commonly supposed. The seamen of ships in the river at Calcutta may be seen at all seasons, at all hours, employed in the rigging, exposed to the direct rays of the sun; yet cases of disease among them, which can be fairly and solely attributed to such exposure, are rare. Among the European residents of Calcutta, the hot months of April and May are usually considered healthy, and such the experience of medical men generally has pronounced them to be. The soldier in barracks, during these months, is, from the utter inertness and listlessness in which he lives, tempted to indulge in drinking, at first from mere idleness, afterwards from habit. His whole system of life renders him peculiarly obnoxious to disease; the carelessness with which, reeking with perspiration, he throws himself on the damp ground: and other causes, well known to all professional men, tend to fill the regimental hospital.

Our author points out several of these pre-disposing causes—a high temperature among others; but as before stated, we think it a question whether the sun has the effect upon the system, which is generally ascribed to it. Major Tulloch, in one of his invaluable reports, on sickness in H. M. army and navy, of which we shall afterwards speak more fully, expresses the opinion founded upon statistical evidence, that mere heat has little influence in the treatment of disease, though he is disposed to attribute power in this way to heat co-operating with moisture. He establishes that in Antigua and Barbadoes, where the range of the thermometer is rather higher than in Dominica, Tobago, Jamaica, or the Bahamas, the sickness amounts to little more than one-third of its prevalence in the latter stations.

The prevalence, too, of epidemic fever during the winter months, of which the reports furnish many examples, is an argument against the abstract effect of heat. Moisture, abstractedly considered, as a cause of disease, is met by similar arguments. British Guiana has more rain by one-half than Jamaica, but the mortality among troops in the latter situation is twice as great as in the former. Were excess of moisture the cause of excess of disease, the same effect should be observed in this country; yet the Malabar coast, which for six months is deluged with rain, is generally the most healthy quarter of the Madras presidency.*

Dr. Mackinnon, speaking of the Indigo planters of Tirhut, a class notorious for their contempt, it might be called, of the sun, writes:—"The Indigo planters lead active lives, enjoy the comforts of good country-houses, and generous wholesome diet; but, on the other hand, they are subject to much exposure. Their appearance of rude robust health, so different to most Anglo-Indians, and even to the civil servants residing at the same station, was remarkable, and appeared to show that being much in the open air is conducive to giving the constitution a high tone;"† and again speaking of apoplexy, he writes:—"Solar apoplexy is clearly a misnomer for this disease—but apoplexy is perhaps a better appellation. We often see soldiers exposed to very high ranges of temperature, and even to the direct rays of the sun, without even one person suffering; while at other times the disease would appear to attack as an epidemic, and as if its invasion depended upon something besides mere heat."

In considering the causes of the greater mortality among the soldiery during the hot months, their mode of life in the barracks must be kept in view. It is during the cold weather only that troops are moved, and marching is eminently conducive to their health, as compared to the idle and inactive life of cantonments. On this point we will let Dr. Arnott speak:—

"Simple is the fare of the European soldier on the line of march, more especially in a distant campaign, and steady and regular are his habits. On the march he is necessarily regular in his exercise, and he soon learns to be regular in his diet, in his drink, and his hours of retiring to rest. Well aware is he of the penalty any infringement of the rules of prudence there entails upon him, and carefully does he avoid all temptation. When a march comes to a close, a change takes

* *British and Foreign Medical Review*, *passim*.

† Mackinnon on Hygiene, Public Health, &c.

* place ; the soldier has no longer his regular service, he has
 ' no occupation, and few amusements, consequently time hangs
 ' heavy on his hands ; and it is scarcely to be wondered at that
 ' he is then ready to give way to every impulse, and to gratify
 ' his inclination to the utmost ; and it must be an extraordinary
 ' country where the European soldier will not find the oppor-
 ' tunity of doing so."

Again : " These six months" (of marching) " had conse-
 ' quently been a period of great mental excitement and
 ' bodily activity, labour and exposure ; and were succeeded
 ' by a period of idleness, inactivity, and want of excitement,
 ' which almost uniformly exerts an injurious influence on
 ' the health of the soldier. Accordingly, as appears from the
 ' returns, though we lost only three men by disease in the
 ' preceding six months (when marching) we lost in the six
 ' months succeeding April, 1849, no less than eighteen men
 ' by disease ; we lost two in each of the three following
 ' months ; and as again exemplifying the beneficial effects of men-
 ' tal and bodily activity, regularity of habits, &c., I am happy to
 ' say, that during our long and tedious march from Peshawur
 ' to Púnah, in the end of December, 1849, January, February,
 ' March, and the beginning of April, 1850, we lost only two
 ' men by disease, though we brought every sick man from
 ' Peshawur with us. The effects on the men of change from
 ' the active, regular, and excited life of a campaign to the
 ' sedentary, inactive life and looser habits of a standing camp,
 ' soon became apparent in their diminished relish for their
 ' meals, their predisposition to indigestion, jaundice, and in the
 ' prevalence of nausea and vomiting after meals, which during
 ' the time we lay at Jumrud, affected nearly every man and
 ' officer of our regiment, and indeed, I believe, almost every
 ' man of the force."

We have latterly heard much of the fever of Peshawur, which seems to have changed its type : for though extremely prevalent among the fusiliers when stationed there, it appears to have been of a mild character. The greater number of cases occurred in July and August, when it might almost have been considered an epidemic ; no fewer than 798 cases having been admitted during these two months alone, and of these, we are told, *not one proved fatal*.

Of late years, fever at Peshawur has assumed a far more formidable character, the mortality from this disease being unusually high, but the cause is still enveloped in mystery ; the thermometrical range is unchanged, and as far as observations have been made, there has been no appreciable difference

in the seasons, but of all inscrutable matters connected with etiology, these epidemic aggravations of endemics are the most inscrutable. In Major Tulloch's statistical report of sickness among Her Majesty's troops serving in the east, printed by order of the House of Commons,* there is an account of the epidemic fever, which raged at Kandy, in Ceylon, in 1824. It appears that the highest rate of annual mortality of white troops, prior and subsequent to 1824, was eighty per 1,000, the lowest was twelve, and the average of sixteen years, exclusive of the epidemic year, was forty-three and a fraction, whereas in 1824, it amounted to the ratio of 333 per 1,000, in other words, to one-third of the entire force. "A slight increase of temperature," remarks Major Tulloch, "and a longer continuance of dry weather than usual, were the only circumstances which preceded or marked the continuance of this epidemic, but its subsequent re-appearance in 1824, and July, 1825, was not marked by any such indications, and since then every variety of season, hot and cold, wet and dry, equable and changeable, has passed over without inducing a greater extent of febrile disease than would be likely to occur among an equal number of troops in the most healthy of our colonies." Whence arises this occasional aggravation of a disease ordinarily existing, but in a mild form? If it is supposed to arise from any increase in what are commonly supposed to be the exciting causes, such as a high temperature, moisture and miasma, how account for the exemption from fever of parts of South America, where these combined powers abound equally as in Ceylon?

Dr. Wilson, in a report upon the health of the Navy, states that H. M. S. the *Warspite*, with an average complement of 600 men, lay the whole year in Rio Janeiro harbour, and did not lose a man, and had only seven cases of fever. He states also "that epidemic diseases are almost unknown, and though the inhabitants are not free from febrile diseases, they suffer but little from them, and from severe sweeping epidemics of all kinds they are exempt. What is the cause of such immunity? Why is it that in a land-locked harbour, in this part of the world, under a powerful sun, surrounded by marshes and rank vegetation, ships lie for months or years without the occurrence of a single case of concentrated fever?"

But we are wandering far from our regiment, which we left at Peshawur, in our search after this will-o'-the-wisp, for equally intangible appears to be the cause of fever, call it by what

* Vide *British and Foreign Medical Review*.

name we will, marsh-miasm, or malaria, it is but a name representing an agent, or agencies, of the nature of which we must be content to admit our utter ignorance; we only know it by its effects, which resemble those of a poison upon the human constitution, but the substance itself has yet eluded our grasp. We may indulge a hope, that the great progress made of late years, in organic chemistry, will eventually lead to the discovery of this, as of other agents, the causes of disease.

Of diseases affecting the brain, of an apoplectic nature, but eight cases occurred during the nine months the regiment was at Peshawur. Of these the author writes:—"As far as I could ascertain, insolation, that is, exposure to the direct rays of the sun, was in no instance the cause of the attack, as the orders of the time were most stringent against men exposing themselves in the sun."

Yet the general impression is, that affections of the brain are, in particular, the result of exposure. On the 30th December, the Bombay Fusiliers commenced their march to Púnah, which they reached on the 3rd April, 1850:—

Having thus come a distance of eighteen hundred miles in three months and five days, and having descended from a latitude of 34° to one of 18°, of which 12° were completed within the last month. Gradually, as we came South, the weather became warmer, and towards the end of March, in Lower Scinde and the Concan, the heat began to remind us that the season was sufficiently advanced to make a change of residence desirable from crowded tents into more spacious barracks.

During this three months' march, as before stated, the regiment lost but two men by disease, and during the nine preceding months, while at Peshawur, but twenty-four, out of a total of 840, a result which we think must be, under Providence, ascribed to the zeal, discrimination, and medical skill of Dr. Arnott, of whose highly interesting paper we now take leave, with a hope that the medical history of the regiment under his charge, so ably reported in the volume before us, will be continued in the next number of the "*Transactions*."

It is not our purpose, nor indeed have we space to enter into a detailed consideration of each of the papers contained in the volume before us. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with the following extract from an interesting account of the medical topography of Baghdad, by the residency surgeon, Dr. Hyslop. We have heard much of the hot winds as they prevail in the N. W. Provinces, but few of our readers are aware of their effect in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, according to the testimony of Dr. Ives:—

In December and January, ice is frequently to be seen, and frost is still more common. March and April are the two most pleasant months in the year; the gardens are then in full foliage, and the atmosphere is delightfully loaded with the

perfume of the orange blossom, which is occasionally wafted on the breeze to a considerable distance from town. In August and September we have occasional hot winds from the NE., during which the air is generally obscured with dust, which is so fine and subtle, as to penetrate even into the works of a watch when carried in the pocket. I have seen the thermometer stand at 117° at 10 o'clock at night in one of these winds, but I have never seen nor heard of it proving fatal, except in one instance, in the summer of 1847, in which forty people, working at a canal in the neighbourhood of this city, were struck down in one day, and many of them died. But this might easily be accounted for, without supposing anything poisonous in the wind, as the name *Saum* implies: the heat in 1847 was intense, and the mere exposure was enough to produce the consequences. I do not deny, although I am inclined to doubt, the existence of the pestilential vapour in the arid deserts of Syria; but I do deny its existence in the neighbourhood of Baghdad. Many strange stories have been told, and much that is improbable has been written of this hot East wind; as an example, we transcribe the following extract from a quaint history of travels, in 1758, by Mr. Ives, a surgeon in H. M.'s Navy at that time. After describing the precautions adopted by travellers to escape the "sudden, death" produced by this "fatal blast," called *Samiel*, he continues (page 275):—

"And when it is over, they get up, and look round them for their companions; and if they see any one lying motionless, they take hold of an arm or leg, and pull and jerk it with some force; and if the limb thus agitated separates from the body, it is a certain sign that the wind has had its full effect; but if, on the contrary, the arm or leg does not come away, it is a sure sign there is life remaining, although to every outward appearance the person is dead; and in that case they immediately cover him or them with cloths, and administer some warm diluting liquor to cause a perspiration, which is certainly but slowly brought about.

I have not been able to learn whether the dead bodies are scorched, or dissolved into a kind of gelatinous substance, but from the stories I have heard there has been frequent reason to believe the latter; and in that case I should attribute such fatal effects rather to a noxious vapour than to an absolute and excessive heat."

Professional readers will find much to interest them in Dr. Hyslop's report, and may learn a new cure for ague as practised by a Persian *hakim*:—

Among the disciples of Esculapius there are hosts of Arabs, Persians, and Jews, men of reputed skill and large practice, who know a hot disease from a cold, and who treat them accordingly; who, while they pursue most active treatment, practise upon the credulity and superstition of the natives, and kill their patients with great *éclat*. As an instance of active treatment, during the fever of 1849, a Persian *Hakim* was called to a patient, whom he found shivering and shaking in an ague. This was decidedly a cold disease, and the remedy was evident. He ordered an earthen oven, such as they use here, to be heated, and the patient to be put into it. This was done, and the mouth of the oven was covered with a thick bed-quilt. The poor patient shouted and struggled, but the attendants were ordered to keep him down until he perspired freely. After a time, one of the friends of the patient removed the quilt, and took him by the arm to assist him out of the oven: the skin of the arm peeled off in his hand; the man had been roasted to death!

This reminds us of one among the thousand cures for cholera, which we have seen recommended by a Frenchman as a specific. The patient, rolled in a blanket, was to be suspended as in a hammock, over a huge cauldron of boiling water, steamed in fact to death *or* life, as the ingenious proposer averred.

The next paper is a very complete and important report of the European General Hospital at Bombay, from April, 1850, to March, 1851, by Mr. Stovell, surgeon to the institution. It

is difficult to estimate sufficiently the importance of a report of this nature. Had the vast mass of valuable returns, which have accumulated in our Medical Boards for so many years past, been made available, and a condensed arrangement published annually, with a selection from the reports accompanying them, the profession would now have been in possession of data, upon which to found somewhat authentic conclusions as to the salubrity of different parts of India, and the hygienic and therapeutic measures, best adapted for the preservation of health. The report under consideration is so exclusively of a professional character, as to debar us from dwelling as long on it, as its merits would otherwise warrant. We therefore pass on to a second paper by Dr. Arnott, entitled "On the moving of troops," which contains many useful hints, as well for the commanding officer, as for the medical man, derived from his experience during many years in India. How true are the following remarks on marching :—

Marching.—There are very few men in the service, however inexperienced or young, who see any difficulty in conducting a march : every man thinks he understands the subject, and indeed that it is too simple to require the slightest pre-consideration. Many military men suppose, that if they can conduct a body of armed men from one camp to another, without suffering from the enemy, without loss of baggage, and without complaints from the villagers, that they do all that is required. A good deal more than this, however, is required ; for on the manner of marching much of the healthiness and comfort of the troops depends ; and, to conduct a march properly, it ought to be as exact, regular, and precise, as an ordinary parade. With one man, the hour of starting will be determined by no fixed rule, but probably by his own caprice ; and the hour of arriving at the new ground will be a matter of the merest indifference. The pace will probably be guided by the pace of his own horse, and the halts by his own feelings of cold or fatigue. But this is not the way to march : the hour of starting ought to be regulated by the distance to be traversed, and, of course, in some measure by the nature of the roads. The hour of reaching the new camp ought to be such that the men are not exposed unnecessarily to the sun ; the pace should be guided by the physical powers of the men ; and the halts should be at regular intervals, and regulated so as to rest and relieve them from their fatigues.

To accomplish these objects, it is laid down by the best authorities, and is now practised by all having any experience of marching, that the best pace at starting, and for the first hour, is at the rate of three miles ; at the end of the hour a halt of five minutes is allowed. For the next hour, the pace should be at the rate of four miles, and at the end of it there should be a halt of twenty minutes. The third hour ought again to be at the rate of three miles, with a halt of five minutes ; and then to start off at the rate of four miles, when, it may be supposed, in ordinary marching, the halting-ground will be reached within the hour ; so that the time consumed in a march of fourteen miles ought never to exceed four hours and a half. In forced marches, a halt of at least an hour ought to be given about this time, and then to commence again as at first.

Experience has proved that the above mode of marching is the best, and that the less it is deviated from the better : a very quick pace exhausts a man by the violence of the exercise ; a slow one by its long continuance under his heavy accoutrements, and perhaps under exposure. A varied pace, therefore, is considered the best, as it avoids the extremes, and brings into play alternately a different set of muscles. The halts are intended to recruit a man's wearied energies, to re-invigorate him for the remainder of the march, and give him an opportunity of refreshing himself

with his pipe, and, if necessary, of relieving nature, and adjusting the stocking over an incipient blister, and so on. As the bugle sounds the halt, the men should, as much as possible in the order they are marching in, and without delay and bother, halt, pile arms, and fall out, so that when they again move off, they have merely to unpile, fall in, and start.

By marching in this manner, and the distance being known, the time of reaching the new ground may be calculated to a nicety; and so well have I seen things arranged and managed, that we could always calculate to within ten minutes at what time our march would end,—and that time ought never to be later at any season than one half hour after sunrise. By this method of marching, almost any soldier, native or European, can accomplish, even at the commencement of a campaign, an ordinary march with ease; and those who do feel distressed, soon get over it. A man knows beforehand, and therefore sets his mind to it, that a certain quantity of exercise is before him; that he has a certain distance to go, and that with almost the same regularity as on his ordinary parades, he will at a regulated time complete it; that he will in the most moderate space of time be relieved of arms and heavy accoutrements, that he will be able to undress, drink, wash, and get rid of the dust he was smothered in, and either rest till the kit comes up, or, what is more generally the case, provide himself with firewood, water, or supplies, from the neighbouring village or bazaar. He in this case exerts himself cheerfully; he arrives fresh, little fatigued, and full of buoyancy and joy, in the cool of the morning: he has time to cook and enjoy his regular meals, and, if inclined to snooze in the heat of the day, he does so.

In Bengal, it is, we believe, the almost universal practice to halt the men when about half through the march, which is usually about day-break, and serve out to them a cup of hot coffee; and experience has proved the wisdom of this measure. It may be conceded as a generally admitted, although not proved, fact, that the system is more obnoxious to miasmatic and other pestilential influences when fasting, than when the digestive process is going on. We are also disposed to believe, that with the rising of the sun, and the evaporation of the dew deposited during the night, these subtle agents of disease may be more widely diffused through the air, and more active in their effects than at other hours of the day. Should there be *any* truth in these suppositions, they would confirm the wisdom of the hot cup of coffee at sunrise, the good effects of which have been observed, and supposed to be owing to its stimulant properties. *

We shall pass over the "Statistical Report of the Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy and Native General Hospital, for the years 1845—48," by J. Put, assistant-surgeon to the hospital, as being too professional for our pages, merely extracting the last paragraph, in the truth of which we are disposed, from our own experience, to believe. Comparative statistical tables would settle the question, and could easily be procured:—

In concluding this very imperfect report, I would wish to make one remark in reference to a peculiarity alleged to exist in natives of this country, bearing upon the subject of operative surgery, and the management of severe accidents. It is a very commonly-received opinion that Hindus, from the simple nature of their diet, their abstemious habits, and other circumstances, are much more favourable sub-

jects for the performance of surgical operations than the inhabitants of other countries (England for example) ; and that they recover from injuries which would be fatal to Europeans. Statements to this effect may be found scattered throughout almost all the journals. Not only does experience lead me to doubt the accuracy of this opinion, but actually convinces me that the reverse of it is the truth : so far from natives recovering from injuries which would be fatal to Europeans, I am firmly of opinion that they sink under injuries from which Europeans would recover without difficulty ; and further, that operative surgery is less successful amongst them than it would be, under the same circumstances, amongst Europeans. I would wish it, however, to be understood, that my experience is confined to the class of persons who are admitted into this hospital, and who are, for the most part, residents in Bombay : whether experience amongst the inhabitants of rural districts, or amongst the better-fed class of sepoys, would warrant the same conclusion, I am unable to say. It would appear, however, from the reports of the late campaign in the Punjaub, that surgical operations amongst the native troops were less successful than those performed upon Europeans.

“ Notes on the Cape of Good Hope,” by Mr. Stovell, is a paper which will interest many of our readers ; for to the Indian resident, all that relates to what he *should* look upon as a sanatorium, must be an object of interest. The subject has been so fully considered in the fourth volume of our *Review*, that we shall not dilate upon it here, referring such of our readers as desire further information regarding the exceeding salubrity, the climate, the mode of life, and the amusements of the Cape, to that volume. We shall confine our observations to the advantages it offers to the invalid necessitated by disease, or weakened by too close application to the desk in India, to seek a renewed state of health in some “ more genial clime.”

In connexion with the furlough regulations, a modification of which has been long demanded by the Indian services, the question of the Cape as a preferable climate to that of England for the invalid, becomes a matter of high importance. So long as the present regulations continue in force, by which an “ officer is permitted to proceed to the Cape for two years for ‘ the benefit of his health,’ without forfeiting his appointment, sacrificing more than half of his allowances, or having his leave deducted from his period of service ; so long as these high inducements are held out, the number, who would, from choice, proceed to Great Britain in preference to the south of Africa, must necessarily be very limited ; but there is every probability that these provisions in the furlough regulations will be materially altered. Since the establishment on a permanent footing of steam communication with England, the Indian presidencies are really much nearer that country than they are to the Cape ; and officers on leave there, in the event of their services being urgently required, could be ordered to, and would join, their regiments in India in little more time than it would take to communicate the necessity for their services to those at the Cape. Remove the pecuniary advantages, which, under the present system,

leave the invalid no choice, and the services would then be nearly in the position as regards proceeding to Europe as the other numerous and daily increasing European residents in India. These, almost invariably when necessitated by illness to leave the country, proceed to take their passage by the overland steamer, and once remove the restrictions, it would be the same with the members of the services. There is a feeling which no length of absence entirely eradicates, even in the most worldly heart, which leads us to think our native clime would restore, in some degree, the feelings and the freshness of youth; and in illness, with the despondency thence arising, this desire to revisit the scenes dear to us from our childhood exerts two-fold power. We are ready to exclaim with Coleridge:—

‘Sickness is a wasting pang :
This feel I hourly more and more ;
There’s healing only in thy wings,
Thou breeze that play’st on Albion’s shore.’

But poetry and reality are two widely different things, and we fear that in rushing to the *bracing* climate of Great Britain, the invalid too often rushes into the gates of the tomb. Dr. Martin, than whom no one probably has had greater experience in the treatment of Indian disease and its sequelæ, as shown in the persons of retired officers and others, writes in terms of the strongest caution on this point. He says:—“The return of the ‘tropical sojourner to the land of his fathers, strange as it ‘may seem, is not unaccompanied by serious risk to his ‘health, and by many moral considerations of a painful and ‘distressing nature.” Again: “This state of activity,” (of the cutaneous system, &c.,) “which holds during eight months ‘of the year, will explain how it is that in such climates as India, ‘diseases of the air passages, lungs and kidneys, are of but rare ‘occurrence, while on returning to Europe, dangerous diseases ‘of these organs are liable to occur. My experience here (in ‘London) during the last nine years, would lead me to conclude ‘that, if there be really any such immunity from cold, during the ‘first year of residence in England, as we hear spoken of so ‘generally in India, it is enjoyed only by the healthy and robust. ‘Numberless examples have satisfied me of the truth of this ‘observation. A dry, or even frosty cold, is well borne comparatively, even by the enfeebled tropical invalid; but the ‘damp cold produces sensations of indescribable distress and ‘depression in persons possessed of considerable powers of resistance. Many invalids, again, arriving in England in an ‘enfeebled state, seek what they call ‘*the bracing air*’ of Brigh-

‘ton, and other such places, during the winter and spring months, in forgetfulness, or in ignorance, that without a previous restoration of health, this said bracing is impossible of attainment. Many lives are annually sacrificed in this vain endeavour.”

These and many similar passages, the warnings dictated by his experience, should make us pause ere we too confidently trust ourselves, as invalids, to the treacherous climate of Great Britain. We are convinced, that in that numerous class of ailments dependent upon derangement of the liver, and biliary secretion, so common among old residents in this country, a residence in the equable and mild climate of the Cape, is infinitely more likely to prove beneficial than the colder air of Great Britain. Without entering into medical technicalities, we may state as briefly as possible what is now the received opinion among medical men, as to the influence of a high temperature over the functions of the lungs and liver respectively. There is a certain amount of carbon taken into the system in the shape of food, to be again eliminated, partly by the lungs, partly by the liver and other *emunctories* of the system. The carbon in part is said to be consumed in respiration; and from it is supposed to be derived the heat of the body. This consumption in the lungs takes place, when the oxygen of the air taken into the lungs at each inspiration comes into contact with the carbon circulating in the blood. Carbonic acid is formed and given out in expiration. Now the theory is, that at a high temperature the air is so much rarified, that the same volume contains less oxygen than an equal volume at a lower temperature, hence as the capacity of the lungs is the same whatever the temperature, there is less oxygen taken in at each inspiration, and consequently a less amount of carbon consumed in a warm than in a cold atmosphere. To compensate for this deficient consumption of the lungs, a vicarious decarbonisation of the blood is established by an increased flow of bile, and hence it is, as remarked by Dr. Johnson, that “the function of the liver weakened and torpid, in proportion to the excitement of the hot and rainy seasons, becomes disposed to congestion, or inflammation of its parenchyma during the cold season, and thus are produced the dangerous states of disease noticed.”

Dr. Martin, referring to this as a cause of disease among Indians on their return to Europe, writes:—“To the tumult of the nervous, vascular, and secreting functions, within the tropics, has now succeeded an exhausted condition of all three. The system at large, and the organ now principally at

‘ fault, have lost their power of resisting the cold and damp atmosphere of Europe. To be more precise, the circulation through the skin, and also its function, which had been raised to the greatest degree by the high temperature of the tropics, is reduced to the opposite extreme by the cold and damp atmosphere of our northern climate. The blood, which had long been drawn to the periphery, is now driven to the centre. Vascular reaction seldom ensuing, the congestion is of a passive nature. There is stagnation of the portal circulation, and a consequent contamination of the blood, with languor and oppression of all the abdominal functions.”

We have entered more fully into this question than is perhaps adapted for the pages of a review addressed to non-medical readers; but it is one deserving of high consideration from all classes of the Indian community, as consequent upon the facility and speed with which the overland journey is performed, it has become, may we not say a fashion, except in the case of an officer where pecuniary considerations prevent it, that the invalid, whatever his ailments, should proceed to Europe. Where the patient is young, having been but few years in India, particularly if the disease driving him from the country has been of a sudden acute character, leaving him weak and emaciated, with no actual organic disease, this may be all well and proper. But to the old Indian, who has been, probably, for years labouring under more or less biliary intestinal disorder, whose health at length gives way with little or no actual severe attack of illness, to these, such a step is fraught with great danger. In all such cases, and in those of hepatic derangement generally, we are disposed to think highly of a residence at the Cape, as affording every possible chance of recovery that climate alone can give.

As regards the mercantile man, or man of business, his position is so far the reverse of that of a member of the service, that he has every reason and inducement to prefer a trip to England, to a voyage and residence far away from the sphere of his interests; and in his case, it becomes his medical adviser to weigh well, and point out strongly to him, the comparative advantages of the two countries, and not leave him under the impression that England is, from being his native clime, on that account best suited to restore his health.

The conclusions derived by the author, from his personal experience of the climate of the Cape, are corroborative of the view we have now taken. He attaches much importance, although probable not more than it deserves, to the long sea

voyage, as greatly enhancing the probable benefit to be derived from a residence there :—

From the preceding statements relative to the physical character of the climate, it is evident that important modifications in the system are likely to be produced by a change from India to the Cape ; and, with ordinary prudence on the part of an invalid, such modifications will be found to be highly salutary, more particularly, as such change involves the important measure of a long sea voyage, thus gradually putting the system into the most favorable state for deriving ulterior benefit, for it is often of the utmost importance that a change of climate should neither be too sudden nor too great. This again, is one great advantage which a change to the Cape must ever have over one to a hill station, even when in other respects the latter change may be perfectly unexceptionable.

Probably the great majority of Indian invalids who seek health by going to the Cape, are gentlemen in the different services, who have suffered more or less from functional disease of the stomach and bowels, or chronic derangements of the liver ; men, whose secreting and assimilating functions are very imperfectly performed. In many of these cases I have not the least doubt that a residence at the Cape is even more beneficial than a change to Europe, and certainly far more so when this latter change is obtained by a rapid run overland, more particularly if in winter. I doubt whether the important element of a long sea voyage for the restoration of health is sufficiently kept in view ; yet it is usually of incalculable benefit, not only in its immediate results, but more particularly in its ulterior effects. How often do we hear that invalids running home rapidly overland, particularly in the winter months, find the sudden change to a cold atmosphere extremely hurtful ; and this can easily be understood. The exhalant organs of the external surface are liable to become constricted, and the internal viscera, in consequence, congested. The result is frequently an aggravation of derangement in those organs which may previously have been weakened, either by disease or by the influence of an Indian climate. Relapses in England from hepatic affections, as well as from dysentery and other diseases, are proverbially common. Now at the Cape we do not often meet with this. The reduction of temperature has been gradual, has been preceded by a long sea voyage, and is never sufficiently great of itself to produce visceral congestion, provided invalids are careful to guard against it by taking exercise, by using warm clothing, and by preserving a rigid adherence, at all events for a time, to great moderation in eating and drinking. Most of the invalids from India improve greatly before reaching the Cape, and seldom bear in mind sufficiently the importance of persevering in that regimen and mode of life which both the climate and the nature of their disease render necessary ; yet this is evidently a condition on which alone they can reasonably expect to derive permanent benefit.

Among the chief elements of disease, great and rapid alterations of temperature are justly regarded as not the least important ; and the salubrity of a climate may be said to be dependent, *cæteris paribus*, upon the extent of the annual, and more particularly the daily range of the thermometer. We subjoin a table, by which it will be seen, that this range is very inconsiderable at the Cape, as compared to most other parts of the globe ; Madeira, the superiority of the climate of which is so universally acknowledged, has a mean annual range of only 14°. At Rome, Naples, Nice, and the Mediterranean generally, the extent nearly doubles this, and about equals that of the Cape ; but in the equable distribution of heat throughout the year, this latter assimilates much more to

Madeira than the first named places; for example, the mean difference of temperature of successive months at Madeira is only 2°—at the Cape 3°, at Rome and Nice 4°, and at Naples and Pisa 5°; while in steadiness of temperature from day to day (a very important quality in a climate) the Cape may equally rank with Madeira:—

Date.	Barometer corrected.		Mean Temperature in the Shade.	Humidity.	Mean Temperature.		Extreme Temperature.	
	Temperature and Capillarity.	Tension.			Maximum.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Minimum.
1848.	inches	inches	degrees		degrees	degrees	degrees	degrees
January...	29·874	29·384	70·435	68	77·33	63·99	86·6	58·9
February...	29·879	29·397	67·845	73	74·56	61·27	83·6	54·4
March....	29·927	29·428	68·048	75	74·61	61·22	85·7	54·0
April.....	29·914	29·486	61·219	83	67·22	54·80	74·4	43·0
May.....	30·042	29·658	58·241	84	63·59	52·74	75·4	47·0
June.....	30·141	29·777	55·206	85	59·40	50·17	69·7	43·2
July.....	30·118	29·761	54·831	84	59·14	50·02	10·1	43·4
August....	30·104	29·750	54·276	85	58·50	48·45	69·8	39·9
September	30·087	29·710	57·494	81	62·67	51·67	75·2	45·0
October....	30·082	29·686	61·876	74	68·14	54·50	89·5	45·9
November.	29·983	29·543	65·075	73	71·13	58·27	84·2	46·0
December.	29·911	29·453	67·428	71	73·06	60·43	81·2	55·6
Means.....	30·005	29·586	61·831	78	76·445	55·627	78·783	48·025

This Table embodies full particulars on all points connected with the character of the atmosphere, in relation to its three principal conditions of pressure, temperature, and humidity. Each column contains the monthly means of daily observations, concluding with the annual mean. These daily observations are the means of observations made five times in the twenty-four hours. The first column contains the height of the barometer reduced to 32°, and corrected for capillary attraction of the tube. In the second the readings are corrected for the elasticity of the vapours suspended in the atmosphere. The humidity is expressed in parts of 100, considered as complete saturation. It seems unnecessary to refer to the remaining columns of the Table, further than this, that the thermometers are all expressed in terms of Fahrenheit's scale, and corrected for index errors by comparison with the standard thermometer of the Royal Society. They might, therefore, be taken as the indications of that thermometer, supposing it to have been transported to the Cape.

It will be seen from this Table that the mean maximum temperature is 78°, and the mean minimum 48°, showing an annual range of only 30°, while the difference between the means of the hottest and coldest month is only 16°. It will thus be apparent that the temperature is equally removed from the extremes of heat and cold; and, moreover, that there is considerable equality in the distribution of temperature throughout the year. It will also be seen that the mean difference in the temperature of successive months is less than 3°. This is a point of great importance in forming a correct estimate of climate, for it shows that there are no sudden or great variations in the thermometer as the seasons successively change; but that they glide into each other almost imperceptibly.

We have dwelt somewhat fully upon this subject, believing it to be one of high importance to the Indian community, for the temptation of a trip to England is so great, that the advantages offered by the Cape are lost sight of. Some of them are here set forth by Mr. Stovell :—

Upon the whole, I certainly formed a very favorable estimate of the value of the Cape as a sanatorium. There appeared to be but a very trifling amount of disease in any shape, and a most happy exemption from the disease which surrounds us here. No cholera ; no remittent fever, and but very little continued fever ; diseases of the lungs far less prevalent than in Great Britain, or in any of the colonies named in the last Table ; and no unusual prevalence of disease either of the brain or of the stomach and bowels. Its perfect freedom from remittent and intermittent fever may easily be explained by the fact of the total absence of marsh, and from the nature of the soil, which is formed mainly of sand, decayed vegetable matter, and the *debris* of the neighbouring mountains, the partial decomposition of the granite making it in some places a little tenacious.

There are yet several papers in this volume, which will well repay the attentive perusal of the medical man, but we must pass them over, having already intruded too much of a professional nature upon our readers. We cannot, however, close the volume without drawing attention to the report in the Appendix, upon the treatment of the cholera in the Infirmary at Bombay on the plan recommended by Dr. Mosgrove. We deem it unnecessary to apologize to our readers, if we enter more largely into details than may seem quite suited to the pages of this work, but the subject is one of such vital interest, that any means of combating the disease, recommended strongly as this has been by Dr. Mosgrove, deserves examination.

We shall explain this mode of treatment, after having briefly considered one or two points in the history of cholera, and first as to that *questio vexata*, “the contagiousness or otherwise of Cholera.” Notwithstanding the almost innumerable observations, which have been made with a view to determine this one all-important point, like every thing else connected with the disease, it is still as much unsettled as when it first excited the attention of the profession. What is contagion ? Dr. Todd defines it as “a poison differing from that produced by the putrefaction of animal and vegetable matter, inasmuch as it originates, not external to, but within the body, and may be designated as a subtle secretion from the blood itself, the mode of the primary generation of which is, however, wrapped in the greatest obscurity. The intimate nature of this poison, like that from paludal sources, is quite unknown, and it is therefore better to confess our ignorance of its exact nature, rather than to attempt to enumerate the physical or chemical qualities of a substance which

does not, with any degree of certainty, come directly under the operation of the senses. We cannot lay hold of the poison for analysis, consequently we are obliged to be satisfied at present with knowing, that, like the fever poison, emanating from paludal sources, it is a something generated in abundance in the human body in a particular class of diseases—a peculiar and morbid power imparted to certain animal secretions in consequence of some particular, though unknown, actions excited in the living body when pre-disposed—a poison capable of floating through the atmosphere around the dwellings of the sick, and thus contaminating the very air we breathe, and spreading disease and death to those exposed to its influence.” This influence is, however, presumed to be communicable, only within the distance of a few feet, even in diseases of the most acknowledged contagious nature. Does cholera possess this character, or is it not rather an epidemic dependent on some unknown state of the atmosphere, as regards its electric condition, or constitution? Sydenham remarks, as one of the peculiarities of epidemics, that “at their first appearance they seem to be of a more spirituous and subtle nature, in other words, more violent and acute, as far as can be judged from their symptoms, than when they become older,” and this is exactly what has been observed in cholera. It is one of the causes to which may be attributed the numberless “*certain cures* and *nostrums*, which, from time to time, have been forced upon the attention of the public by medical men and others. At the outbreak of the disease in any one place, the mortality is invariably so high, that the medical man runs through the Pharmacopeia, in the vain attempt to find a remedy capable of arresting its fatal march; as it wears itself out, after exhausting, as it were, its violence upon the first victims, recoveries become much more numerous, and the physician, ascribing such recoveries to the last remedy he has tried, rushes forthwith into print, extolling the virtues, it may be of strychnine, it may be of cold water, as his tendencies have led him to adopt the heroic, or the expectant line of treatment. Need we say that both prove equally unsuccessful when tried on a larger scale. But to revert to the question of contagion, which we have lost sight of, the experience of medical men in India is strongly against it. Dr. Rogers of Madras, in his report upon cholera at that presidency, after citing the opinions of various regimental surgeons, sums up as follows:—“The authors of all these reports have recorded their deliberate opinion, that the disease did not originate from contagion, and I believe the general voice of the medical

‘ profession in India has always been in favor of this doctrine, and the non-contagion of cholera is assumed as an axiom, by all non-medical persons, both European and Native.’ It would be easy to fill pages with facts supporting this side of the argument, but equally easy to state others, which scarcely admit of explanation, except by allowing that the disease is contagious: in Europe the medical world may be said to be divided in opinion. Dr. Copland, who first writing on the disease in 1822, has since watched its progress, traced its causes, and investigated its phenomena with all the philosophical acumen which so strongly characterises him, is a most weighty authority in favor of the contagionists; after weighing, we must admit, with impartial scales, the arguments on both sides, he delivers the following verdict:—

116. Having devoted much attention to the phenomena of this pestilence, and to the circumstances characterising the dissemination of it, and having had extensive experience in it during its prevalence in this country, * I proceed very succinctly to state the conclusions at which I arrived as to its causation and propagation.

117. (a) The distemper was caused by infection, which was traced in many cases—in most of those which I saw in private practice; it was manifestly infectious according to the definition I have given of INFECTION, in the article devoted to the consideration of this topic (see § 3, *et seq*).

118. (b) It was not caused or propagated by immediate or mediate contact—by a consistent, manifest, or palpable virus or matter; but by an effluvium, or miasm, which, emanating from the body of the affected, and contaminating the air more immediately surrounding the affected person, infected the healthy who inspired the air thus contaminated, especially when pre-disposed in the manner above shown (§ 99).

119. (c) This morbid effluvium or seminium of the distemper—this animal poison emanating from the infected—was often made manifest to the senses of smell and even of taste; it attached itself to the body and bed-clothes; remained so attached for lengthened periods, if these clothes were shut up in confined places; and reproduced the disease when the air respired by pre-disposed persons was contaminated or infected by the clothes imbued by the effluvium or poison.

120. (d) The disease was thus propagated in numerous cases; and, as I was convinced, in my own person, even by the clothes of the physician, without himself becoming affected. An infected or contaminated air—infected in the way just shown—caused an attack, without immediate or mediate contact, which was entirely innocuous, provided the air contaminated by the affected person was not inspired.

121. (e) Placing the hand upon any part of the surface of a person in the cold or blue stage of the distemper, was often followed by a peculiarly unpleasant or tingling sensation in the course of the nerves of a healthy person, but this would not occasion infection, if breathing the contaminated air surrounding the affected was avoided.

122. (f) When the poisoned air was breathed by a healthy person for the first time—especially the unpleasant air in the wards of a cholera hospital, or that surrounding the dead body, or that contaminated by the evacuations, a morbid im-

* On the introduction of the pestilence into this country, I was desirous of observing it in the cholera hospitals within my reach, especially in those first established; and my friends at the Privy Council Office furnished me with every facility in accomplishing my intention. I saw also many cases in private practice, both in my own vicinity and in various parts of the metropolis and suburbs.

pression was often felt and referred to the chest and epigastrium, giving rise to frequent forcible inspirations or expansions of the chest. This impression and its immediate consequences generally disappeared after a recourse to stimuli, or full-living; but were followed by some grade or other of the distemper if other depressing agents, as fear, &c., or high pre-disposition, favoured their development.

123. (g.) On occasions of subsequent exposure to the efficient cause of the malady—the morbid impression was somewhat less manifest; and each successive exposure was followed by less evident effects, unless the morbid effluvium was more concentrated in the respired air.

124. (h.) The operation of the morbid effluvium or animal poison was violent in proportion to the concentration of it in the air respired, and to the weakness of the person inspiring it, and to the grade of pre-disposition.

125. (i.) There is no evidence to account for the generation of the choleric poison in the first instance, and there is as little of its reproduction *de novo*, on subsequent occasions. It is also impossible to form a correct idea of the period during which the infectious miasm or seminum may be retained by clothes closely shut up from the air, or by the dead and buried body, and be still capable of infecting the healthy.

Notwithstanding the weight of this authority, we are still disposed to agree with the majority of the profession in this country, that it is not contagious, but epidemic, dependent upon some peculiar state of the atmosphere often localised, and showing no tendency to spread. We were particularly struck with this feature of the disease in the year 1844. In the month of March there had been unusually hot weather for some days, when, on the 23rd of the month, cholera broke out among the chumars, or curriers, attached to the regiment to which we were attached. Their huts were about one quarter of a mile to the southern or windward side of the regimental hospital, and about double that distance from the lines occupied by the sepoy; while in their immediate vicinity stood the elephant-shed, where the elephant-drivers, and attendants numbering about a hundred persons, resided. On the afternoon of the 23rd, there were nine of these chumars attacked by cholera; by 3 o'clock next day, the number was doubled. At this hour there was a most violent thunder-storm, with the wind from the north and west, which, it was anticipated, would check the disease, in place of which it was rather aggravated, as on the following day, the number attacked by the disease more than doubled that of either of the preceding days. On the fourth day the number somewhat diminished, and no cases occurred thereafter. During these four days, of a small community numbering about ninety persons, forty-seven were attacked with the disease, and thirty-five died, notwithstanding the application of the then most extolled remedies. Beyond this small cluster of huts the disease did not extend, although there was no sanitary cordon drawn around it, nor any measures adopted to prevent contagion; the hospital servants were con-

stantly in attendance with medicines, the friends of the patients had free access to them going and coming from the bazar, and yet not another case occurred in the whole cantonment.

We consider that the occurrence of the disease, in connexion with a disturbance in the electro-magnetic state of the atmosphere, calls for more minute and extended observation than it has hitherto met with, for although it has attracted the attention of many able members of the profession in Europe, their experiments, with a view of testing the accuracy of the hypothesis, have not been conducted with that simultaneousness which is required ere their deductions can be received as in any way conclusive. We have remarked for some years past that the isolated occasional cases, which occur annually to a greater or less extent in Calcutta, during the hot weather, generally precede or follow close upon some change in the electric tension of the atmosphere evidenced in a thunder-storm or nor-wester. We know that when the disease first originated in an epidemic form in the district of Nuddeah in 1817, the season had been unusually wet and accompanied with frequent storms of great violence. It is an ascertained fact, that whereas the electricity of the atmosphere, under ordinary circumstances, is positive, whenever it is observed to change to negative, it is certain that rain, hail, or mist, are in the neighbourhood, or that a thunder-cloud is near; if further observation confirm our experience that occasional cases always, or frequently, occur in connection with atmospheric disturbances, it would go far to support the opinion advanced by Mr. Ainsley in his work "On the diseases of India," as stated in the following paragraph:—

"Dr. Johnson observes, in speaking of the diseases of the Mediterranean, that during the strong southerly winds, the circulating system in the human frame becomes wonderfully deranged, and according to Ritter, the electricity of the positive pole augments, while that of the negative diminishes the actions of life; benefaction is produced by the former, depression by the latter; the pulse of the hand" (he says) "held a few minutes in contact with the positive pole is strengthened, that of the hand in contact with the negative pole is enfeebled, the former is accompanied with a sense of heat, the latter with feelings of cold.

"From these facts and considerations, therefore, I am led to conclude, that either the absence of electricity from the human body, or some important change in its electrical state, arising, perhaps, from exposure to a negative electrical atmosphere, may be the cause of the dreadful and destructive epi-

‘demic, which has recently ravaged the East, and that the vicissitudes of the seasons preceding this formidable visitation may support this opinion. If, then, this view of the subject be correct, we may readily account for the sudden attacks of the disease, the change in the temperature and sensibility of the body, and in the fluids, which changes seem chiefly to characterize it, and for the manner in which it has been limited to some districts, extended to others, and has successively ravaged all.”

There is a curious fact stated in regard to the deflection of the magnetic needle, during the visitation of cholera in Russia. “Every one is familiar,” writes Sir J. Murray, in his report of experiments on the nature of cholera “with the ordinary phenomena of a magnetic needle freely suspended, and with its tendency to assume a position more or less approaching to parallelism to the earth’s axis, that is to say, all over the world, a magnetic needle points nearly north and south. Most persons are also acquainted with the common phenomenon termed the dip or inclination of the magnetic needle; thus in the latitude of London, a needle exactly poised and freely suspended, instead of assuming a horizontal position, will settle at an angle of 70° , the north pole being downward. It is said however that the needle did not obey these natural attractions in Russia during the late awful visitation of cholera.” A further observation of the same character was made as to the loss of magnetic power in an artificial magnet. A large horse-shoe magnet was found, during the period that cholera was raging, to have lost a considerable portion of its magnetic power, being incapable of supporting the same weight which it had done before the breaking out of the disease. From the fancied resemblance of cholera to a paroxysm of intermittent fever, it has been frequently surmised, that the two diseases are identical, the former being merely an aggravated form of the latter, both being identical in the progression of their stages, and originating from the same cause; and upon this erroneous view of the nature of the disease, quinine has been strongly recommended and widely used as a remedy, but with little success. The two diseases present contrasts even more marked than their points of resemblance. As to their origin, there are no grounds for supposing the cause of cholera to be miasmatic, as that of intermittent fever undoubtedly is; in its steady onward progress from the heart of Hindostan to the westernmost parts of the earth, regions, in which ague was unknown, were devastated equally with those in which it reigned supreme.

In the phenomena of the disease, the differences are equally striking. Dr. Ayre has placed them in strong contrast, and we cannot do better than give them in his own words. In both the attack commences with a cold stage, but who would compare that "of cholera to that of ague. In the former there is no feeling of coldness on the part of the patient, though with death-like coldness of the skin, whilst in the ague patient there is the most distressing sense of it, with little or no coldness of the surface, and whilst one desires to have external heat applied, the other is oppressed by it. In the paroxysm of ague, the perspiration succeeds the fever as this does the cold stage, but the moisture on the surface is a part of the cold stage of cholera, and not its sequence. Ague is essentially a febrile complaint, and so rarely stopped at its first paroxysm, that we may predicate of it, that an individual attacked by it will have a succession of paroxysms before he is fully cured; but of the cholera, whether mild or malignant, one cold stage suffices, and if he recovers from the first cold stage, he has no second attack of it." The laws, which govern the origin and march of cholera, we may say also of other epidemics, are still hidden from us by a veil through which science has as yet obtained but a few dim and obscure indications, the glimmerings of light, which we may hope under God's providence may burst forth into a brilliant dawn. That these glimmerings of light indicate an electric agency, the whole tendency of later observations goes far to prove; but to secure the full advantages derivable from these, it is almost essential that they should be carried on simultaneously, and as nearly as may be in the same manner, over large portions of the earth's surface. Theories founded upon a few isolated facts are notoriously false in the vast majority of cases; it is only when a considerable number are collected and compared, that any thing like legitimate deductions can be drawn; these, notwithstanding the folios which have been written on the subject, are yet wanting in cholera; each author has taken up his own theory, and rejecting unwittingly all that did not, has exaggerated all that did harmonize with it, till there are almost as many true theories as there are certain modes of cure; and yet alas! cholera is equally fatal in the present day as when on its first appearance it carried havoc and dismay throughout the globe.

We purposed making a few remarks on the treatment recommended by Dr. Mosgrove, which, as stated by Dr. Morehead, is as follows:—

The treatment, as explained to me by the assistants in the Infirmary, consisted of,

on the patient's admission, the administration of three or four pints of cold water ; after the free vomiting caused by the water had ceased, one or two ten grain doses of calomel were given, with an interval of four hours between the doses, when two were exhibited ; ammonia was also given more or less frequently, according to the state of collapse. Three or four persons, either the friends of the patient or the attendants in the Infirmary, sat upon the bed, and while the state of collapse continued, assiduously applied heat by means of hot bricks moved about over the trunk and extremities, and outside of the blanket with which the patient was carefully covered. After the first copious draughts of water had been taken and rejected, then iced water was given in smaller quantities, according to the desire of the patient, and after a time sago with wine was occasionally given. No part of the treatment seemed to be directed towards checking the serous purging. It was allowed to go on till it stopped in the natural course of the disease.

The results do not seem to have been more favorable than those attending other modes of treatment. Of eighty-two admissions, thirty died and fifty-two were discharged ; but of the thirty fatal cases, Dr. Larkworthy, the officer in charge of the hospital, discards ten, six on account of their having already been treated by opium, four from their having proved fatal before the treatment could be brought to bear ; but even with these deductions, which would leave a mortality of forty per cent., the mode of treatment would hardly warrant the conclusion with which Dr. Larkworthy winds up his report :—

Taking all the foregoing circumstances into consideration, I have no hesitation in saying that I believe the plan of treatment recommended by Assistant Surgeon Mosgrove to be the most efficacious that has come under my observation ; simple, but requiring great and immediate assiduity, recovering a greater number and more advanced cases of collapse than I have before been witness to, and apparently certain of curing all cases that have not reached that state, however nearly approximating to it ; and in this opinion I think that I am fully borne out by my analysis of the Register I have had the honor of sending in to the Medical Board.

We are more disposed to concur with Dr. Morehead in his estimate of the efficacy of this treatment :—

If, however, it be expected that in this mode of treatment, as compared with others, we have been provided with a means of materially lessening the mortality of cholera, I have no hesitation in stating it to be my belief that such expectations will not be realized.

Having expressed myself thus so far favourably to the mode of treating the collapsed state of cholera witnessed by me in the Infirmary, it is necessary that I should explain myself a little more fully. If the plentiful draughts of cold water he had recourse to, with a view of bringing about a distinct and more rapid reaction, I would remark that it does not seem to me that this object is, in general, effected by them. The result of my observation is distinctly, that in the large majority of cases in which collapse is fairly present, the draughts of water and the vomiting are not followed by any sensible effect on the pulse ; and I have witnessed many cases in which the issue was in recovery, in which the state of pulseless collapse continued from six to twenty-four hours after the commencement of the exhibition of the cold water. I would, moreover, observe, that in some instances the frequent draughts of water seemed to me to keep up an irritable state of the stomach, which it was afterwards troublesome to subdue. From all this I infer that whatever good may accrue from allaying the sufferings of thirst, or from giving the opportunity for replacement of watery constituents of the blood by the free exhibition of cold water, this good is altogether hidden. We have not in the kind of cases of which I

speaking any sensible evidence of it : yet I agree with those who would give diluents in cholera according to the desire of the patients ; and I cannot but think that they are of advantage ; but the exhibition of cold water did not seem to me the most influential part of the treatment in the Cholera Infirmary. I would attach much more importance to the praiseworthy assiduity with which external heat was continuously applied throughout the period of collapse, then to the judicious use of ammonia, and the abstinence from the use of opium. I cannot but think that Dr. Mosgrove, in giving almost undivided prominence to the use of cold water, has withdrawn attention from the strong points in his system of management of collapsed cholera. These I take to be an assiduous watchfulness and care, and an avoidance of officious medical interference.

We add a statement as to the results of the homœopathic treatment of cholera as practised at the Hospital Salpêtrière in Paris.

Dr. Guillot, attached to the Hospital Salpêtrière, annoyed at the ill success his treatment of cholera was meeting with, and staggered by the high-sounding promises of the adherents of Homœopathy, lately gave one of the latter six beds in the above-named establishment, the patients to be treated homœopathically. Hahnemann's follower immediately set to work, and began to exhibit, first globules of Arsenic, then globules of Bryony, and lastly of Charcoal. Out of seven thus treated, not one recovered. Similar trials have been made at the Hospital St. Louis, with pretty nearly the same results.*

We take our leave of this Volume, with our cordial good wishes for the continued prosperity of the Society to which we owe its publication, and a hope that year after year may add another number to the "*Transactions*," presenting as heretofore to the medical world, papers containing so much valuable and useful information.

* Lancet, 1849.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

1. *Michele Orombello ; or the Fatal Secret. A Tragedy in three Acts.* By George Powell Thomas, Author of "*Views of Simla*," &c. Thacker.—London, Calcutta, and Bombay, 1852.
2. *The Assassin ; or the Rival Lovers. A Tragedy in five Acts.* By George Powell Thomas. Thacker.—London, Calcutta, and Bombay, 1852.

THE issue of two regular tragedies from our Calcutta press is an event too important to be left by us unchronicled ; and we are happy to be able to say, that in our humble judgment, the intrinsic merits of the compositions before us, entitle them to a very favourable notice, even independently of the partiality which we are naturally inclined to feel for the products of our local press. We are free to confess that the review of Dramatic Literature is somewhat out of our line. It is indeed an "art, trade, and mystery" by itself ; a special department of the critical craft ; and we, not having been specially initiated into this branch of criticism, can only express the judgment of a non-professional critic, and state the impression that the perusal of the works before us has left on our own mind. That impression is, upon the whole, favorable. The tragedies contain many passages of very considerable power. The diction, despite of occasional slips and marks of haste, is generally vigorous and clear ; the plots are indeed somewhat inartificial, and the catastrophes withal too tragical ; but for this it may be pleaded in excuse, that the events are historical, and that the catastrophes are justified and borne out by that truth which is confessedly "stranger than fiction."

Michele Orombello is the son of a quondam Duchess of Milan, the sole issue of a previous secret marriage. On his birth he had been, Norval-like, taken to a peasant's hut, and brought up without knowledge of his parentage. His mother was told that the child was dead ; and shortly her husband did actually die, without the secret of their marriage being divulged. In process of time, she was wooed by the Duke of Milan, and gave her hand, while her heart was in the grave of her former lover and husband. Her coldness and ill-concealed indifference soon alienated the affection, (or what at first passed for affection) of her lawful lord. After many instances of unfaithfulness, or rather a continued course of profligacy, he was attracted by the charms of the Princess Carrara ; she shared his passion, or coveted a share of his burgamot ; but this could not be, until the Duchess should be removed out of the way. Meantime, there came a youth (Michele Orombello) to the Court of Milan, in the train of the Ambassador from the native principality of the Duchess ; and being attracted by a young lady, who had come in the suite of the Duchess, and whom he

had known in the days of childhood, he was admitted to the palace on a ball night, disguised as a minstrel. Being asked to sing and play before her Grace, she immediately recognizes his voice. She shews great emotion, which causes the young minstrel to unmask, when, on sight of his face, she actually swoons away. The news is immediately carried to the Duke by a spy, whom he had set to watch the Duchess, in the hope of discovering something in her conduct, which might enable him to enlist the law on his side, in his endeavour to make an opening for the Princess Carrara. The young man is immediately sent for ; and after rating the Duke in very severe, and, as we think, very inappropriate terms, for his treatment of his excellent Duchess, the Duke professes to be captivated by his spirit and frankness ; he appoints him to a situation near her Grace's person, in order that he may be convinced how much the Duke has been maligned, and how very kind and forbearing he really is to his wife. Michele is soon " put up to a few things " by his *compatriote*, Elvina, respecting the Duke, and his motive in patronizing him. He makes violent love to her, and she does not give a very violent denial ; only hints pretty plainly, that she also thinks the Duchess's conduct at the ball stands sadly in want of explanation ; but is satisfied on being assured that her Grace's emotion had been caused only by some fancied resemblance, in the voice and features of Michele, to some lover or friend of her early years. Meantime, Michele is in attendance on the Duchess ; one day in her boudoir, he tells her the whole story of his life, and acknowledges that since the first hour of their meeting, he has entertained towards her sentiments of " half-friendship—half-love." She explains to him, in terms that he cannot in any way understand, that it is pure instinct ; and throws herself fondly into his arms. This is the signal for the Duke to rush into the room, attended by several Lords. The Duchess declares that the young man is her son ; but this idea being derided, Michele undertakes her vindication, and does battle with the spy, who has all along inflamed the Duke's dislike to his wife, and who first brought him intelligence of the ball scene. The Duchess is condemned to death on the spot, and Michele is hurried off to prison. The Duchess, as a last request, demands a private interview with her husband. This is reluctantly granted ; she tells him the whole story of her previous marriage, and of her having discovered in Michele the child that she had long thought dead. Knowing, however, that her death is necessary to the progress of the Duke's schemes, and that it is already determined upon, she consents to admit her guilt, and to suffer death without a murmur, provided the life of Michele be saved. She is then brought out into the presence of the Lords, and admits all that the Duke says respecting her guilt. Meanwhile, the Duke has given an order publicly, that Michele shall be conveyed beyond the frontier and set at liberty ; but has added a private injunction, that on his (the Duke's) making a signal, he shall be immediately put to death. The signal is accordingly given, and Michele, after performing prodigies

of valour, and slaying one, two, three, four, five, is at last overpowered, and put to death. The Duke having thus broken the faith that he has pledged, the Duchess tells the whole story to the Lords ; but the Duke orders her to instant execution. Immediately he is informed, that the Princess of Carrara, having been a witness of the assassination of Michele, had been seized with a fit, to which she was subject, had burst a blood-vessel, and died. The Duke, being thus balked of his purpose, orders the execution of the Duchess to be stopped, but it is too late, she is dead.

Such is briefly the history of Michele Orombello, as written by Captain Thomas. He says, in a prefatory note, that "the facts upon which the tragedy is founded, will readily recal themselves to the reader of Italian history." Now, we have to confess that we have never gone very deep into the history of Italy ; but it struck us on reading this tragedy, that our author gives a very different view of the state of matters from that which we had formerly entertained. We therefore referred to the only history of Italy that was at hand, viz., that contained in the *Universal History*, whose accuracy is generally admitted ; and found that either our author, or the author of that history, greatly misrepresents the matter. That our readers may judge, we transcribe what the history says respecting this incident. In the first place, it is distinctly stated that Beatrix was confessedly a widow when she was married to Philip, Duke of Milan. She was the widow of Facino Scaliger, for the sake of whose money it was that Philip married her. The historian states, that at the time of her marriage with Philip she was 38, while he was only 20. Captain Thomas represents her as only 33, while her husband was 45. But the younger she was, it was all the more unlikely that she should have been secretly married before she became the wife of Scaliger. We now give, in his own words, the historian's account of her connection with Orombello :—

We are now come to an incident in *Philip's* life, that represents him in a very different light from that in which we have hitherto considered him. The death of a mother and a brother, and the dismemberment of so many cities and states, justified some severity against the authors ; but his behaviour to his wife was barbarous, ungrateful, and wicked, to the last degree. We have already taken notice of the disproportion there was between their ages, which had disgusted *Philip* so much, that he had abstained from her bed. It does not appear that the lady resented this provocation in any indecent, or indeed passionate manner ; and she had even submitted to serve him in the most menial offices. Unfortunately for her, she entertained as an attendant one *Orombelli*, a young man accomplished in the arts of music, dancing, and the other embellishments that are most acceptable at a court. *Philip*, considering her life as an obstacle to his pleasure, accused her of criminal conversation with this youth ; and though nothing could be worse founded than the charge, certain enchanted utensils were pretended to be found under her bed. Upon this villainous pretext, the duchess was seized, and confined prisoner in the Castle of *Binasco*. The youth was imprisoned at the same time ; and, according to common report, both of them were put to the torture. Whatever might be in this, it is certain that he was tortured ; and unable to withstand the force of the pain, he confessed the criminality, for which both of them were condemned to death, after being confronted with each other. On this occasion the duchess shewed an invincible constancy. She reproached *Orombelli* with his weakness, in yielding to tortures to confess a falsehood, and, in the most solemn and affecting manner,

she called God to witness for her innocence ; only she implored his pardon for having yielded to the archbishop of *Milan*, in persuading her to so unequal a match. She declared, she never had resented the duke's abstaining from her bed ; and she mentioned the great fortune and acquisitions she had brought *Philip* ; concluding, that she the less regretted her death, because she had preserved her innocence.

Having finished the pathetic declaration, *Orombelli* was put to death before her eyes, and she followed him with the most heroic constancy. By the accounts of all historians, she was a woman of a very exalted character, and no reproach remains upon her memory, but the inequality of her match with *Philip*. The young man was so perfectly conscious of his own innocence, that he might have escaped when she was made prisoner ; but instead of that he came as usual to court, and declared, he knew nothing of the matter, though his friends told him of his danger. Soon after the execution of the duchess, the duke brought to his court a young *Milanese* lady, whom he had ravished some time before. As to the duchess, her unjust death was thought to be partly owing to the vindictive temper of *Philip*, who resented her having been the wife of *Facino*, and the partner of his victories.

There may be other versions of this history, and it is very probable that there are ; but still we suspect that our author is guilty of the charge of departing to a greater extent than is allowable, from historic truth.

We shall now present our readers with a few extracts, from which they will be able to judge of the poetical merits of the tragedy. The following is the speech of the Duchess on perceiving the resemblance between the masked minstrel and her former husband :—

Duchess. (aside.) His form ! *His form ! His step ! His very voice !*

The very cadence that its music gave !

Again !—With what an awful mystery,

As from the grave, it summons back the past !

Surely the very grave hath rendered up

Its tenant, and *Giraldo* lives again !

(Aloud) Stranger, who art thou ? Pity me and speak !

Nay tear that vizard from thine eyes !

(He unmasks.)

Great God !

It is himself ! It is mine own *Giraldo* !

(Faints.)

The Duke's soliloquy on being told of the emotion of the Duchess, strikes us as possessed of a good deal of power. The comparison instituted between the late lover and the person cured of blindness is good in itself, although it may admit of question whether it is altogether appropriate to a person in *Philip's* circumstances and state of mind. The idea appears to be borrowed from Dr. Cheselden's account of a youth on whom he operated for cataract :—

'Tis strange if true ; and yet it may be true !

What if she love at last ? She still is young—

Still young in fact, and younger far in looks ;

And—oh ye gods !—whene'er they come to love,

They who love latest, how they love at last !

As one born blind,—left blind for many years,—

If late and sudden he receiveth sight,

Shrinking at first from light, in pain and fear,

Shuts fast his eyes, and makes it night again ;

So they who first love later than our wont,

First shun Love's light, and close their mental orbs,

And dread Love's boon ; but as the healèd blind,
 Again soon quaffs a little draught of light,
 Another and another, and a deeper,
 Then drinks it in like nectar, and still revels
 In all the magic of the twilight skies,
 And dawn, and noon, and still and starry night,—
 And ne'er can gaze enough on rocks and woods
 And stately deer, (the spirits of the woods,)
 Sheep-sprinkl'd meads, swift streams, and mighty ocean,
 And flowers of every kind, from rose to primrose,
 And, most of all, on faces (young and old),
 Own'd by dear voices lov'd since very childhood,
 For kindness—as the rose was for its odour,—
 So he on whom Love's light doth latest fall,
 Becomes Love's warmest worshipper of all.
 And now I pray it may be so with *her* !
 I lov'd her once ! How could I choose but love her ?
 She smil'd so sweetly with her large soft eyes,
 And lips so full of Earth, so full of Heaven ;
 Body and soul, they captur'd both ! That smile
 Was Heaven or Hell ! Hell when it blest another,
 But brightest Heav'n for him on whom it shone.
 On me how brief its shining ! *This* it was
 That chang'd my love to hate ! To see that smile
 Lavishly squander'd upon every stranger,
 And never, never, never turn'd on me !
 This 'twas that chang'd my nature, and transform'd me
 Into the false, vain, fickle thing I am !
 But not on me alone the curse shall fall,
 If (which I scarce dare hope !) I can but prove her
 As false to me as I am false to her ;
 Or ev'n cau make her seem so to the world.

Here is a part of the scene between the Duke and Michele, when he was brought into his presence. We cannot commend it ; but it is fair that we should give specimens of the worse, as well as of the better parts of the play :—

M. O. It does me honour to salute your Grace ;
 But what it is that gains me so much honour,
 I cannot guess.

Duke. You cannot guess ? You're young
 To say without a blush you cannot guess !
 And yet, you are so *very innocent*
 (*Besides* being young,) perhaps you cannot guess !
 Yet virtuous tho' you be, 'twould seem you've eyes,
 So let me ask you frankly whom you deem
 The fairest lady you have seen at Milan ?
 Come, who shall't be ? 'Mid ladies all so fair,
 Who is your lady fairest ?

M. O. Is it for *this*
 I have been summon'd to your Grace's presence ?
 If so, methinks you might have better priz'd
 Your time and mine—your dignity, and what
 My youth may claim instead of dignity.

Duke. And what may that be ?

M. O. Courtesy, at least ;
 The guest's admitted due, from any host !

Duke. True ! Yet you embryo ambassadors,
 Floating for ever, froely, as ye do,

(Indeed too freely), on the tide of fashion
And pleasure, have such all refined tastes,
That I *must* crave an answer to *any* question.

M. O. (aside.) His words offend, and wittingly ; and yet
Less than his gestures ! But he crows not me !

(*Aloud*) My lord, I tell you frankly, had you ask'd
Not whom I deem the fairest lady here—

(Who could say that, 'mid ladies all so fair ?)—
But whom all deem the worst entreated lady,
It had not been so difficult to name her !

Duke. Ha ! Then be that the question ! Now, let's have her !
What, do you quail ?

M. O. Quail ? and for you ? I quail ?
My lord, you know full well whom I do mean !
For not your basest sycophant of all
Can shut your ear or heart against that truth.
Oh no, one whispery voice ne'er acts the courtier !
And give your heart, or let your courtiers give you,
What flattery you will, full well you know
There's but one only lady I *could* mean !
I need not name her further ! For your taunts
Or threats, I must desire you understand,
My lord th' Ambassador Malizia
Will hold you closely to account for these,
When I report them to his Grace to-morrow ;
Meantime, I take my leave.

(*Proceeds to go out.*)

Duke. Nay, not so fast !
Young gentleman, I like you for your spirit !
Your hand ! I love you for it ! Yet to prove
You're wrong, I pray you to accept an office
Most honourable, near my lady's person,
So shall you see how rumour hath belied me !
I blame not *you*, so innocent and young,
For having credited each malcontent !
Will you accept my offer ? In a year
I will restore you to your lord Malizia ;
He'll lend you freely, for our friendship's sake ;
I know he will !

To us it appears that Michele's indignation, so freely expressed, is unnatural. He could but have got some hints from Elvina, and perhaps from the general gossip of Milan, that the Duke was not the most tender of husbands ; and we do not think there was any occasion for him to "flare up" so suddenly on being asked a harmless question.

A single scene between Michele and Elvina constitutes the whole of the under-plot of the play, or rather just affords a hint that there is an under-plot. This scene appears to us well managed, with the exception of the following speech, which, we confess, somewhat passes our comprehension :—

Oh, his is *treble* guilt ! And mark you me !
Such is the population of these parts ;
'Tis said, for every soul that quits this life,
Three enter it (whether for weal or woe,
Only th' Eternal knows) ; so when he's dying,
With all his heap of sins weighing him down
To warmer worlds, it still may be his hope,

That albeit one such devil as himself
 Scarce once a century doth burthen earth,
 Three spirits, each one-third as vile as he,
 May share his devilish craft, and work it out !

We have said that this speech puzzles us. We suspect it would no less puzzle an actuary. Three births for one death ! Perhaps there was a tide of emigration from "these parts," and it is not impossible that the poet intended by this refined hint to intimate the Duke's tyranny, which led his people to emigrate from his territory. If this was the poet's intention, we suspect he has drawn it too fine. But what doctrine is it, that the guilt of each one who died was shared amongst the three who were born ? We have heard of the transmigration of souls, but never before of their tri-partition !

The Duchess's discourse upon instinct is good, but might be made much better, we think, by the omission of the lines that we put into italics. It at least makes the passage more grammatical, and, we think, improves it in various other ways :—

Duchess (aside.) Something 'twixt love and friendship ? Surely 'tis
 The blessed, precious instinct of the child
 For its lost mother ! *(Aloud)* List what Moslems say,
The infant early pass'd away to heaven
Will feel upon the awful judgment-day,
When, millions upon millions, sinful souls,
Appear before the Mighty Judge of all,
Cow'ring beneath their unrepented sins,
More ev'n than 'neath the Godhead's Majesty !
 They say that when God's justice hath decreed
 Eternal punishment to those who've died
 Impenitent — then, even as young lambs,
 (Pent in the fold all day,) at even time,
 When home from pasture come the bleating flocks
 Of milk-full ewes, each from a thousand dams
 Finds out its mother, and clings fast to her—
 So, on that awful day, each cherub child,
 (Ta'en spotlessly to Heaven, e'er it knew
 Or sin or sorrow,) in that sinful throng
 Shall find its parents out, and fly to them,
 And nestle close to both ! And when great God,
 Seeing their works, shall call them back to Heaven,
 They still shall cling unto their earthly parents,
 Until their heavenly Father melts with pity
 And spares the parents for the children's sake !

It may be difficult to picture the attitude of a child "nestling close to both" its parents ; but, upon the whole, we think, the simile is well stated.

Here we must close our extracts from *Michele Orombello*. Indeed, we fear it will not be in our power to do equal justice to *The Assassin*.

This is a more complete tragedy than the other. The plot is more complicated, and the interest is better sustained, although we do not think that there are so many good passages in it as in *Orombello*.

Three rivals, Luigi, Rinaldo D'Urbino,* and Henrico di Mocenigo are in love with Clara, daughter of the Duke of Salerno. Rinaldo is the favored suitor, and the marriage day is fixed. Luigi employs a Bravo to murder Henrico, in order that suspicion may fall upon Rinaldo, and that either his life may be forfeit to the laws, or at least his character may so suffer, that the Duke will not give him his daughter. He therefore abstracts a dagger of peculiar make from Rinaldo's apartment and gives it to the Bravo, wraps himself in Rinaldo's cloak, and is seen walking in that disguise with Henrico in his garden. Immediately after they have parted, the Bravo commits the murder, drops the bloody dagger, and throws the body into a well. This is on the day preceding that fixed for the wedding; but the Duke being summoned to Florence, the marriage is hastened by a day, and the ceremony is just concluded, when the murder is announced, and the dagger produced. Rinaldo is apprehended and brought in chains before the Senate. There is no evidence against him, but the circumstance of the dagger, which he at once acknowledges to be his, and the fact of a man in his cloak having been seen by an old gardener walking with Henrico just before the murder must have been committed. On this evidence, however, he is found guilty, and committed to the torture. This he bears with heroic firmness, and persists in maintaining his innocence. Meanwhile, the Bravo is arrested on another charge, and confesses that he murdered Henrico at the instigation of Luigi. Rinaldo is brought in, and having declared his belief in Luigi's innocence, dies from the effect of the torture. Luigi is found guilty, condemned to instant execution, but stabs himself and dies.

The first scene seems to us to indicate our author's possession of a power of analysing the workings of the human heart, which he is only too chary of putting forth. Fieschi is the father of Luigi :—

Fieschi. Luigi, have you heard—

(Rare news to gladden our return to Naples !)—

That young Mocenigo is coming back ?

Luigi. That news, indeed, were rare enough to startle

The living ; for if true, 'twould raise the dead !

He and his father were returned as killed

Beyond all hope or doubt.

Fieschi. Yet 'tis not true.

Wounded he was, beside the General—

The Count his father—in the gallant charge

That won the day and crown'd our arms with glory—

(Or added to the glory of those arms) ;

But rumour err'd in saying he was slain.

The sire *has* fall'n. The son returns, to read

The praise that should have been his epitaph :

Aye, and to win whole argosies of honour,

Both from the State and people.

* There seems to be an error in the list of the *Dramatis Personæ*, which introduces sad confusion into the tragedy. Rinaldo and Mocenigo are evidently identical, and so we suppose that Henrico ought to be D'Urbino.

Luigi. It cannot be !

Fieschi. It is ! Nay more, he comes affianc'd to——

Luigi. The devil !

Fieschi (smiling.) Not the devil, but that angel—
That fairest angel in a maiden's form—

The young and lovely heiress of Salerno.

Had you sped boldly on the course I gave you,
And sought fair honour where your friend has won it,
You might have been, instead of him, the proud
And honour'd lover of Salerno's daughter !

Luigi. But, sir, I never lov'd her ! (*Aside*) False, false, false !
I'd give this hand to win her !

Fieschi. Shame on you
If you did never love her ! At your age
I could have died for such a girl !—have dared
All Earth and Hell, for one sweet smile of her's.
But now-a-days the world is all too old,
And boys do flout their grand-sires ! Never lov'd her ?
What *would* you love, boy ? Would you have an angel
Wing down from Heav'n, to love you and to woo you ?
But what boots now to heed what *might* have been,
When all is lost, that, then, you might have won,
Had you but *acted* in those hours you gave
Unto your visions, musings, meditations—
(The meditations of a sage of twenty !)
Nay, look not downcast, Lui ! Well you know
You are my only hope, my only pride ;
And if I feel a trifle bitter—aye, bitter—
'Tis not 'gainst *you*, but 'gainst the fav'ring fortune
Which sides so foully with my rival's son.

(*Exit FIESCHI.*)

Luigi. Aye, that it is that stings—"my rival's son" !
The good old story of a good old hate,
Which, now its object is no more, must needs,
On the first rumour of that son's return,
Be visited, it seems, *upon* his son ;
Little he knows how willing is *his* son
To play *his* part in this same foolish feud,
If it indeed be true Rinaldo lives !
If it be true ! Alas ! *can* it be true ?
Oh, rather may his ghost return to earth
To haunt me in the watches of the night !

(*Walks up and down.*)

Curse on his coming ! But a week ago,
I mourn'd him even as an only brother,
For then the way seem'd open to me ; now
The very rumour of his death conspires
Yet more against me ! *She* has mourn'd for him,
Till, if she did but coldly love him living,
She may have learnt to idolize him dead !
And now *he comes* in time to wear the glories,
With which (like halos) his imagin'd death
Had crown'd his name. Nay more than this ; he comes
So rich in honourable services,
Not Slander's self dare strike a dart at him,
Lest it should light upon some new heal'd wound !
And now my father twits me, that I have not
His fame or his success. This settles it !
*If he come back, then I must conquer him,
And all his rarest triumphs, so, are mine.*

'Twas so, i'the chivalry of old, and so
 It shall be still ; yea, tho' my mother's ghost
 Should bid me pause ! Yet hold ! It may be false,
 And poor Rinaldo may be dead indeed !
 Yet ah ! it may be *true* ! The worst were better
 Than this detestable suspense ! I'll end it !

The two lines that we have italicized approach rather too nearly to a plagiarism from Prince Henry's speech to his father ; and this is not the only instance which we have noticed of our author's tendency to appropriate the thoughts of the great dramatist. But we suppose that this is a privilege claimed by all.

The following soliloquy of the Bravo, and subsequent dialogue between him and his son, is good and truthful :—

BRAVO, alone, cleaning his dagger.

Bravo. That was a good night's work, and paid so well !
 A few more such would make me free for ever.
 A good night's work, and cunningly perform'd !
 Tho' 'tis scarce praiseworthy to praise one's self,
 There's not a truer hand, or trustier steel,
 Than these, in all broad Italy ; to strike,
 And need no second blow. By any light,
 Or none, I care not ! Give me but my man—
 Receding from his overtaking doom,
 Or, front to front, coming to die—I care not !
 When we two strike, and need to strike again,
 May I ne'er hope for mercy ! Ha ! that word—
 That dreadful word, how it doth startle me !
 And yet I know not wherefore ! I but ply
 The trade my father plied before,—and his
 Ev'n before him, teaching it unto him
 As he to me. And yet, oh, God ! must I
 Teach it unto my little innocent,
 My fair-hair'd, happy-hearted innocent,
 Whom oft I shudder to caress, with hands
 Tainted with blood ? I'd rather cut him down
 Now, with his fresh green beauty all around him,
 An ornament and blessing on the Earth,
 Than have him grow a weed of stings and thorns,
 A curse on Earth, as I am ! Hateful steel,
 Would I could cast thee from me, and for ever !

(Puts it from him, on a table hard by ; throws himself into a chair to its left, and shades his eyes with his right hand, as if in thought.)

Enter his son FEDERIGO, a beautiful child, of five or six years old.

Federigo. My father sleeps ! Oh ! what is this ? A present
 For me I think. To-morrow is my birth-day,
 And this I'm sure is what—

(Stretches over to reach the dagger, and in dragging it towards him, arouses his father.)

Bravo. What noise is that ?
 Put down the dagger ! Put it down, I say !
 What do you here, boy ? Nay, my child, come here,
 I am not angry ! Sit upon my knee,
 My precious boy ! Come, come I was not angry !

(The child kisses him.)

Federigo. Isn't that sword for me ! You know you told me
To-morrow is my birth-day ! 'Tis for me !

(Claps his hands joyously.)

Bravo. No ! Never shall it be for thee,
My sinless boy ! No ! There ! I've lock'd it up !
Not a good toy, Federigo ! Come, we'll go,
And buy all sorts of play-things for to-morrow !

With one more extract, we close our notice. It is the soliloquy of
Luigi after the perpetration of the murder, and before its disco-
very :—

Luigi. Now then the game is mine ; or, if not mine,
Nothing can make it so. And if not mine,
At least not his. He fondly thinks to-morrow
Shall see him honour'd as a happy bridegroom ;
Ha ! It shall see him crouch, a branded felon ;
But ! let that pass—'tis not of *him* I'd think !
When *he is gone*, then comes my turn again—
My turn to plead again my suit with her,
Who was my playmate in my boyish years,
And had been mine ere now, had he not come,
With his robust and animal comeliness,
To eclipse me ever both as boy and man,
And baffle me, when first my boyish love
Was winding quietly about her heart ;
With a soft twining nothing could have snapt,
Had it been left to strengthen but a little !
Had it, indeed, been so, I might have been
Far other than I am—I might have been
Happy and true, and good. But what I *am*
'Tis *he* has made me. Ha ! I must not think
Of what I *am* ! I dare not linger there,
Nor even glance that way ! Whate'er I *am*
'Tis *he* has made me ! Ev'n from our boyish days
Unto this hour, he through the past has been
My curse and destiny, and I shall be
His through the future ! 'Twas a game between
Two daring hearts—a game for life and love,
Or death and infamy. With ev'ry chance
Against me, I shall win ! When he is gone,
I have no fear that all the old kind feelings,
That he so turn'd aside, will flow again
Into their former bed, and I shall be
A happy man ! A good and honour'd man,
As good at least as many, whose white heads
Go honour'd to the tomb. What *is to do*,
I shall not, dare not, dread ! What *has been done*—
Why should I shrink from *that* ? For some few years
That love-sick youth might have liv'd on to bear
A weight of joyless life, from which I've spared him !
Yea, I have wrought him benefit, not wrong !
He would himself have ended all, but dar'd not ;
And oft I've heard him say, he'd thank the man
Who'd end his misery ! And tho' the law
Not sanctions such relief as I've bestow'd,
Yet no laws justly punish or reward ;
And words and deeds oft pass for excellent,
Which break some ordinance of God or man ;
Thus the diplomatist, who feigns a truth,
Not lies, if he but lie successfully ;

But let disaster follow on his crime,
 And straight 'tis falsehood to the end of time !
 Or say a General, who boldly breaks
 Weak orders, gain some wondrous victory,
 How triumph magnifies the recusant
 Into a hero, saviour, demi-god,
 Who from the State consenteth to receive
 Parks, titles, palaces, and hero-worship ;
 But say he fail, how shame and death ensue
 To wreak revenge, and give a warning too !
 I'm nor Ambassador, nor General,
 Nor serve no Government, but I will serve—
 (Ev'n if I break some edict in my zeal)—
 Right heartily mine own especial ends ;
 Full sure that if my errors serv'd the State,
 They would be pardon'd and rewarded too !

Upon the whole we must repeat, under protest of our own incompetence to sit in judgment upon compositions of this class, that we regard these tragedies as very creditable performances. As to their fitness, or unfitness for the stage, we know absolutely nothing ; but we do not suppose that their author intends them for representation.

Supplementary Contributions to the Series of the Coins of the Patán Sultáns of Hindustán. By Edward Thomas, Esq., Bengal Civil Service. (Printed for Private Circulation.) Delhi. 1852.

It is always somewhat embarrassing for a reviewer to receive books marked as "printed, not published," or "printed for private circulation." If they are intended for notice, it may be concluded that it is considered an object of desire to make them known as widely as possible ; but how is this consistent with their being printed for private circulation ? But if they are not intended for notice, why are they sent to editors in their official capacity ? In the present case, however, we have but little difficulty, as there is very little in the body of the pamphlet before us that we could have made use of either in the form of a "review" or a "notice," since it does not consist of much more than a catalogue of coins ; while in the "Prospectus" and "Introductory Notice," there is sufficient matter, which is evidently designed for the public generally, or for "all" of that public "whom it may concern." We cannot do better therefore than transfer these notices to our pages. If this serve no other good purpose, it will at least fulfil the object of an advertisement :—

PROSPECTUS.—It is proposed to publish a second Edition of "*The Coins of the Patán Sultáns of Hindustán*"—incorporating the Supplement, now printed for private circulation, with the original work—which will be generally re-cast, and in all points carefully revised—as well as still further enlarged and improved by any new materials that may become available previous to actual publication.

As a work of this description has necessarily, under the most favourable circum-

stances a very limited sale, it is needful to assure to the Publishers a certain amount of return, before they can be expected to undertake the risk attendant upon the production of a volume alike costly in Oriental Printing and Engraved Illustration.

Hence it becomes requisite to ask for the specific adhesion of intending Subscribers—to determine whether a new Edition can claim such support as will justify its being commenced upon.

It will be the object of the Author, not only to make the letter-press portion of the work as complete and comprehensive as possible, but also to secure *for* the Subscribers, *from* the Publishers, as large an amount of Illustration as the extent of the Subscription list can in any way be made to bear.

The eventual price of the work has been fixed at 8 Rupees—and for this sum it is expected that the Publishers will be able to give Engravings or Wood-cuts of at least 150 coins—which in themselves will suffice to furnish ample pictorial illustration for the entire Series. Subscribers' names will be received by the Editor of the *Delhi Gazette*—Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta—or Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co., London.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.—The coins herein described are chiefly taken from the collection of Mr. E. C. Bayley, Bengal Civil Service, who has most liberally placed his entire cabinet at my disposal, to enable me to augment and improve a previously published series of these medals, entitled “The Coins of the Patán Sultáns of Hindustán.”

The number of new specimens now available, as well as the direct interest and historical value attaching to many of them, has induced me at once to print this brief notice, in the incomplete and detached form in which it now appears, in preference to attempting to incorporate these additional materials into a second edition of the original publication, which might involve both delay and uncertainty.

The subject of numismatology is one of great interest and importance, worthy almost of being ranked with geography and chronology, which, according to the dictum of a great philosopher, are the “eyes of history.” It has been to a considerable extent cultivated in India, especially by Prinsep and Wilson; and the results are worthy of the labour bestowed upon it; but as yet little more than the coasts of the territory have been surveyed; all within is a *terra incognita*. We shall therefore hail the appearance of a complete work on the subject of the coinage of the Patán Sultáns from the pen of Mr. Thomas, who is, as we believe, of all men now in India, the best able to do justice to the subject.

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1. *A Treatise on the Doctrine of the Trinity, designed for intelligent Hindus and Mussulmans. By the Rev. E. Storrow. Calcutta.—G. C. Hay and Co. 1852.*
 2. *Vedantism, Bráhmism, and Christianity examined and compared. A Prize Essay. By the Rev. Joseph Mullens, Missionary of the London Missionary Society, Calcutta.—Tract Society. 1852.*

WE place these little works together, not only because they are written by Missionaries of the same Society, but chiefly because, though materially different in their plan and immediate object, they are designed for the same class of readers, and correspond in their

general scope and purpose. The class of readers to whom they are specially addressed, is one of great, and constantly encreasing, importance ; consisting of all those who, through means of an English education and the general diffusion of knowledge, have been convinced of the falsehood and hurtfulness of the Puranic superstition, and have either been reduced to a state of mind bordering upon utter scepticism, or have fallen back upon that system which Mr. Mullens calls Bráhmism, which may be briefly described as a system of Deism or Rationalism, mixed up, rather than incorporated, with a modification of Vedantism. But although we have placed the two treatises side by side at the head of this notice, we intend to speak of them separately.

And, first, of Mr. Storow's *Treatise on the Doctrine of the Trinity*. There are those who argue that the special and peculiar doctrines of Christianity should never be brought under the cognizance of unbelievers, or of any who are beyond the pale of the church ; and who, especially, regard it as a casting of pearls before swine, to attempt either to state or vindicate the sacred mystery of the Trinity in the presence of heathens and unbelievers. To all such they would say—" You are first to come into the bosom of the church, who is opening her arms in all affectionateness to receive you, and then she will set before you that form of sound words to which you are to assent, and will feed you with food convenient for you—first, with the milk that is appropriate for babes, and then, as you are able to bear it, with stronger and more manly food." Others, again, of a different school from these, would insist upon the heathen and unbelievers studying the evidences of Christianity simply as a question of evidence ; examining the historical *Catena* by which the genuineness and authenticity of the several books of the Bible are ascertained ; and then proceeding to the facts of miracles undoubtedly performed, and of prophecies undoubtedly uttered, as demonstrative of the Divine authority attaching to the sacred records, and then submitting themselves, without question or reserve, to the teaching of the Divine oracles. Now, neither of these views is wholly unsound, but both, we suspect, are partially so. Although we cannot admit that there is an exoteric and an esoteric doctrine in Christianity, yet it is quite true that there is an order to be observed in the teaching of Divine truth ; and that the simple doctrines of man's sinfulness, and of the method of salvation through the obedience and sufferings of Christ, ought to take precedence of the mystery of the Trinity. Again, we admit that, it being ascertained that the Bible is the word of God, the part of man is to reverently listen to it, and receive its teachings in a humble and teachable spirit. But then it is a mere fact, with the rightness or wrongness of which we have at present nothing to do, that scarcely any of those who have been brought up without the pale of the church, will give themselves up either to the direction and guidance of the church, or to the careful and unprejudiced study of the evidences of Christianity, without starting certain preliminary objections. They will hold that certain scriptural doctrines are

unreasonable and false, and that consequently the question is decided at once against the credibility of the church, and the inspiration of the books, that teach these doctrines. And one of the doctrines against which they most generally take exception is that of the Trinity. Now, then, it does seem to us to be clearly the duty of the Christian Advocate to remove or set aside these preliminary objections, and to show that the doctrines in question, however they may be above reason, and undiscoverable by its unaided efforts, are not contrary to reason, and ought not to form an obstacle to the reception of the Gospel. And this is precisely what Mr. Storrow undertakes in the pamphlet before us. His object is not to refute the Socinian or the Arian, who receives the Bible, but denies that the doctrine of the Trinity is contained in it; nor so much to unfold the doctrine of the Trinity as to vindicate it from the charge of unreasonableness and self-contradiction; not so much to expound it and to deduce from it those lessons of comfort and instruction, which it is calculated to afford to the Christian soul, as to remove that stumbling block, which erroneous notions regarding it are apt to interpose in the way of the unchristian soul.

In pursuance of this design, of course the main drift of his argument is to show that in all departments of knowledge, we are met at every step with mysteries that are altogether beyond our comprehension; and that these are often most closely connected with our most incumbent duties and our most essential interests; that it is, in every way, to be expected that mystery of the most incomprehensible kind should attach to such a subject as the constitution of the Godhead, and that while the mystery that the Scriptures disclose is in fact far above our comprehension, there is nothing in it contrary to our reason; since we have no right to say that that which in one respect is possessed of Unity may not in another respect be possessed of Trinity. Yea, he hints,—rather than argues,—that for aught we know, this very Trinity may be essential to that absolute perfection, which all acknowledge to be the attribute of Deity; and lastly, he shows, that so far is the doctrine of a Trinity in Unity from being abhorrent to the human intellect, that it seems to have been caught at by the most powerful and penetrating intellects in every age. Of course he does not adduce the Egyptian, the Platonic, or the Zoroastrian triad as a *proof* of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, but simply as an indication that the assertion is untrue, which is so commonly hazarded by those to whom his argument is specially addressed, that none but enslaved intellects can entertain the doctrine for a moment. Upon the whole, it appears, to us, that Mr. Storrow has succeeded remarkably well in a delicate and difficult task; and we only wish, that those for whose benefit he has undertaken it, may “read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest” what he has written.

Mr. Mullens's book is, as is stated in the title-page, a prize essay—having been the successful competitor for a prize offered by the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society to the best essay that should be produced on the subjects of which it treats. It is a work of great

labour and research—research in a very dry and uninviting field ; and although we do not anticipate that it will produce any very marked immediate effect in drawing many of the disciples of the Vedant, or the members of the Bráhma Sabha to Christianity ; yet we doubt not that it will, from time to time, fall into the hands of studious and thoughtful and earnest men, who will be convinced, by its arguments, to reject the false, and won by its appeals, to embrace the True.

Mr. Mullens first of all states fully, and as clearly perhaps as a very misty subject admits of being stated, what Vedantism, as taught by Vyasa and his followers, really is. He then enquires to what extent the Vedantic doctrine is to be found in the Vedas themselves, or to what extent Vedantism is accordant with Vedism. As the doctrines of the Vedantists have been more than once explained in our pages,* we shall not say more respecting this portion of the work than that it appears to us to be well executed. Next follows an account of what Mr. Mullens calls Bráhmism, or the doctrine of the Bráhma Sabha established in Bengal by the late Ram Mohun Roy. This, as the creed and worship of a considerable body of the people amongst whom we live, is, to us, of far more moment than the Vedantic system, which, although it undoubtedly modifies and influences, to an immense extent, the modes of thinking, feeling and acting of the great body of Hindus—probably of every Hindu in the land—yet is actually professed as a systematic creed, only by the Pandits of the old school. We scarcely know how it has occurred ; but so it is, that it is generally believed that the system of Ram Mohun Roy and his followers is fundamentally and essentially Vedantic ; and if Mr. Mullens's labours should have no other fruit, we conceive that he has done good service in depriving Bráhmism of that *prestige*, which has attached to it in the estimation of many, from the supposition that it is a revival of the ancient religion of the country. It is worthy of being generally known, that it is avowedly for the purpose of securing the advantage of that *prestige*, that they have incongruously engrafted upon an essentially rationalistic system many of the doctrines of Vedantism. That their system is truly rationalistic, and that their adoption of some points of the Vedantic system is little more than a *ruse* in order to gain access to the people of India generally, and the Pandits in particular, are two points that are clearly evinced by an official letter addressed by the Secretary of the Sabha to Mr. Mullens, from which we borrow the following extract :—“ The doctrines of the Bráhma, or spiritual worshippers of God, whom I presume you mean by modern Vedantists, are founded upon a broader and more unexceptionable basis than the scriptures of any single religious denomination on the earth. The volume of nature is open to all, and that volume contains a revelation, clearly teaching, in strong and legible characters, the great truths of religion and morality ; and giving as much knowledge of our state after death, as is necessary for the attainment of future

* See *Calcutta Review*, No. V. Art. 2 ; and especially No. VII. Art. 2.

' blessedness ; yet adapted to the present state of our mental faculties. ' Now, as the Hindu religion contains notions of God and of human ' duty, which coincide with that revelation, we have availed ourselves ' of extracts from works which are the great depositaries of the national ' faith, and which have the advantage of national associations on ' their side, for disseminating the principles of pure religion among our ' countrymen." Now, from this authoritative extract, it clearly appears, *first*, that the only revelation acknowledged is the works of nature, and that consequently the foundation of the Brahmic creed is identical with that of the Deistic ; *secondly*, that the Vedas and other writings, deemed by the Hindus as inspired, are not adopted as a *revelation*, but only extracts from them are diffused, as containing doctrines in accordance with those deduced from the contemplation of the works of nature ; and *thirdly*, that the object of this diffusion is the very suspicious one of "accommodation," by means of which it is sought to gain access for their system to the minds of those who are prejudiced in favor of the Vedas as a revelation from God.

The second part of the work before us contains a refutation of the Vedantic and Brahmic systems ; and without pledging ourselves to the soundness of all the arguments employed,* we may safely say, that we think Mr. Mullens has completely succeeded in demolishing these systems.

The work concludes with a brief summary on the evidences of Christianity, and a detailed contrast of the Christian system with the Vedantic and the Brahmic. In this part our author is very successful ; and we know not whether the excellent Society under whose auspices the work is published, would not do well to publish this part separately. It is complete in itself, or could be made so by some slight modifications, and the omission of allusions (if there be any) to the preceding parts ; and it would be read by many who will not have patience for the necessarily dry and uninviting details of the other parts. Altogether, we cannot do otherwise than express our conviction, that the work is a good one, and we cordially commend it to our truth-loving native readers.

* We think, for example, that the argument from analogy against the transmigration of souls is quite inconclusive. The advocates of that doctrine plead that the sufferings of infants, and of men righteous in this life, indicate that the sufferers must have been guilty of sins in a former life. Now, Mr. Mullens shows that we have many instances of sufferings brought upon men, not by, or in consequence of, their own sins at all, but in consequence of the sins and faults of others. But the transmigrationist might reply, that this argument is all on his side ; that these sufferings are but an additional proof, that these sufferers must have sinned before they came under our cognizance, and that it is for their own sins, committed during a former life, that they are punished, although the sins of others may be made the occasion and the instrument of bringing the punishment home to them. We are not sure also that our author does not inadvertently do injustice to his opponents in the following sentence :—"Respecting *love to God* it is said, ' If a man worships the Supreme as one beloved, his beloved ones shall never die'—a sentiment which is utterly untrue in fact ; since many excellent people lose their parents, children, brothers and sisters by death."—True ; but if God be the one beloved, or the only beloved of a man, his beloved one cannot die, since his one beloved is eternal and unchangeable. We point out with all frankness these little slips, which have occurred to us in the course of our perusal of the work, satisfied that though they were far more numerous than they are, the author could quite well afford to retract them, and leave his argument still triumphant.

The Odes of Petrarch ; translated into English verse, by Captain R. G. Macgregor. London. Smith, Elder and Co. 1851.

WE have read with great admiration the spirited and accurate translations of Captain Macgregor—and with no little surprize. It would be difficult, perhaps, to fix upon a poet, whose writings are less capable of being transfused into another language without suffering loss ; and of all the writings of Petrarch, his *Canzoni*, although incomparably the most beautiful, present the greatest difficulties. They abound with allegories and playing upon words, where the sense is sometimes so obscure, that the best commentators fail to trace it. They are written in a varying, graceful, but highly artificial rhyme, for which the Italian language affords unusual facilities ; or, when unrhymed, the versification is modelled with still greater complicity ; and their very excellence, the charm and flow of the words, the pure and sparkling style, and the happy and felicitous epithets, that fix themselves in the memory like household words, seem to render any thing like a faithful literal translation, (preserving the measure and rhyme,) into any other language, all but impossible. The translations of the *Iliad* and *Æneid* by Pope and Dryden, notwithstanding their great and acknowledged merits, are not faithful translations ; and if Coleridge and Shelley have been more successful with *Wallenstein* and *Faust*, it must be remembered that they had to deal with blank verse chiefly ; and that Coleridge shrunk from the task of even attempting the first part of Schiller's great drama. We cannot affirm that Captain Macgregor will take rank, as a translator, with Shelley and Coleridge ; but his task was greatly more arduous ; and, though we meet not unfrequently with a stiff line, or a harsh and inverted idiom, his version will enable the mere English reader to form nearly as just an estimate of Petrarch's genius, with its characteristic beauties and defects, as if he could read the *Canzoni* in their own mellifluous Italian tongue.

To turn an Italian into an English sonnet, thought for thought, and line for line, is no easy task, as any one, who has tried it, will bear witness ; but to sustain a flight, through every variety of rhyme, and all the caprices of a mind like Petrarch's, for upwards of two hundred pages, requires a steadiness of purpose and a strength of wing vouchsafed to few in these degenerate days.

It is no paraphrase, or diluted imitation, that Captain Macgregor has produced ; but a conscientious, finished and scholar-like translation, which would do no discredit to the most accomplished name in living literature. The amount of his labour must have been prodigious ; and, we believe, the commencement at least goes back for more than twenty years. As a specimen of the fidelity of the translation, we select at random the opening sonnet, subjoining the original :—

PROEM.

Ye, in my devious rhymes, who hear the sound
Of those oft sighs, wherewith, in hot youth's first
And fondest error, I my weak heart nurst,
When I unlike what now I am was found ;

My song, where plaints and reveries abound,
 As with vain grief, with hopes as vain now curst,
 Shall, if one heart there is in true love vers'd,
 Be with your pity, if not pardon, crown'd :

For now full well I see how I became
 A fable to the world, and late and long
 Myself have lower'd in mine own esteem !

Thus of my vanity the fruit is shame,
 Repentance, and a knowledge clear and strong
 That mortal joy is all a passing dream !

PROEMIO.

Voi, ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono
 Di quei sospiri, ond' io nodriva il core
 In sul mio primo giovanile errore,
 Quand'era in parte altr'uom da quel, ch'i' sono ;

Del vario stile, in ch' io piango, e ragiono
 Fra le vane speranze, e 'l van dolore ;
 Ove sa chi per prova intenda Amore,
 Spero trovar pietà, non che perdono.

Ma ben veggì' or, si come al popol tutto
 Favola fù gran tempo ; onde sovente
 Di me medesmo meco mi vergogno :

E del mio vaneggiar vergogna è'l frutto,
 E'l pentirsi, e'l conoscer chiaramente,
 Che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno.

Here it is evident that the English sonnet is at least as good as the Italian ; that it is a literal and accurate translation ; and, with the exception, perhaps, of the seventh line, that it is as smooth and life-like, as if it had never been cast in any other mould.

The history of the Fourteenth century has yet to be written. It was fertile in great men and in great events. Then, and not in the sixteenth century, were laid broad and deep the foundations of toleration, reform, and civil and religious liberty. The revolutionary spirit pervaded Europe, as widely as in our days, but with far other lustre and event. In these stirring times, every year had its battle, and every nation its hero ; and events, second to none in historical importance, excited and astonished the minds of men. Scotland had her Wallace and Bruce : Switzerland, her William Tell ; Rome, her Rienzi ; Ghent, her D'Artevelde ; and France, ever purposeless and unstable, her Du Guesclin and her Jacquerie ; while far above them all in lasting influence on the world, rises the great English name of Wickliffe. The age of Tamerlane and Bajazet, of Louis of Hungary and the Black Prince ; the age of Peter the Cruel, and Joanna of Naples, and Isabel of Bavaria ; the age that can boast of Dante and Petrarch, and Boccaccio, and Chaucer, and Froissart, and Gerson, and Du Clemangis, and Thomas a Kempis—forms an era in history, and will yet, we trust, be embalmed in the pages of some future Tacitus or Macaulay.

Among the great men of that remarkable era, Petrarch held a commanding place : and, it is doubtful, whether any of them, or any man in all time, enjoyed, during his lifetime, so

much and such long continued celebrity, and national and popular applause. The crowning in the Capitol was but the confirmation of the unanimous verdict of his countrymen ; and, though mixing largely in the troubled politics of the day, and the personal friend of men notorious for faithlessness and crimes, his own reputation remained unsullied ; and all the factions and all the ruffians of Italy looked up to him with pride, and gloried in his fame. Without undervaluing his political talents, or the skill with which he sometimes employed them, there can be no doubt that his popularity rested then, as it does now, upon his writings. These consist of a collection of letters, modelled after Cicero's, not without a certain interest, but altogether unworthy of his fame ; of certain common-place and unreadable moral and philosophical treatises ; of an obscure historical work—a dull Latin Poem on the second Carthaginian war—and of the Sonnets, Canzoni, and Trionfi.

He owed his laurels immediately to the prospective merits of his poem on Africa, while it was scarcely commenced ; but the Canzoni had already filled Europe with his fame, and surrounded the name of Laura de Sade with a halo of sweetness and purity and lustre, which no other woman has won, when wedded to immortal verse. He has conquered the worse than doubtful difficulties of his position. He has shown that love, like his, need not be a guilty passion. Sensuality will find no congenial food in his lofty and passionate singing. His poems are one great successful effort to eradicate the base and sinful from a strong human passion ; and to raise it up on earth to the height of its heavenly spiritualism. But he never pretends to be insensible to sensual beauty, or to dis sever the beauteous spirit from its beautiful habitation. He rejoices to think that that fair form will rise again a glorious and spiritual body ; and that sense and soul and intellect shall have in heaven, not only a sinless, but their highest and most perfect, delight.

Such undying strains have never been addressed to woman, before or since ; and, though there are many parts (and some the most admired) which, like the relish of olives, require a peculiar education to be appreciated, enough remains of fresh and exquisite description, of delicate and graceful beauty, of grand and solemn thought, to vindicate for Francisco Petrarca a place among the foremost in the second rank of true poets, although he does not attain to the first.

We select as a favourable specimen of Petrarch's genius and fancy in its most genial mood, and of the skill and masterly hand of his translator also, the beautiful ode—

“ Chiare, fresche e dolci acque.”

Ye waters, sweet, cool, clear,
Where she, sole Lady mine,
Her beauteous limbs so often would recline :
Green boughs, which gladly made
(Sad memories, yet dear)
At once for her fair form support and shade :
Mosses and flow'rs which lov'd to rest
'Neath the light flowing vest,
Which her angelic bosom bound :

Serene and sacred air,
Where Love from her bright eyes first dealt my wound,
Attend, and hear me now, and bear
Calmly, the last sad words of my despair.

If such my fate at last,
If Heav'n the doom have past,
That Love ere long shall close these weeping eyes—
My latest hour the thought would cheer,
That my poor dust might slumber here,
When to its native home my free soul flies :
Death will less cruel be
If to the dark and doubtful grave
I hear this hope with me :
My weary spirit would not crave
A softer bed for its eternal rest,
Nor could my frame, with toil oppress,
To shades more calm or spot more lovely flee.

A time may come perchance,
When to her old retreat,
Shall turn my tyrant, beautiful and sweet ;
And, where her lustrous glance
Beheld me on that happy day,
Yet shall her kind eyes bend their asking ray.
And, when, amid the stones,
She sees where moulder my poor bones,
Love may some softness wake :
Then will she mourn my fate, with sighs
So sweet and pure, they shall my pardon make,
And force my passage to the skies,
As with her veil she checks her gushing eyes.

From the full boughs on high,
Still dear to memory,
Oft on her lap the blossoms fell in show'rs,
As she the while reclin'd,
Meek in her glory, to her beauty blind,
Half-cover'd with a wanton cloud of flow'rs ;
Some lodg'd on her rich vest,
Or fell on her fair curls,
Which, fitly then, seemed drest
With finest gold and pearls ;
Some on the earth, some on the waters fell,
Or in fond fairy whirls
Seem'd to exclaim, "*Here mighty Love does dwell.*"

How often have I said,
Fill'd with a holy dread,
Surely from Paradise this being sprung !
Her port of majesty and grace,
Kind speech, sweet smiles, and lovely face,
Over me such forgetfulness have flung,
And made to truth my mind,
Unconsciously, so blind,
That ever I sigh forth
"*How, and when came I here—*"
Thinking myself in heav'n and not on earth :
Each spot seems comfortless and drear
To me, save this where first my love had birth.
As thine the wish, my Song, if thine the art
To please like her who prompts thy lays,
Boldly might'st thou depart
And challenge of admiring worlds the praise !

We are unable to appreciate the excellence of the "Three Sisters" or "Three Graces" (as three of the Canzoni have been named by commentators), notwithstanding their high fame ; and we confess that much, even in the Canzoni, is *caviare* to our unprepared and Trans-alpine mind. But we are not now criticizing Petrarch ; and we hasten to present to our readers the interview between the lady and death from the *Trionfi*, which has something of the march and grandeur of Milton, and may have been in his eye in after years :—

Returning from her noble victory there,
That beauteous Lady and her comrades fair,
Gently advancing in a bright group came :
Few were they, for on earth few seek true fame,
Yet, each and all, fit themes they seem'd to give,
In poet's lay or history's page to live.
Their conquering ensign to the view reveal'd
A spotless ermine on a verdant field,
Its soft neck bound with gems and finest gold.
Scarce human seem'd to hear and to behold
Their speech so holy and their angel gait :
Blessed is he whose birth secures such fate !
Bright stars they seem'd—she, in the midst, a sun
Adorning all, yet taking light from none.
With violets and roses garlanded,
In modest dignity of well-won fame
That joyful company right onward came ;
When lo ! obscure and dismal, overhead
A banner rose, and, clad in sable vest,
A terrible spectre, on whose grisly brow
A stern insatiate fury was imprest,
Stood forth, and hoarsely spake : " Lady ! who now
" Walkest in pride of youth, in beauty rife,
" Ignorant of the bounds which limit life,
" I am that pow'r, who cruel and unkind
" Am call'd by mortals—a weak race and blind,
" Whose brief day vanishes ere night be come :
" Mine was the voice, beneath whose with'ring doom
" Greece and proud Ilium fell, and mine the blade
" Which low in dust the Roman glory laid :
" All climes and every age my sway confess ;
" Arriving ever when expected less,
" My frowns a thousand sanguine schemes destroy ;
" And now to you, when life has most of joy,
" My course I bend, ere, changing as she will,
" Fortune some bitter in your sweet distil."

Calmly that peerless Lady thus replied :
" Well know I these your utmost hate have tried ;
" O'er them you have no pow'r, little o'er me ;
" Yours is my body, but my soul is free.
" Nor grieve I for myself—but that the blow,
" To me tho' welcome, lays another low."
As one who, bent in curious wonder o'er
Some form late-found and never seen before,
Long doubtful stands, yet seems his doubt to blame,
So stood the fiend ; addressing then the Dame,
Slow he resum'd, with countenance more bland
And gentler tone, " I recollect them well
" And when beneath my poison-tooth they fell :
" But you the leader of this lovely band,

" Who ne'er hast felt my blighting bitter sting,
 " I could compel, yet as a friend I bring
 " To you my counsel ; better will it be
 " Old age and all its many ills to flee.
 " An honour, which I am not wont to pay,
 " For you I destine, that, from life, your soul
 " Fearless and without pain shall pass away."—
 " As pleases Him, whose pleasure rules the whole,
 " Whom earth, sea, sky their Lord and Maker own :
 " To me, as unto all, His holy will be done."

Not less deep and fervent was the poet's love for his native land ; and when did such love find nobler expression than in the following glorious ode ?—

Mine Italy ! tho' words all idle be
 The mortal wounds to close,
 Which on thy lovely form so oft I see,
 At least it soothes me that my sighs are those
 From Arno, Tiber, Po,
 Where mournful now I dwell, alike which flow.
 Great God ! I thee implore,
 By the fond love, which led thee erst below,
 To visit this thy favour'd land once more :
 * * * * *
 Ye, to whose guiding hands the reins by Heaven
 Of these fair lands are given,
 Can all our wrongs no pity from you gain ?
 These crowds of armed strangers whence, and why ?
 Is it that each green plain
 Their savage gore, and not our own, may dye ?
 With a vain error blind,
 Dimly you see, yet deem that you see well,
 Who love, or faith, expect in venal mind ;
 Tho' such in myriads swell
 Around, we are but girt with hostile brands.
 Hark ! the fierce deluge pours
 From distant desert strands
 To inundate our lov'd and lovely shores ;
 Who shall our cause defend,
 When thus from our own hands the deadliest blows descend ?
 Well did kind Nature for our land provide,
 When she the barrier gave
 Of the tall Alps from German hate to save ;
 But, blind, and working her own ruin still,
 Her arts Ambition plied,
 Till the sound body felt the eating ill.
 And now, in the same fold,
 Wild wolves and harmless herds so mingled throng,
 That still the weaker groan beneath the strong ;
 And they, ah ! be it told
 With shame, of those wild lawless tribes the seed,
 Whom, as our annals write,
 Marius so quell'd in fight
 (Still lives the memory of the glorious deed,)

That, bending to the flood,
 His tir'd and thirsty bands not water drank but blood.*

* So Plutarch in his life of Marius : also Lucius Florus, "*Itaque tanto ardore pugnatum est, eaque cædes hostium fuit, ut victor Romanus de cruento flumine non plus aquæ biberet quàm sanguinis barbarorum.*"

I name not Cæsar over ruin'd plains,
Whose good sword from *their* veins
In crimson signs his savage conquests trac'd :
But now, nor know I by what evil stars,
Heav'n marks us with its hate ;
Thanks be to you in whom the pow'r was plac'd,
Whose causeless ceaseless jars
Have the first fairest land on earth defac'd !
What crime, what judgment leads you, or what fate
To trample on distress ?
Why all your hate upon the wretched wreak,
The fallen why oppress,
And the false stranger seek
Who sheds his blood and sells his soul for gold ?
In truth's great cause I speak,
Neither by angry hate, nor secret scorn controll'd !

Ah ! is not this mine own old land where first
I trode ? and this the nest
My careless boyhood which so gentle nurst ?
My kind good mother, country of my trust,
In whose beloved breast
All peaceful sleep my parents' mould'ring dust ?
Let, let this thought subdue !
To pity stirr'd, the fallen nation view
Too long in tears, by tyranny oppress,
Who, after God, in you
Alone can hope : and if one sign speak grief,
E'en now if mercy warms,
Valour shall take up arms
Against brute force : and be the combat brief ;
The bravery of our sires
Each true Italian heart still warms with its old fires !

Mark, mighty Lords, how swift of Time the race !
How as life flies away,
Death presses on its rear with giant pace !
Now are you here, think, think on the last day :
The doubtful pass to free
Who hopes, of soul must pure and single be ;
To gain the narrow gate
Who seeks, must leave behind him scorn and hate,
Blasts ever adverse to a life serene ;
Whose time till now has been
To others' harm, let him with mind, hand, heart,
In some more worthy cause
Espouse the honest part,
And in this nobler study win applause.
Thus peace is gain'd and joy,
And the path open lies which leads to bliss on high.

We make no apology for this long extract. It is noble poetry ; and Captain Macgregor has done it no injustice in adding it to the treasures of English literature.

We fear that the subject is too far apart from modern sympathies ; and the book, therefore, unlikely to be popular or much read. But we commend it again most heartily to our readers, as the work of an accomplished and elegant mind, and as an honour to our Anglo-Indian literature.

